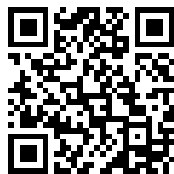

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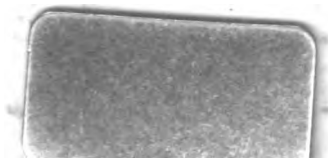
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ANGLICANISM AND THE FATHERS.



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Nihil obstat.

T. F. KNOX,

Congr. Orat. Censor Depulatus.

Imprimatur.

✠ HENRICUS EDUARDUS,

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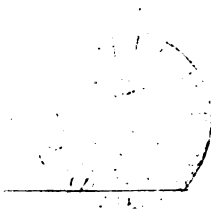
ANGLICANISM AND THE FATHERS

WITH

*REFERENCE TO NO. 4 OF THE "ENGLISH
CHURCH DEFENCE TRACTS."*

BY

W. E. ADDIS,
OF THE ORATORY OF ST. PHILIP NERI.



LONDON: BURNS AND OATES,

PORTMAN STREET AND PATERNOSTER ROW.

1872.

I have been obliged to delay the publication, as I was abroad for some weeks after the appearance of the last number of the "English Church Defence Tracts." I have not, as a rule, repeated reference already given in my former pamphlet.

W. E. A.

ANGLICANISM AND THE FATHERS.

A NEW number of the *English Church Defence Tracts* professes to defend the statements made in the first number of the same series, entitled *Roman Misquotations*. I say professes to defend, for in reality the writer shifts his ground and evades the question at issue between us. A few pages will suffice to establish this.

My opponent opens his defence of the writers of tract No. I. against the charge of "suppressing facts" and "presuming on the ignorance of their readers," by pleading that "it is unreasonable to complain that the tract did not exhibit and discuss at length other interpretations of documents besides those given." Be it so ; only I never made this charge. My accusation was, that in matters of the deepest moment, regarding some of the palmary proofs for the supremacy of the Holy See, the tract-writers put forward as "clear" and certain their own distorted interpretations of original documents and facts, and this too without giving the reader "who has no time for deeper investigation" a hint that any other view was possible. As a matter of fact, what I said fell short of the truth. In many cases Catholics

were charged with misquotation,* simply because they did not take the particular views on various historical questions which recommend themselves naturally enough to the extreme High Church party in its present phase; and the tract concluded by accusing, not, be it remembered, individuals in the Church, but the Roman Catholic Church generally with encouraging "pious frauds" and "Jesuit casuistry." It was not this or that school, this or that theologian or controversialist: it was "her" (*i. e.* Catholic) "writers," without exception or qualification, who were said to have "inherited a tradition of laxity in respect of historical truth;" to be, in short, as Father Newman happily interprets a similar charge, "professors of lying." I know of no instance in which authors of respectable name have carried violence of language and calumny so far, and I am obliged to draw on my imagination for a parallel. There have been learned historians and critics who held that even so late as St. Irenæus bishops and priests were not distinct in order, that Tertullian did not recognise any essential distinction between priests and laymen, that Arianism was the received doctrine in the first ages of the Church. Had they put forward these views in popular tracts as if they were too clear to need the support of argument; had they gone on to charge any author who did not accept them with "suppressing" or ignoring facts, and finished with coarse accusations of dishonesty and imposture against

* Compare the citation from Cyprian, Ep. 48, in *Roman Misquotations*, p. 3; from St. Ambrose, on Ps. xl. p. 5; from Jerome's Letter to Evangelus, p. 6; the treatment of St. John Chrysostom's Appeal, p. 6; and of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, pp. 7 and 8, &c. &c.

the "orthodox" in general, they would have occupied a position like that which my opponent took in tract No. I., and from which he tries to retreat in tract No. IV. Surely such a proceeding deserves to be characterised in that "denunciatory language" which seems to have displeased him, but of which he himself had already furnished several choice specimens.* Of the personality in the first paragraph of the new tract I say nothing, except that it is in both senses of the word impertinent.

After this preamble, my opponent tries to fix upon me, *en passant*, the charge of "misquoting Fr. Weninger by omitting his fallacious reference to Hermas, as also his statement that *all* the Fathers *said* with Augustine, Rome has spoken," &c. But what are the facts of the case? Fr. Weninger says all the Fathers from Hermas downwards *thought* the Pope infallible. There is nothing, therefore, fallacious in his reference to Hermas. He is, as I said, inferring, rightly or wrongly, from the explicit statements of some Fathers, that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was held by all. It is true, he adds, "all the Fathers said with St. Augustine, Rome has spoken," &c. But my opponent cannot seriously mean that Fr. Weninger attributes these actual words to every individual Father of the Church. He is only putting what he conceives to have been the general opinion of the Church into a rhetorical form.

Let us now examine, one by one, the pleas alleged in defence of tract No. I.

1. With regard to the famous text of St. Irenæus,

* *E. g.* he accuses Fr. Weninger of uttering "a notorious falsehood"! p. 1.

iii. 3, 2. I shall begin by re-stating the case, and considering such objections to the interpretation which I gave as are of a general nature. Next, I shall deal with the questions of construction and verbal criticism.

The entire sentence is this : " Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potentio-rem (or, potio-rem) principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, *in quâ semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.*" The tract asserted that the last clause, "*in quâ semper,*" &c. was sometimes omitted by Catholic controversialists. It gave as "clear" and certain a particular interpretation of this clause, fatal to the meaning which Catholic writers had put upon the rest of the sentence. Thus, if the tract was right, a Catholic controversialist had only two courses open to him. Either he must abandon the text as evidence for the Papacy, or else he must "misquote" it by leaving out its most essential part. To give the text entire would have been to stultify his argument.

To this I answered :

(1.) That the interpretation given in the tract was so far from certain, that it was set aside, for the most part contemptuously, by writers for whose candour and learning High Churchmen are accustomed to profess profound respect. I mentioned De Marca, Bossuet, Natalis Alexander, Massuet,* Möhler, Dollinger, Hefele, Friedrich.

* The last Protestant writer on Irenæus (Ziegler, in the Preface, p. viii., to his *Irenæus der Bischof von Lyon*, Berlin, 1871), gives a useful list of the authors, Catholic and Protestant, down to the close of the last century, who have dealt with the writings or life of Irenæus.

(2.) I showed (and on this point I wish to lay particular stress) that the passage had been, as Friedrich puts it, the "crux" of learned Protestants, and that they had given the most diverse interpretations of it, while some, so far from feeling that the last clause made everything "clear" except in a sense most unwelcome to Protestants, had been driven to the desperate theory of interpolation. Since I wrote I have been able to use the last Protestant work on Irenæus, viz. Ziegler's *Life of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons*. This writer defends ingeniously an interpretation differing alike from that usually given by Catholics, and from that which was put forward in the tract; but he does not assume the confident tone of the tract, and he makes two admissions of the highest importance. "To the mind of Irenæus," he says, "it is the episcopate which sanctions the rule of faith, not *vice versâ*. With him, as with Cyprian, the highest ecclesiastical office is inseparable from orthodox doctrine. . . . He makes the preservation of tradition, and the presence of the Holy Ghost with the Church, dependent upon the Bishops, who in legitimate succession represent the Apostles, and . . . this manifestly because he wants at any price to have a guarantee for the unity of the visible Church." This will hardly suit the views either of Anglicans or of the "protesting Catholics;" but let us finish the quotation. "This striving after unity," continues Ziegler, "appears in the most striking way in that passage" (iii. 3, 2) "where he passes as if in a prophetic spirit beyond

æus. Before them all he places the works of Massuet, "rich in learning and sagacity."

himself, and anticipates the Papal Church of the future." My opponent may think he acted fairly in ignoring this twofold evidence of Protestants and Catholics, and in advancing his own interpretation as if it were absolutely clear; but I doubt if he will convince any fair-minded person, whatever his creed may be. The favourite authority in the last tract is Bishop Wordsworth, and in him I do not doubt he finds much more thorough and serviceable support than in the learned Protestants whom I had quoted. But the authority of Dr. Wordsworth carries weight with those only who have not the means of forming an independent judgment. Döllinger, in his *Hippolytus and Callistus*, treats the book of Dr. Wordsworth, cited in the tract, as a violent attack on the Church, written in the heat of the "Papal Aggression," and destitute of critical worth. He thinks its real character must be transparent to Anglicans themselves; but apparently he underrated the force of prejudice.

(3.) I insisted that it was unfair to adduce the citation of the passage without the last clause as an instance of "misquotation," because the controversy had mainly turned upon the meaning of the earlier words. Of late, indeed, attempts have been made to wrest the words at the end, "in quâ," &c., from their natural meaning. Formerly, the usual expedients were to deny that "convenire" meant "agree with," or to explain "principalitas" as signifying the civil eminence of the City of Rome. When I added that Fr. Newman and Hefele were among those who had omitted the last words, I confess I thought my opponent himself would have withdrawn his charge. As it is, he goes off at a tangent, and imputes bad motives to an office of St.

Irenæus used in some parts of the Church. In the first tract there was not the most distant allusion to this office. The charge was made in general terms against all who quoted the first part of the sentence without the last.

So much for the weight of authority on either side. As to the intrinsic reasonableness of the two interpretations, I argued that the Catholic one was in perfect harmony with the context, while that of the tract was inconsistent at once with the scope of the passage and with common sense. It is perfectly natural that St. Irenæus should pass from the Apostolic Churches to the Church of the Prince of the Apostles—that Church with which, because of its preëminence, “every Church, that is, the faithful everywhere, must agree; in communion with which the Apostolic tradition is preserved always by Christians in all parts of the world.” It is anything but natural that he should begin with the dignity which Churches enjoyed because of their Apostolic origin, and go on, without interruption or explanation, to the preëminence possessed by Rome—meaning, by this, the preëminence Rome had in virtue of its civil position. Again, it is inconceivable that St. Irenæus should have regarded the chance concurrence of strangers to Rome as a guarantee for the purity of its doctrine—a guarantee, moreover, so absolute, that the agreement of other Churches with Rome was a matter of necessity. My opponent leaves this, the central point of my argument against his theory, untouched; and this, if he will allow me to borrow his language, for “a very obvious reason.”

He makes, however, several objections to my view

of St. Irenæus's meaning. "Why," he says, "did not Irenæus say here that Rome was the ruler and the oracle of all Churches?" This, of course, is begging the question. On the Catholic interpretation he does say something equivalent. But "he actually goes on to confirm the tradition of the Church of Rome by the tradition of the Churches of Smyrna and Ephesus." St. Irenæus is arguing with Gnostic heretics, and surely it is very common for Catholic writers to point out to Protestants that the Universal Church in all ages has witnessed to, and in this sense confirms, the doctrine taught by that one See "with which, because of its principality," each particular Church must agree. Nor do Ultramontanes cease to believe that Apostolicity and Catholicity are necessary notes of the Church because they believe in the necessity of agreement with Rome. "But," says my opponent, "let us observe the comment on this passage, supplied by St. Irenæus's conduct towards Pope Victor. Suppose a modern Pope to expel from his communion certain Bishops and Churches for resisting him on a question of ritual, would it be, on Ultramontane principles, competent for several Metropolitans and their comprovincials to rebuke the Holy Father with some sharpness?" Grabe put a similar question to the Catholics of his day; and Massuet (*Diss. iii. in Iren.*) replies that Grabe is claiming for the Pope a power which the Popes have never claimed for themselves. All Ultramontane theologians, so far as I know, hold that the Pope may err in his excommunications;* and it is on record that St. Philip

* Excommunications are frequently directed against those who refuse submission to the definitions of the Church in matters of faith.

Neri* revered the memory of Savonarola, who was excommunicated by Alexander VI. St. Bernard and St. Catherine of Siena used very strong language of admonition to the Pope; the blessed Colomba, of Rieti, rebuked Alexander VI. with positive violence:† yet no one doubts that these saints believed in his supremacy. The prudence of employing such language must depend very much on circumstances. Before the rise of Protestantism in Western Europe, persons high in station or influence could use a freedom of language which would be easily misconstrued now—"Vobis nondum litigantibus securius loquebantur."

It only remains to consider the points raised about the meaning of the terms. Schneemann (*De Sancti Irenæi Testimonio*) discusses at length the twenty-three places in which *principalitas* or *principatus* occurs in the Latin Irenæus. He thinks it worth while to extend his investigation to the latter word, because Du Cange and Forcellini consider them nearly synonymous; and in the Latin version of St. Irenæus *principalitas* and *principatus* are used promiscuously for the choir of angels, which is called in Scripture ἀγγέλ (cf. ii. 30, 9 with ii. 6, 2; iv. 24, 2). In every place where either *principalitas* or *principatus* occurs, Schneemann asserts that the signification is "power, dominion, empire." My opponent contends that, while in two places *principalitas* is employed for principality and supremacy,

In that case the principle on which the excommunication proceeds is infallibly true.

* See *Savonarolæ Vita et Opuscula*, with a collection of Documents (Paris, 1674), tom. ii. 615.

† Bollandists, May, tom. v. 366.

in the others it is used for the "pleroma," and for an "original and primary being." He forgets that the primary being of the Gnostics was also supreme, and that this supremacy is specially emphasised by St. Irenæus (cf. i. 26, 1: *principalitas quæ est super universa*); but, fortunately, we can bring matters to a crucial test. In two of the places (i. 26, 1 and i. 31, 1) in which we are told that *principalitas* does not mean supremacy, we have the original Greek (in *Philosoph.* x. 21, and in *Theodoret. Hær. Fab.* 1, 15). In both these places the Greek word which answers to *principalitas* is *αὐθεντία*, and for *αὐθεντία* Liddell and Scott give but one rendering, viz. "absolute sway." Here the writer of the tract has fallen into a serious blunder, a blunder which, unlike the inaccuracy of my own references for this word, utterly shatters his argument.

Bishop Wordsworth and others are said to have pointed out that the phrase *necesse est* involves no idea of obligation. In Irenæus, however (iii. 12, 14; iv. 33, 9; i. 6, 4), *necessarium* and *necessarium est* are distinctly used for moral obligation. And supposing the Church is so constituted that by a natural necessity all Churches, if they are true Churches, agree with Rome, the argument I have drawn from the passage which we are discussing remains as strong as ever.

It is needless to say much about the grammatical sense of the *in quâ*. I showed that the sense I gave was necessitated by the context, and was grammatically not of course necessary, but perfectly admissible. Nothing has been done to prove that I was wrong.

The importance of this celebrated passage must be my excuse for this lengthened defence of the Catholic

interpretation. The passage has been for two centuries the "crux of Protestant theologians;" and I venture to think it will continue to be so for some time to come. The critic who is to make it "clear" that St. Irenæus lends no support to Papal supremacy has not yet appeared.

2. I had referred to the argument which Hagemann (*Römische Kirche*, p. 622) draws from the language of Tertullian after he was a Montanist (*De Pud.* c. 1.): "I hear that an edict, and this a peremptory one, is put out. The Supreme Pontiff, that is the Bishop of Bishops, decrees." In reply I am told that "no serious argument can be based on such words from a Montanist enemy of the hierarchy."* But sarcasm, and above all the sarcasm of an acute lawyer like Tertullian, is generally based upon something; and if the Pope claimed no supreme power in the Church, what did he mean by this taunt? It may be well, however, to illustrate a little farther Tertullian's position with respect to Rome. While still a Catholic, he taught that the power of the Apostles lived on in the Churches they founded: "Apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident" (*De Præscr.* 36). After his apostacy, in his opposition to the "peremptory edict" of Zephyrinus, he asks by what authority the Pope claims the "right for his Church," and supposes it may be "because our Lord said to Peter, On this rock I will build my church; to thee I have given the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or again, Whatsoever

* "After he was a Montanist, Tertullian acknowledges, while he complains, that the Pope acted as Pontifex Maximus and Bishop of Bishops." Fr. Newman, *Essays*, ii. 324.

thou shalt loose or bind on earth, shalt be loosed or bound in heaven" (*De Pud.* c. 21). This evidence for the use made of these texts in the very infancy of Christian literature is of itself most important. It puts the meaning of the sarcastic language I had already quoted beyond dispute. He lets us see what sort of power the Pope asserted, and he is at no loss to understand the origin of this claim. It occurs to him directly that the Pope will appeal to the promises of Christ, and remind the Montanist heretics that Rome is the rock on which the Church is built. And observe how Tertullian answers. Had the views of the tract-writer prevailed in those early ages, Tertullian's reply would have been an easy one. He might have told the Pope that all the Apostles received the keys, and that St. Peter held the first place in confession, not in office. In reality, however, he is obliged to deny the principle he had formerly contended for, viz. that the power of the Apostles descended to their successors; and to maintain that "Christ conferred this privilege on Peter personally," not on the Church which derived its origin from him.

3. The writer of *Roman Misquotations* admitted that St. Cyprian spoke of the Roman Church as "the source of the unity of the priesthood," and then tried to explain the phrase away. He did not give the sentence entire. "They" (*i. e.* the heretics) "dare to sail to the *chief Church*, the source of sacerdotal unity,"—a striking omission on the part of a writer who is always ready to put the worst construction on anything which can be made to look like an incomplete statement on the part of a Catholic writer. Now, however, he tells us that St. Peter was regarded

by St. Cyprian as the representative Apostle, the symbol of his brethren's corporate unity, and that this is sufficient to explain his language about Rome. No doubt St. Cyprian did look upon St. Peter and his successors as the representatives of ecclesiastical unity. But then he also considers them to be the "beginning" (exordium) and "source of unity." Till Anglicans have explained this second part of St. Cyprian's teaching, they have done nothing. Catholic theologians commonly teach that the Pope represents the unity of the Church, and a Council its Catholicity; but assuredly they are far from thinking that Pope and Council are mere symbols of unity and Catholicity without decisive power in the Church. They are symbols and representatives, of course, but they are something more.

"A comparison of Epp. 45 and 47" proves what I had already implied, viz. that when St. Cyprian calls Rome "the root and womb of the Catholic Church," the Novatians had set up a rival to Cornelius, the true Bishop of that city. But is it so certain that St. Cyprian simply referred "to the claim which the true Catholic Church, represented in Rome by Cornelius, his clergy and people, had upon all Roman Christians"? Such certainly was not the opinion of the learned Rigault—a bitter enemy, if ever there was one, of the Papacy. In his edition he comments on the text thus: "Later on, Cyprian styles communion with Rome the unity of the Catholic Church. So Ep. 45, *radicis et matris sinum*. The chair of Peter he considers the *ecclesia principalis*. Here we see the infancy (*crepundia*, lit. swaddling-clothes) of the Christian monarchy."*

* I have said nothing about St. Cyprian's objection to appeals

4. The author of the tract has dropped his confident tone about the Sardican canon, and the right of revision which, he said in the first tract, it had *granted* to the Pope; indeed, he now hardly seems to contend that the views he had advanced either about Sardica or the trial of Apiarius are certain. But the important point is this: my opponent has misstated the case. In tract No. I. he professed to convict Cardinal Wiseman of misquotation, because he had "omitted to state that in this council a limited power of receiving appeals had been *granted* to Julius out of reverence for the memory of St. Peter." This charge is now tacitly abandoned; and no wonder. To maintain that a Catholic priest in a popular lecture is bound to put before his audience, as if it were certain, an interpretation of the canon contested not only by a whole series of learned Ultramon- tanes, but by Natalis Alexander and Hefele, requires a great deal of courage with a very small mixture of discretion.

5. Cardinal Wiseman was also censured for having "suppressed or neglected to observe the fact that," when St. John Chrysostom appealed to Rome, "the same application was made by him to the principal sees

from the African Church to Rome, because I am obliged to deal with the same question later on; but I may give, from Ep. 67, the following case as an illustration of his real attitude to Rome. We learn that Basilides, a Spanish bishop, deposed for good reasons in his own country, appealed to Pope Stephen for restitution. "We ought to blame," Cyprian says, "not so much him who, through *negligence*, allowed an advantage to be taken of him, but rather the man who fraudulently took it." Had Cyprian objected to the *principle* of appeals, he would have blamed the Pope, not for negligence but for insolence and ambition, in pronouncing sentence in a case he had no right to judge.

of Italy." I met this, my opponent says, "by assuming that these other bishops of Italy could only act as assessors of the Holy See; but this," he adds, "is *gratis dictum*, from a modern Roman point of view." In reality, I assumed nothing. I argued that Theophilus, the persecutor of St. John Chrysostom, appealed simply to the Holy See; that the embassies from both parties in the suit were sent to Rome alone; that it was customary for the Popes of that age to decide important cases in Italian synods; and, lastly (an objection which the new tract leaves unanswered), that it was difficult to see on what principle, except as assessors of the Holy See, Italian bishops could presume to settle the quarrels of two Eastern patriarchates. I added that Bossuet, in his defence of the Gallican Declaration (ix. 13), describes the appeal of Chrysostom as one made simply to the Pope. We do not need, however, to argue *a priori*, or to invoke the authority of modern historians, if we wish to show that, when the Western bishops restored or deposed bishops in the East, the decision came virtually from Rome. In the year 341 (or, as some think, 342) Pope Julius,* with a synod of fifty Italian bishops, restored two Eastern patriarchs, St. Athanasius and Paul of Constantinople, to their sees. The case is exactly parallel to that of Chrysostom; and, according to the tract-writer's view, there is nothing in either to favour Papal authority. The decision, he would say, came from a number of bishops, of whom the Pope was one. Yet hear how Socrates

* Athan. Apol. contra Arianos, ad init. where the number of the bishops is given. For their nationality see the Epistle of the pseudo-synod of Philippopolis; Mansi, iii. 130.

(ii. 17) describes the restitution of Athanasius and his fellow-exiles: "He" (Pope Julius), "in accordance with the prerogatives of the Roman Church, established the bishops in outspoken letters, sent them back to the East, restored each to his own see, and laid his hand upon those who had rashly deposed them." The language of the council itself is stronger still. But enough of this. The "point of view" I took may be "Roman;" it can hardly be called "modern," for it is found in a Greek historian born in the middle of the 4th century.

I had also argued from St. John Chrysostom's words (*De Sacerdotio*, ii. 1): Christ willed that St. Peter should be "endowed with power, and should far exceed the other Apostles;" that the preëminence over the Apostolic College could not have descended upon every ordinary bishop; and that the Saint showed practically, by his appeal to Rome, that he considered the preëminent power of Peter as living on in his see. But this argument is based, I am told, upon "misquotation" (*i.e.* I suppose mistranslation) "and misrepresentation." I believe the translation I gave is the only one which either the words or the scope of the passage will bear; while my opponent renders, surely against all the usage of the language, ἐφ' ἧκε δύνησθαι by "said he would be able." This much is certain. I have on my side the Protestant translation of Thirlby and Hughes (Cambridge, 1712), that of the German Krager, and, above all, that of the Benedictine editor Montfaucon; in fact, Montfaucon's version is stronger than mine. He translates 'potentiam indidit cæterisque apostolis longe anteposuit.' I don't think I have much to fear from this charge of "misquotation and misrepresentation."

6. The first tract treated the letter of Pope Liberius restoring Eustathius of Sebaste to his see as a mere "certificate of the fact that Eustathius, who had been an Arianiser, had signed the Nicene creed at Rome." The extract I gave from Basil (Ep. 263) proves that Basil himself did not know what Eustathius signed at Rome ; and, next, that Basil attributed the restitution of Eustathius not to the Council of Tyana acting on a certificate from Rome, but to the Pope himself. Unquestionably, as the new tract urges, St. Basil knew that Eustathius must have professed the true faith before the Pope received him into communion ; for it would have been indeed uncomplimentary to the Pope had Basil supposed him capable of restoring an obstinate heretic. The fact, however, remains untouched, that the Pope, in the exercise of his supreme authority, restored an Eastern bishop to his see. I went on to say, in a sentence taken almost verbally from Natalis Alexander, that the Eastern bishops, even after Eustathius relapsed into heresy, did not dare to depose a man who had been cleared by Apostolic authority. I am reminded that Eustathius had brought letters from many Western bishops, and that Basil, when he said, "the quarter which had given Eustathius power to do mischief must be applied to in order to stop his action," refers, not to Rome only, but to the West generally. But I have already answered this objection by anticipation, when treating of St. Chrysostom's appeal ; and in this very letter Basil actually resolves the authority of the Westerns generally into that of the Pope. "When deposed in the East," he says, "Eustathius betook himself to you," *i.e.* to the Westerns ; "but what was pro-

posed to him by the most blessed bishop Liberius (the Pope) I do not know." Fr. Newman (*Essays*, ii. 325 *et seq.*) gives instances of the power which the Popes of the fourth and fifth centuries claimed and exercised over the bishops of the East. If the Popes had such power in the East, we may be sure that this authority was no less within their own patriarchate; and that when St. Basil appealed to the West, he did not place all the Western bishops on the same level, but appealed practically to Rome.* A few lines from Basil's 70th letter, addressed to Pope Damasus, will illustrate this. He there tells Damasus that Arianism has desolated the East; "entreats the Pope to send persons to settle their troubles;" says that this is the only means in which he can see any hope of deliverance; and adds, "we are asking nothing new, for we know from tradition of our fathers that Dionysius" (a Pope of the third century) "sent letters of visitation to our Church of Cæsarea,"† &c. &c.

7. As to Meletius, there is little more to say. He was never really excluded from the communion of Rome. In the interchange of letters which took place between him and Pope Damasus (A.D. 379), Meletius signs as Bishop of Antioch; and yet this letter was received at Rome without protest, and deposited in the archives. Certainly, unless Rome had meant to tolerate Meletius, and to abstain, as I said, from "pushing matters to an extremity," his letters would not have been

* For a good account of Basil's relations to Rome, see Hergenröther's *Anti-Janus* (English translation), p. 114 *et seq.*

† This sentence, except the words not in inverted commas, is taken from Fr. Newman's notes to his *Essays* (loc. cit.).

received in this peaceful way. The Popes in that age were not slow to assert the prerogatives of their see, "from which, if any divide himself, he becomes an outcast to the religion of Christ" (Boniface, i. ann. 422, ap. Coust. 1037).

8. "That St. Ambrose," as the last number of the tracts now admits, "magnified the dignity of the Roman Church, is undeniable." Here, to begin with, we have a change of tone not a little remarkable. But let us see what the writer has got to say on the other side. I had quoted St. Ambrose, *De Excidio Satyri*, i. 47, where he relates that his brother Satyrus, if he doubted the orthodoxy of a bishop, asked him if he "communicated with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church." This is conclusive proof that St. Ambrose insisted on communion with Rome as a test of Catholic unity and Catholic faith, apart from the question of disowning schismatical pretenders to the Roman bishopric. I am confronted with the next sentence, which shows that in the places where Satyrus asked this question the schism of Lucifer was rife. What has this got to do with pretenders to the Roman bishopric? Had there been no fear of schism and heresy in the towns which Satyrus visited, there would have been no need to question the bishops. My point was this, that wherever Satyrus found schism or error he decided the orthodoxy of the bishop by the question, "Do you communicate with the Catholic bishops, *i. e.* with the Roman Church?" Are Anglicans willing to abide by the same test? The doctrine of St. Ambrose on the primacy is farther confirmed and illustrated by the solemn declaration of himself and the

other bishops at the Council of Aquileia. This, I am told, was a Western council. No doubt; but the Fathers of that council, in a letter to the Emperors of the East and West, confess their belief, that the Roman Church is "the head of the whole Roman world" (*i. e.* of East and West), identify the teaching of Rome with the faith of the Apostles, and assert that from Rome the "privileges of venerable communion flow forth to all the faithful."

Anyhow, the new tract objects, this does not prove that the Fathers of Aquileia "would have accepted the Ultramontanism of the Vatican Council." This is another specimen of evasion. The first tract professed to deal not only with the Infallibility of the Pope, but generally with "Papal power" (*Roman Misquotations*, 1). Bossuet, of course, would have subscribed with all his heart to the letter of the Council of Aquileia; but it presents an insuperable obstacle to any one who believes that the Church of England is part of the Church of Christ, and tries to find support for his position in the Fathers.

I showed that when St. Ambrose speaks of Peter in his acknowledgment of our Lord's divinity as "exercising a primacy of confession, not of honour," his words could be harmonised easily enough with the rest of his teaching on the primacy, since there could be no question of "exercising a primacy" while Christ was on earth. I cited the commentary of this great doctor of the Church on Luc. x. 24, as evidence that St. Ambrose himself made this distinction. Before the ascension St. Peter exercised a primacy of confession, and was already "set before all" (St. Ambrose, Comm. in

Luc. x. 175), inasmuch as he was already elected to an office which he was to exercise after the ascension. Had the tract-writer produced a passage in which St. Ambrose says generally that St. Peter never exercised any primacy save one of confession, he would have disposed of my argument. As it is, the saint says precisely the opposite of this.

In conclusion, I illustrated the way in which St. Ambrose regarded the Novatian schism at Rome from the parallel case of the Donatists, and I dwelt upon the evidence which St. Optatus gives, that all alike, heretics and the Fathers who opposed them, were constrained to admit the absolute necessity of communion with Rome for all who wished to appear as Catholics. This part of my pamphlet the new tract, prudently, I think, passes over.

9. The writer of the tracts does not deny, first, that while professing to give the "strong" expressions of St. Jerome on the See of Peter, he concealed the real strength of St. Jerome's language; language which was followed by action no less significant, and, secondly, that he taunted Catholics with neglecting other words of St. Jerome, "the authority of the world is greater than that of the city," "wherever a bishop is, he has the same episcopal office," though, as the context shows, these words tell in no way whatever against either the supremacy or the infallibility of the Pope. He still urges that St. Jerome calls all bishops "successors of the Apostles," without making the Ultramontane distinction between the ordinary powers transmitted from the Apostles to bishops as such and the plenary jurisdiction which resides in the Pope. St. Jerome does

not make the distinction here, just as our English Catholic Catechism states without qualification that bishops are "successors of the Apostles" (*Catechism approved for the use of the Faithful in England and Wales*, p. 15). But it is only common sense to suppose that St. Jerome did not fall, without explaining his change of sentiments, into the most violent contradiction with himself. Can we imagine him maintaining in one letter that the Pope had inherited from Peter powers so far removed from those of ordinary bishops, that "he who gathered not with him scattered, that he who ate the lamb out of his house was profane;" that bishops were to be "ignored" if the Pope was against them; and insisting with equal confidence in another that the apostolic power had descended in the same fulness upon all bishops, the bishop of Rome included? Besides, the letter to Evangelus treats throughout of holy order, in which the Pope is simply on a par with his fellow bishops; and to take for granted that St. Jerome did not hold the difference between the Pope and other bishops in point of jurisdiction, because he does not go out of his way to mention it here, is expecting precision and completeness in a letter which we should hardly look for in a dogmatic treatise.*

10. We have already seen the concessions the tract-

* "*Did the Fathers,*" I am asked, hold that the Apostles received the Keys through Peter? Tertull. (scorp. 10) says Peter received the Keys, and through him the Church, which surely included the Apostles. So Optatus, b. vii. 3: Peter alone received the Keys, that he might communicate them to the rest. (Dupin doubted the authenticity of this book, but he is refuted by Tillemont, vi. 29.) So again, Eulogius of Alexandria: Peter alone received the Keys, not John or any other Apostle (Eulogius of Alexandria, apud Phot. Bib. i. 280, 2).

writer has been obliged to make about the doctrine of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome. When he comes to St. Augustine he makes an admission more important still—so important, indeed, that it amounts to a surrender of his whole position with regard to the Pope's supremacy. He now grants that Augustine and two great African Councils "thought the Pope's decision on the doctrinal question (of Pelagianism) more potent and authoritative than their own." So much more potent was the Pope's judgment, that when he sent his rescripts "all doubt was removed." And this authority of the Pope, be it remembered, was not considered by Augustine and the African bishops to be of ecclesiastical institution. On the contrary, they expressly declare that it is "derived from the authority of the sacred Scriptures." When the principle of the Papal rights over national Churches is thus firmly established, a Catholic can have no difficulty in granting that the exercise of these rights must depend upon prudential reasons and usage, and may vary from age to age.

St. Augustine himself denies, in the most definite terms, that Zosimus ever approved of the Pelagian heresy. He challenges the Pelagians to produce a single letter of the Pope in which he imposes a "precept of believing" the Pelagian doctrine (lib. ii. ad Bonifac. iii.). The supposed "dallying" with Pelagianism on the part of the Pope came simply to this, that he was deceived by the delusive retraction of Celestius, and treated him with a gentleness which Augustine does not venture to blame. And does St. Augustine show he thought it "abstractedly possible" that the "Pope might formally have approved heresy"? He does indeed say

that if (“*quod absit*”) the doctrines of Celestine and his fellow-Pelagians had been approved of in the Roman Church, the “brand of error would have been stamped on the Roman clergy.” But there is nothing in this sentence which obliges us to suppose that St. Augustine considered such a calamity actually possible. Indeed, if we accept the sense which the tract gives to this passage, St. Augustine must have put himself in a position absolutely ludicrous. On the one hand, he tells the Pelagians that “rescripts had come from the Apostolic See,” and that “the cause was finished;” that “by the letters” of the “Pope all doubt had been removed” (ad Bonifac. ii. 3); that Pelagius himself had not dared to resist Pope Innocent, but “had promised to condemn all which that See (*i. e.* the Roman See) condemned” (De Peccat. Orig. 7). More still, he had asked Julian “why he still waited for examination (examen)? The examination had already taken place before the Apostolic See.”* . . . The error was no longer to be examined, but “to be restrained by the Christian authorities.” On the other, he confesses, if we are to believe the tract, that the Apostolic See might have decided wrongly. If so, Julian had not far to seek for his answer to the taunt of St. Augustine. He might well have refused to be content with the judgment of the Roman Church, if St. Augustine himself allowed this Church might teach error, and magnified the authority of Rome, only because Rome happened to be on his side.†

* Also he says, before a council in Palestine. But as this council did not condemn Pelagius, it is evidently because of the Pope's judgment that the saint says Pelagianism is no longer to be tolerated.

† For the sense of “*quod absit*,” cf. “*Numquid iniquus est Deus*,

I did not allege the verses in St. Augustine's "psalm against the Donatists" as proof of St. Augustine's conviction about the meaning of the word "rock" in Matt. xvi. 18,* but because they make it plain that St. Augustine regarded union with the See of Peter as essential to Catholic communion. He never could have used such an appeal in a writing meant for the people, had not this Catholic principle been already strongly impressed upon the minds of ordinary Christians. The similar language of St. Optatus, and the actions of the Donatists, of which I spoke in my former pamphlet, lend additional force to St. Austin's words.

11. It is always rather hard to know what is meant in the two tracts by "misquotation." It is "misquotation," apparently, to adduce the lofty language used by the legates of the Pope at Ephesus, without adding that the Council did not regard the Pope's condemnation of Nestorius as final. On the other hand, it is, it seems, no "misquotation" to be silent about the fact that Cyril asked the Holy See whether he was or was not to hold communion with Nestorius, and this because he did not dare to decide on his own authority. "It was very natural," we are now told, "that Cyril should write to Pope Celestine in deferential language as to the line to be taken towards Nestorius." No doubt it was very

qui infert iram? Absit." "Numquid incredulitas illorum fidem Dei evacuabit? Absit," in the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. I have said nothing about the "orbis terrarum" condemning Pelagianism. The Church did condemn it, and that infallibly; but the point is, that the Pope condemned it first, and to the mind of St. Augustine this judgment was final and sufficient.

* In Retr. i. 21 another interpretation is given, and the reader is left to choose between them. The two interpretations are not really inconsistent.

natural that he should ask from the Pope instructions for himself and the bishops of the East on a matter which involved a judgment on the orthodoxy of another patriarch, if he acknowledged in the Pope the supreme head of the Church, divinely appointed to guard her doctrine. But that he should have acted thus is inexplicable, as far as we can see, on any other theory.

To Catholics there is nothing in the history of the Council which offers any serious difficulty. The emperor was strongly inclined to favour Nestorius, and a spirit of heresy was widely spread in the East, particularly in the patriarchate of Antioch. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was deemed most prudent to give the Pope's decision effect by means of a General Council, and to treat Nestorius in form as if his heresy were still uncondemned.

But this, it may be said, is to assume that the words of the Council, in passing sentence on Nestorius, "compelled and constrained thereto by the sacred canons, and by the letter of our father and fellow-minister Celestine," have the sense I gave them. They need not mean more than that "the canons and the letter of the first of bishops brought home to them their duty." To this I answer: (1.) We can see what authority the Pope claimed from his instructions to his legates. He expressly forbade his legates to enter the arena with the other bishops. They were simply to see the Pope's instructions carried out; and to act, not as disputants, but as judges (Coust. Ep. Cel. 17). (2.) The bishops practically recognised the authority which the Pope claimed. Thus, in the second action, Firmus of

Cæsarea in Cappadocia declared, that the letter of Celestine "had prescribed the sentence and the rule" (ψῆφον καὶ νόμον ἔπεισχε) which the Council was to follow. (3.) The bishops certainly felt themselves obliged to obey the canons, and yet they put the canons and the letter of the Pope on the same level.

12. I noticed several gross misrepresentations in the account the tract gave of Chalcedon. The writer said the Council "gave the Pope high titles, but it was an age of magnificent titles." Any one who reads my pamphlet will see that the Fathers of Chalcedon acknowledge in the Pope great and definite authority, and that they confessed this authority to be not of ecclesiastical, but of divine institution. Again, these acknowledgments of the Papal prerogative, so far from consisting in mere "titles," were illustrated by the decisive power which the Pope exercised. The Council admitted his right to depose an archimandrite in an eastern patriarchate, and the Emperor Marcian bears witness that many Easterns refused to accept the decrees of Chalcedon, because they were not sure that the Pope had confirmed them. All this the new tract leaves unexplained and undisputed.

My opponent had taunted Catholics with "ignoring" the history of the 28th canon. I asked, what Catholic historian had ignored it? and I contrasted his own one-sided treatment of the history of this canon with the clear and judicial statement in Hefele. Here, too, he leaves his position undefended.

However, he still contends that the Fathers of the Council "thought themselves free to abandon Leo's teaching." I cannot understand how, if the majority

thought themselves free to reject Leo's letter before it was approved by the Council, they could, before this approval, protest that it was not "lawful to make another exposition," and anathematise those who did not accept it. The "judges" present at the Council seem to supply the true solution of the question when they say, it "was *seemly* to instruct those who doubted the orthodoxy of the letter." Catholic theologians only put this into other words when they call the examination of Leo's letter an "*examen elucidationis*."

It is true the bishops accepted Leo's tome because they found it consonant to the creeds; but the question is, did the majority regard this consonance as uncertain till the Council had solemnly approved it? It is possible to bring the matter to a very practical issue. The acts of the sixth Œcumenical Council were sent by Leo II. to the Spanish bishops. In the year 684 (that is, three years after the date of the sixth council) its decrees were examined by the Spanish bishops at the sixteenth synod of Toledo. The bishops lay down as a principle, that the decrees of the sixth council were "to be received, so far as they do not diverge from those of previous councils;" they compare them with the creeds, "approve and confirm them," and then announce them to the faithful as the law of their belief. (Mansi, xi. 1086, seq.) Now, here we have an examination precisely and minutely parallel to that of Leo's tome at Chalcedon; and yet the Spanish bishops cannot have imagined that they had "liberty to dissent" from the decrees of an Œcumenical Council. If their examination had ended otherwise, and they had come to the conclusion that the acts of the sixth council were not

consonant to the creeds, they would have cut themselves off from the unity of the Church, as the Egyptian bishops did by rejecting the definitions of Chalcedon.

13. The treatment of St. Ephrem in this last number of the tracts is certainly striking. The hymns of St. Ephrem, it allows, "come nearer to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception than other patristic sayings; but they do not necessarily imply it, any more than does Wordsworth's sonnet on the Virgin." Besides, "the parallel between Eve and Mary makes Mary capable of sin."

Now (1.) St. Ephrem explains the way in which Mary and Eve resemble each other, viz. "both were made innocent;" (2.) while he places infants who die in baptismal innocence in a class by themselves because they have never committed sin, he separates our blessed Saviour and His Mother even from them, since both, though of course for reasons infinitely different, are "*altogether* without stain." If these words are not sufficient to express the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, in what terms can it be expressed?

The parallel from Wordsworth hardly calls for any serious reply. A controversialist must be reduced to great straits when he takes the single expression of a Protestant poet (an expression, by the way, far more vague than any one of those I cited from St. Ephrem), and argues that because this poet, much of whose language, taken strictly, is pantheistic, may have meant very little by his poetical fancy about the blessed Virgin, therefore we may interpret in the same way a Father of the Church, who is, as Bickell shows, most careful and accurate when he treats of dogma, and particularly clear and definite when he speaks of original sin.

We must not forget St. Ephrem's close connection with the great Fathers of the fourth century, and the continuance of the same teaching with regard to the Immaculate Conception, if we would estimate the importance of the testimony he gives to a doctrine which the Church has since defined. It is impossible for fair-minded men, in the face of this evidence, to stigmatise the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as "an invention of the middle ages."

How it comes that some other Fathers do not appear to know the doctrine, or hold language actually inconsistent with it, I cannot be expected to explain here. It is a totally new question, and one which would lead us into a discussion of the whole theory of development. But I may refer to Fr. Newman's letter to Dr. Pusey (p. 34, seq.*) for a complete estimate of the Patristic doctrine on this privilege of the blessed Virgin.

14. The original tract attacked Fr. Weninger for "gross unfairness" in "omitting the *qualifying*" clause of the decree of Florence, "according as it is contained in the acts of general councils and in the holy canons." I replied, that the tract "misquoted" the words of the council, which are: "We define . . . that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles; that he is the true Vicar of Christ; that he is head of the whole Church, father and doctor of all Christians; that to him in [the person of] blessed Peter was given by our Lord Jesus Christ full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the universal Church, *as also is* contained in the acts of Œcumenical Councils

* See also Newman's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 15, note.

and in the holy canons." I added, that Fr. Weninger could not be justly charged with unfairness, since the last clause is merely explanatory, and does not qualify or diminish the force of that part of the decree which he had cited.

We have, then, two questions to settle: (1.) Is the true reading *quemadmodum et*, or *quemadmodum etiam*, *i.e.* according as is contained, or *as also* is contained? (2.) Supposing the latter to be the true reading, is the clause "*quemadmodum etiam*" merely explanatory, or does it really modify and limit the preceding words?

First, then, as to the true reading. On the side of "*quemadmodum etiam*" we have what Bossuet calls the original or "authenticum" of the decree in the Colbertine Library at Paris (Bossuet, *Def. Decl. Cler. Gall.* vi. 11); the "original" in the Vatican, examined by the great critic Mamachius, whose testimony will be found in a letter to Orsi (*Orsi de Romani Pontif. Auctor.* vi. 11); and the "original" at Florence, attested by the historian Cecconi, in the *Armonia*, Feb. 1, 1870. Moreover, of the three ms. copies of the decree in the Vatican, which belong to the fifteenth century, two have "*etiam*" in full, and the third has "*etiam*" written like *êt*, with a mark of abbreviation.* This last point is important, since it may serve to account for the way in which the reading "*quemadmodum et*" crept into the printed text of Blondus, and thus obtained some currency in the printed copies. This, then, is the ms. evidence for "*quemadmodum etiam*." For the reading in the tract I can find no trace of ms. evidence.

* Facsimiles of the clause were published in the *Civiltà* of Feb. 5, 1870.

My opponent seems to think he can dispose of this overwhelming evidence by saying that Janus "denies the ms. at Florence to be original, and asserts that "*etiam*" was unobtrusively substituted for "*et*." Here, beyond all doubt, the writer of the tract has neglected his own admirable rule of "verifying his references." He has adopted a charge of forgery and fraud, without even troubling himself to examine if it has any foundation. Janus does indeed doubt the original character of the ms. at Florence; but why? Solely on the authority of Bréquigny (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xliii. 306, seq.), whom he misrepresents. Bréquigny, for reasons which are very unsatisfactory, in opposition to the editors of the *Nouvelle Diplomatique* (v. 315, seq.), considers that none of the first four "originals" mentioned by Syropylus still exist; but he expressly maintains that the ms. at Florence is a copy made before the departure of the Greeks, authenticated by the golden seal of the Emperor and the genuine signatures of many Greek bishops. Bréquigny says nothing of the reading "*quemadmodum et*," or of tampering with the ms., of which there is no trace; and were I to admit the whole theory of Bréquigny in all its particulars, the evidence for the reading I have given would remain unaffected.

Next as to the second question. Taking the reading "*quemadmodum etiam*" for granted, is it true that the last clause is merely explanatory? I cannot be expected to waste many words over this part of the controversy. Janus says that, with this reading, the last clause is no more than a "confirmatory reference." Launoy (Ep. ad Rulland, par. 3) and Döllinger (*Consi-*

derations for the Bishops) are of the same opinion. Indeed, my opponent has already put himself out of court with regard to this second count. He cannot begin with accusing Catholics of substituting "quemadmodum etiam" for "quemadmodum et," and so altering the sense of the decree, and then contend that, whether "*et*" or "*etiam*" be the true reading, the sense is the same.*

15. Finally, I am told that I have failed to see the real point about the false Decretals. According to the writer of the tracts, this point is "that their reception gave to the Papacy in men's minds an immense advantage, inasmuch as now for the first time its claims appeared to be attested by a long series of ante-Nicene documents." The blindness of which I am accused is not peculiar to myself, for Möhler, Dollinger, Hefele, Hagemann; have argued just as I have done. But I have no wish to shelter myself behind great names, and I will try to put what I conceive to be the real points as clearly as possible.

I need not prove over again that the false Decretals were not got up in the interests of Rome, or that they were accepted by the Pope in good faith, or that Ultramontane critics were themselves foremost in exposing the real nature of the documents, or that the "forensic use" which they enjoyed after their spurious origin was

* The latest and most detailed account of the Florence mss. of the decree was published by Milanesi in the *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani*; Florence, 1857, pp. 196-225. He thinks the Florence ms. of which I have spoken in the text is the original, signed by the Council on the 5th of July 1439, and read in the church of S. Maria del Fiore next day. As to the Greek text, the writer of the tracts does not seem to know that the reading and translation of the clause in question have been the subject of much controversy. On this point Janus misrepresents Orsi, and misstates the facts.

detected, implied no judgment on their historical value. All this is now generally admitted. But the important question remains, and it is this: Did the Decretals transform the constitution of the Church, and introduce an order of things which continues still, although the forgery to which it owed its rise is abandoned in despair? Janus answers this question in the affirmative; but he admits that the great historians and canonists of Catholic Germany are on the other side (Janus, p. 97, English translation). It is difficult to confute Janus, for he brings no proof to support his theory, and contents himself with a sweeping assertion, that Phillips, Schulte, Döllinger, and others "betray a very imperfect knowledge of the Decretals." He found it convenient to forget that Hefele (*Tübingen Quartalschrift*, 1847, p. 585), who also believes that Pseudo-Isidor introduced nothing new, rests his opinion on a minute comparison of the false Decretals with ancient and genuine documents. But let us take the extracts from Pseudo-Isidor in the tract. They are assertions attributed to early Popes, that "the Apostolic See is the hinge, head, and ruler of all churches;" that the Apostolic See has the care of all the churches, and is to judge without appeal the causes of bishops throughout the world. The first of these principles is expressed still more strongly and definitely by the Council of Chalcedon. As to the other two, any one who turns to Fr. Newman's *Essays* (ii. 320, seq.), and reads the extracts he gives from Fr. Ryder's pamphlet, will find proof sufficient that they were familiar to the Church centuries before the false Decretals. These powers had been claimed by the Popes of the fourth and fifth centuries

as an integral part of the primacy in its divine institution. In the East they had been allowed, at least in principle; in the West, and it was there only that the false Decretals passed current, they had been long exercised to the full extent. Is there anything which the false Decretals put into the mouths of the Popes stronger than the following words of Pope Gelasius (492-496), in which he sums up much which lies scattered through documents earlier still? "The canons have decided," he says, writing to Faustus, "that no one whatever shall appeal from this See; and so provide that it shall judge the whole Church, and itself be judged of none. Timothy of Alexandria, Peter of Antioch, Peter, Paul, John, not one, but many, bearing the episcopal name, by the authority of the Apostolic See alone were cast down. Therefore, we are in no fear lest the Apostolic judgment be reversed, to which the voice of Christ, tradition, and the canons have given the decision of controversy throughout the whole Church"* (Mansi, viii. 16).

It may still be objected that anyhow the false Decretals stimulated the growth of the Papal power, because, though they introduced nothing new, they strengthened the existing system by a series of testimonies from the earliest ages of the Church. It must be remembered, however, that these Papal prerogatives were already acknowledged to be of divine institution, so that Pseudo-Isidor cannot have produced any essential difference in the general feeling about the primacy. Since the revival of letters, Rome, instead of "reaping benefit" from the forgery, has suffered severely from it, because

* The translation is Fr. Ryder's.

in the natural reaction after the discovery of the fraud, authority which "flowed," as Hefele says, "from the divine institution of the primacy," came to be associated with a mass of false documents which had deceived an uncritical age. It is absurd, moreover, to talk as if this forgery stood alone. A multitude of apocryphal writings are to be met with from the earliest times, and obtained not unfrequently universal currency in the Church. The Fathers, as well as the Schoolmen, appeal to spurious documents. Look, for example, at the great Lateran synod in 649. In the fifth session* the Council gives the patristic testimonies against the doctrine of the Monothelites. The most ancient authorities quoted are Dionysius the Areopagite and Justin Martyr. The works of the former, constantly appealed to in the controversy, are of course absolutely unauthentic. From Justin the Fathers of the Council quote four passages. Three are from works which Justin never wrote; the fourth resembles something in a book falsely ascribed to him, but the quotation is inaccurate. Yet this synod had great influence in deciding the fate of Monothelitism. About a case like this, I suppose, the writer of the tract would speak much as we should. He would allow that it was not possible to replace the passages from Dionysius and Justin by others of the same, or anything like the same, antiquity; but he would plead that the Monothelite heresy might be refuted by solid arguments from tradition, and that, in spite of human error, Divine Providence watched over the dogmatic decisions of the Church. Why should he be astonished if Catholics take the same line of defence

* Mansi, x. 1099, *et seq.*

about the primacy, and refuse to believe that a forgery defeated the promises of Christ ?

I cannot end without saying a something of the method, or rather absence of method, which characterises the new tract, and of the position which the author now assumes in regard to patristic doctrine. He professes to reverence tradition, but he gives no consistent view of the teaching of the Fathers. He takes the greatest pains to destroy the evidence of antiquity for the Holy See, and if that end is secured he is content. It is nothing to him if the interpretations which he gives make the Fathers contradict each other and contradict themselves. When, for instance, he has to meet strong expressions in the Fathers about the dignity of St. Peter, he has "no unwillingness to own" that this Apostle "held a place of high eminence among his brethren," or that the bishops of Rome occupied in the early Church "a primacy of honour and influence." But he explains a sentence of St. Ambrose as denying that St. Peter held even a primacy of honour, and forgets that on his own principle he is proving too much. He is confronted with the declaration of St. Ambrose and the Council of Aquileia, that the Roman Church is "the head of the whole world," and that from her the "privileges of communion stream forth to all the faithful;" and he thinks it enough to answer that Aquileia was a Western Council, as if the doctrine of St. Ambrose, a Western Father, had not been the very point in question. He cannot avoid the admission that St. Chrysostom had "a very high conception of St.

Peter's dignity" and "of his primacy," but asks where St. Chrysostom says "a word of any transmission of such primacy to the Roman bishop of his time"—a question which ignores the patristic doctrine found in some of the earliest Christian writings, that the power of the Apostles continues to live in the sees which they founded. St. Jerome uses the most strong language about the authority of the Pope; but the tract reminds us that he was an "impulsive Father," though, when the same Father says all bishops are equal, the writer of the tract makes little allowance for this impulsiveness, and insists upon taking his words in the most literal and exclusive sense, with a total disregard to the context. The Fathers of Chalcedon bear definite witness to the divine institution of Papal Supremacy, and it is impossible to dismiss Chalcedon as a Western Council; but the writer of the tracts takes refuge in vague language about "magnificent titles" and "profound respect" for "the chief bishop of the Church." This mode of exposition reaches its climax with regard to St. Ephrem; but on that point I have said enough.

After all, it is hard, on the boldest system of interpretation, to bring the Fathers into harmony with Anglicanism. The tract-writer feels he has to face the reproach: "Anglicans do not speak or feel to the See of Rome as Ambrose and Augustine" did, and he does not venture to deny it. "Rome has herself," he answers, "destroyed the *status quo*. The defeat of the Pope's canonical privileges is with himself." The primacy, however, according to the Fathers, is of divine not of

canonical institution ; and supposing that the appeal which Anglicans make to antiquity told ever so strongly against Rome, it would destroy their own position at the same time. Their Church, by their own confession, is not the Church of the Fathers, and it does not answer to the idea the Fathers had of the Church of Christ. On the Anglican theory, the Church which Christ founded has ceased to exist. The guardianship of the Vine instituted by our Saviour Himself (Council of Chalcedon), the authority of the Head of the Church "founded on the sacred Scriptures" (St. Augustine and the African bishops), has been for centuries in abeyance. In the mind of St. Ambrose the "privileges of communion flowed forth to all the faithful" from Rome. Anglicans number themselves among the faithful, and claim the privileges of communion; but they cannot pretend to derive them from the same source as St. Ambrose. In short, the theory of the Fathers is hopelessly gone—at least for a long time to come; meantime Anglicans have devised another theory, which has every right to its place among the "variations of Protestantism," but which becomes ridiculous when it affects to represent the early Church.

It is an old feature of Anglican controversy to "throw dust in the eyes of the world; and to make an attack upon the Papacy and its claims pass for an apology for the Church of England." This policy has often had a temporary success: it may have a permanent success with some "who have no time for deeper investigation," and blindly accept the dicta of their leaders; or, again, with others who only search in the

records of the Church to find arguments for foregone conclusions. But "to imbibe into the intellect the ancient Church as a fact is," as Fr. Newman says, "either to be a Catholic or an infidel" (*Anglican Difficulties*, 320); and historical investigation must be fatal in the end to a system which can satisfy neither faith nor reason.

THE END.

ANGLICAN MISREPRESENTATIONS:

A REPLY TO

“ROMAN MISQUOTATIONS.”

BY

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OF THE ORATORY OF ST. PHILIP NEEL.



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ANGLICAN MISREPRESENTATIONS.

A TRACT has lately appeared entitled *Roman Misquotations*, and signed with the initials of two Protestant clergymen, members of the High-Church party, and professors in the University of Oxford. If its object were confined to proving that Catholic writers have occasionally made inaccurate quotations or used untenable arguments, we should have been content to leave the matter alone, for the same charge may be brought, and brought with justice, against writers on every side and on every kind of question. A man of sense does not cease to believe in the Gospels because he feels obliged to admit that Christian apologists have sometimes taken lines of defence now generally abandoned, or urged reasons which will not bear examination. But the scope of the authors of this tract is far wider than the title seems to imply. They deal with some of the palmary proofs for the supremacy of the Holy See, and they try to show that they are not only insufficient, but so absolutely worthless, that they can only deceive those who are credulous enough to take them on trust without consulting the originals. As a matter of fact, they themselves do not give the originals. They give distorted interpretations of the originals, and with unscrupulous audacity they lead their readers to suppose that those versions

are the only ones which any man of learning could possibly maintain. They profess to write for those who have no time for deeper investigation. If so, they are bound to state that they are giving one interpretation, and only one out of many. As it is, they begin with an appeal to the ignorance of their readers, and they presume upon it to the utmost. This is a grave charge, but we advance it deliberately, and we are confident that we can make it good.

On the criticism of Father Weninger, we will make but one remark in passing. His statement is not that all the Fathers said the Pope was infallible, but that they thought so; *i. e.* from the doctrine explicitly stated by certain Fathers of the early centuries, he infers, rightly or wrongly, that in those ages the infallibility of the Holy See was the universal doctrine of the Church. To say that he trusts to his readers omitting to verify the references is foolish; to accuse him of 'notorious falsehood' is rude and violent language, which will convince nobody unless he is convinced already.

1. With this preface we come to the famous words of Irenæus, the first point of real moment in the pamphlet, and by far the most important subject of which it treats. The labour and care with which learned Protestants have endeavoured to explain away this testimony show how keenly they appreciate its importance. St. Irenæus wrote his great work against heresies towards the end of the second century. He transmitted the tradition he had received from Polycarp, and Polycarp in turn from St. John. He was a western Bishop, but he was born at Smyrna; he wrote in Greek, and the heretics he attacked had their stronghold in Asia Minor; so that he is a witness, as Bossuet says, at once for the East and West. His book does not exist in the original, but we

have a translation almost contemporaneous; for it is used by Tertullian; and Stieren, one of the last Protestant editors, shows, from a comparison of the Latin with the Greek fragments which still remain, how extremely literal it is. Indeed, like the 'Italic' version of the Scriptures, it is literal almost to barbarism. If then Irenæus really does testify to the supremacy of Rome, the weight of his evidence can hardly be overrated.

To the writers of the tract, however, this passage presents little difficulty. They admit, that according to St. Irenæus, "with the Roman Church, because of its superior preëminence (perhaps antiquity), every church (that is, the faithful everywhere) must needs agree." But they add, that the last words, "sometimes omitted" by Catholics, "in which (Roman) Church the tradition which comes from the Apostles has always been preserved by those who are everywhere," destroy the whole force of the argument which Catholics build upon this passage. The last clause makes it "clear that, in the mind of Irenæus, the Church of Rome was, as it were, a lake, into which, from other quarters, the streams of tradition were constantly pouring."

Now it is evident that the meaning attributed to St. Irenæus rests upon the assumption that the concluding words can bear one interpretation only, and that the interpretation given in the tract. We believe it can be shown that the interpretation given there is untenable; but this much is certain, that it is set aside contemptuously by a multitude of learned men for whom High Churchmen generally profess profound respect. If so, the reasoning of the tract falls to the ground, for it assumes the very point it has got to prove; and its authors are convicted of a dishonest suppression of the truth, and of an attempt to persuade those who take

their assertions on trust that they have made out their case, while, in fact, they have proved nothing.

The Tractarian party have been loud, especially of late, in praise of German Catholic theologians. Let us see then how these great men have understood the text. We shall begin with Möhler, the founder of modern Catholic learning in Germany, and probably of all German Catholics the best known and most esteemed in England.* He has translated and commented upon the words of St. Irenæus twice—once in his book on the unity of the Church (*Einheit der Kirche*, § 260-277), and again in his lectures published posthumously at Munich. In both his rendering is precisely the same. We quote the following version from the latter: 'For with this Church, on account of its preëminent authority, all Churches (*i. e.* the faithful wherever they are) necessarily agree; for through it (the Roman Church) the apostolic tradition has always been preserved by the faithful, wherever they are.' Thus Möhler regards the last words as strengthening instead of stultifying the Catholic interpretation. The Roman Church is the appointed guardian of Catholic tradition, and because the faithful necessarily conform themselves to its doctrine, they too preserve, by virtue of their union with it, the apostolical tradition. In theological language, the active insures the passive infallibility of the Church.

Döllinger (*Church History*, English translation, vol. i.

* 'I recollect Mr. Keble pointing out to me a fact which the Council has since verified, that the great work of Möhler's symbolism was really the philosophic exponent of the English High-Church party.' *The Church of England and the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility*, by A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin. We do not pretend to divine the meaning of this astonishing sentence, if indeed it has any definite meaning at all; but we suppose it is meant as a compliment to Möhler, and so far adds force to the *argumentum ad homines* which we have drawn from his words.

p. 256) adds a careful review of the different Protestant interpretations of the text, which he describes as 'attempts to wrest the words from their evident signification.' His own view is the same as that of his illustrious friend. 'It is necessary that the faithful of every Church should be in communion with this Church, on account of its more powerful authority, in which communion the faithful of the whole world have preserved the apostolic tradition.' Hefele, writing in 1864 (*Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik*, vol. ii. p. 48), says the Protestant attempts to pervert the text proceed "from sectarian prejudice" and "puritanical blindness" (pietistisirende Blindheit), the particular explanation given by the writers of the tract he sets aside as 'ridiculous' (lächerlich). Lastly, Friedrich (*Kirchen Geschichte Deutschlands*, i. 409), only two years before the meeting of the Vatican Council, speaks in the same sense. "Interpret as we will," he says, "the 'propter potioorem principalitatem,' Irenæus testifies to the fact of the preëminence of the Roman Church in his time; for this, even omitting the phrase in question, is clearly expressed in the passage, since it declares that every Church must unconditionally and of necessity agree with the Roman Church and measure its doctrine by her standard, for she is the guardian of apostolical tradition. . . But to the mind of Irenæus this tradition of the Roman Church herself is essential and fundamental for the whole Church." We might have pointed out, in addition, that the view of Bossuet,* who uses Irenæus to support his theory of papal indefectibility (*Defens. Gall. Cler. x. 6*), of De Marca (*Concord. lib.*

* Bossuet's translation of the passage in his great sermon on the unity of the Church is very similar to that of Döllinger in his *Church History*.

i. 2, 6), and the Benedictine Massuet is much the same as that of the German theologians whom we have cited. It is true that Döllinger and Friedrich have since changed their opinion; but to appeal from the learned works of those writers to pamphlets issued in the heat of a furious contest is appealing from Philip sober to Philip drunk.

We have done more than enough to prove the hypocrisy of protesting against partiality, and then palming off an interpretation opposed by such weight of authority as if it were self-evident. Let us endeavour next to test the intrinsic merits of the two explanations. The Catholic interpretation is consistent with the context. St. Irenæus tells the Gnostics that the whole visible Church is against them. They can find this out by consulting the Apostolic Churches; but it would take a long time to visit them all. There is a shorter way at hand. Let them ascertain the tradition of the Roman Church: and if that is against them, the Universal Church is against them too; for with Rome, because of its preëminence, every Church must agree, and by virtue of communion with Rome, all the faithful preserve the true doctrine. It is also consistent with the use of language in the Latin Irenæus. Schneemann, in his careful and scholarlike treatise (*De Sancti Irenæi Testimonio*), shows that in each of the twenty-three places of the Latin version where it occurs 'principalitas' signifies 'dominion.' It is used *e.g.* for the supremacy of God over all, 'principalitatem habet in omnibus Deus' (iv. 38, 3); of Christ over things on earth and under the earth (iv. 20, 2); for Christ's headship over the Church (iii. 16, 6); for that attributed by the Gnostics to the spirit of light (iv. 35, 2). We need not discuss the meaning of 'convenire;' for our opponents do not

seem inclined to dispute it. We find the preposition with the same causal force again and again in the Latin Irenæus (cf. *e.g.* 'Salutem in eo dedit hominibus,' lib. iii. 12, 4; 'ut quod perdideramus in Adam hoc in Christo reciperemus,' lib. iii. 18, 1). It may be illustrated from St. Optatus (*De Schism. Don.* ii. 2), 'in qua una cathedra (sc. Petri) unitas ab omnibus servaretur;' and from the formulary of Hormisdas, 'in qua (the Holy See) est integra et verax Christianæ religionis soliditas.' 'Undique,' it may be said, is from all sides, not everywhere; but in the rude Latin of the version of Irenæus, 'ubique' and 'undique' are used indiscriminately, as *πανταχοῦ* and *πανταχόθεν* in later Greek. And, in fact, two learned Protestants, Thiersch and Stieren, suppose that in this place 'undique' is equivalent to 'ubique.' On the other hand, the meaning which the tract forces upon St. Irenæus makes him inconsistent with himself and with common sense. With himself; for on this theory he begins with an appeal to Apostolic Churches, and suddenly transfers his appeal to Rome, not as the chief of Apostolic Churches, but as the central point to which people flowed from every part of the world. With common sense; for how could he expect to convince obstinate heretics that Rome must have the true Apostolic tradition because of the fortuitous concourse of Christians to the imperial city? Heretics as well as Catholics flocked to Rome, and what security was there that the Roman Church might not be infected by their errors? St. Gregory Nazianzen speaks in lofty terms of the grandeur of Constantinople, 'the eye of the world, the emporium of the faith.' But does he consider that this concourse of strangers made its faith, and imposed a necessity on other Christians of agreeing with it? Far from it. He says he himself had done a great thing in

supporting the faith of such a city, and especially at a time when it was attacked by evil tongues on every side (Benedict. ed. vol. i. p. 755, d).

Two objections remain. If our case is so plain, why have some Catholic controversialists omitted the last clause? And how, if St. Irenæus believed in the supremacy, did he venture to rebuke Pope Victor? To the first we answer, that as a rule the passage is given entire, *e.g.* in Ballerini, *de Primatu*; Franzelin, *de Scriptura et Traditione*; Allies, *See of St. Peter*; Archbishop Manning, the *Vatican Council*; Deschamps, *L'Infaillibilité et le Concile*; while two of our theologians, whose character for learning and honesty the boldest will not dare to impugn—Hefele (*loc. cit.*) and Father Newman (*Development*, p. 22)—give it in the mutilated form, and this for an obvious reason. When they wrote, the controversy had chiefly turned on the meaning of the earlier words ‘principalitas’ and ‘convenire.’ The second objection rests on the vulgar confusion of infallibility in decisions on faith with absolute inerrancy. No Ultramontane supposes that in a matter of discipline, like the Paschal controversy, the Pope may not act in an ill-advised or imperious way. Baronius told Clement VIII., whose confessor he was at the time, that if he did not absolve Henri Quatre he must choose another confessor, but Baronius was a pretty decided Ultramontane. Indeed, St. Irenæus attests the supremacy of the Pope, while, true to his name, he objects to an imprudent way of exercising it. Had he looked upon Victor as on a par with the Bishops of Asia Minor, he would not have exhorted Victor not to cut them off—ὡς μὴ ἀπορέμναι—he would have ridiculed such an attempt as absurd.*

* Cf. the strong expressions of Tertullian after he was a Montanist, ‘Audio etiam edictum esse propositum et quidem preemtorium. Pon-

If in conclusion we turn to the Protestant side of the literature which has arisen on this text, we shall see the straits to which learned Protestants are driven, and how far they are from pretending to feel the confidence which is assumed by the writers of the tract. Grabe in the last century took 'principalitas' for civil principedom; a theory, Bossuet says, which hardly needs refutation: 'Ludunt qui potentioris principalitatis nomine Urbis amplitudinem designari volunt' (*Def. Declar. Cler. Gallicani*, lib. x. 6). He also supposed that Christians were constantly going on embassies to the Roman emperors,—a fiction now generally abandoned. Neander argued that 'convenire' might mean not agree with Rome, but go to Rome physically; and seeing the difficulty of reconciling this with the end of the sentence, he proposed to substitute 'observata' for 'conservata,' an emendation made without a shred of evidence, and retracted in his second edition. There, he says, it would be best with Gieseler (3d ed. *Kirchen Geschichte*, p. 177, note) to suppose an error of translation. After all, he is far from satisfied. Rather than admit the Catholic interpretation, he is ready to suspect interpolation, though he timidly protests that his position 'would not be endangered by admitting a high antiquity to the Catholic element.' Semler, an acute and learned rationalist, did not shrink even from the desperate theory of interpolation, in which he has found none to follow him. No wonder Friedrich

tifex sc. Maximus quod est episcopus episcoporum edicit' (*de Præscript.* 36); and see the able treatment of Tertullian's evidence for Papal authority in Hagemann, *Römische Kirche, in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, a work of profound learning. Fr. Newman considers that 'a cumulative argument can be drawn from the Ante-Nicene testimonies in favour of the active and the doctrinal authority of Rome, much stronger than any argument for the same era for the doctrine of the Real Presence' (*Development*, p. 23).

calls St. Irenæus the 'crux of Protestant theology.' 'Undique effugere conantur,' St. Irenæus says of the heretics of his own time; and his words apply with undiminished force to the heretics of our own.

We have dwelt at length on this point not only because of its extreme importance, but also because we set out with a charge of *suppressio veri*, and we wished to make it good at starting. The rest of the tract we can afford to dispatch with greater brevity.

2. With regard to the words ascribed "time was" to St. Cyprian and "now given up as an interpolation," 'Has he any confidence that he is in the Church who deserts the See of Peter, on which the Church is built?' the tract furnishes unwittingly an instance of the conscientiousness of our great controversialists. They occur in some old mss. of St. Cyprian's work on the unity of the Church; they are quoted as St. Cyprian's in a letter of Pelagius II. to the Bishops of Istria, during the schism of the three chapters. They were retained in several critical editions, and cited as genuine by the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682, of whom Bossuet was one. Baluze proposed to expunge them; but the Maurist editor restored them to the text; and while he declines to pronounce as to their authenticity, shows from a comparison of other passages that they represent the sense of St. Cyprian, and are a gloss rather than an interpolation. Later still the great critic, Petrus Ballerini, defended their authenticity. Still, after all, they are at least doubtful; and Ballerini (*De Primat.* xiii. 3) is too honest and too confident in the strength of his cause to press a doubtful argument. It is evident that the Anglican position cannot be defended with the same candour. The tract admits that St. Cyprian "wrote of the Roman Church as the source of the unity of the

priesthood," but explains him to mean, "that it was founded by St. Peter, in whom that unity was gathered up and expressed." A source gathers up nothing; it diffuses itself in the stream; and if the See of Rome is the source of sacerdotal unity, then the unity of the Church springs from Rome, or, to drop the metaphor, depends upon the union of the individual Bishops with Rome. More than this, the writers of the tract do not quote the sentence entire. Cyprian says (Ep. 55) the heretics, after setting up a false bishop, "venture to sail ad cathedram Petri et Ecclesiam principalem,—the see of Peter and the chief Church," as Hefele renders it, "the source of sacerdotal unity; thither they dare to carry letters from schismatic and profane persons, forgetting that it is the Romans whose faith is praised by the Apostle, and to whom faithlessness can have no access." Thus, with the same idea, and almost with the same word (*principalis*) as Irenæus, he makes the unity of the Church depend on union with Rome. On Peter our Lord built His Church, and ordained that unity should begin from him ('unde instituit originem unitatis,' Ep. 73). The unity of each particular Church depends on union with the Bishop; that of the whole Church on the union of the Bishops with each other. The quotations already given make it clear that he considered Peter to be the centre of this unity; and when he calls Rome the "root and womb of the Catholic Church," he makes it no less clear that he identified Peter with the Roman Church of his own day. The force of these words cannot be evaded on the theory that St. Cyprian meant only to distinguish the true from the schismatical bishop. A priest might warn an English Catholic settling in Holland, who was in danger of being perverted by the Jansenist sect, that he must communi-

cate with the true Archbishop of Utrecht if he wished to remain in the Catholic Church; would he add, 'The Church of Utrecht is the root and womb of the Catholic Church'? Again, it is false that the words in Ep. 55, 'where faithlessness can have no access,' simply refer to Rom. viii. 1. St. Cyprian first says that the faith of the Romans was praised by the Apostle, and then that to them 'faithlessness can have no access.' The last clause has no resemblance to anything in St. Paul; it is Cyprian's own sentiment. The tract endeavours to break its force by putting the word 'and'—on what authority we know not—in brackets.

F. Newman (*Development*, p. 24) remarks of Cyprian's resistance to Pope Stephen, that it is to be considered 'whether Cyprian's doctrine is not more weighty than his act, and whether he was not already in error on the main point under discussion.' Besides, Coustant (*Epist. Pontif.* p. 253 a) proves beyond all doubt that Cyprian considered the controversy to be one of discipline and usage, not of faith; while it may be argued—at least with great probability from the fact that Stephen did not proceed to actual excommunication—that he never meant to give a final decision on the question.

3. We reserve the question of the Breviary and the False Decretals to the end, and pass to the attack on Cardinal Wiseman. The Cardinal quotes the words of the Council of Sardica in their letter to Pope Julius: 'It shall seem most proper if, from all the provinces, the priests of the Lord refer themselves to the head, *i.e.* to the See of Peter.' The tract replies, that Sardica was a western council, and charges the Cardinal with omitting to state that a 'limited power of receiving appeals had been granted to Julius out of reverence to the memory of Peter. What insolence,' they continue, 'for . . . mere

vicars of the Pope to affect to bestow a measure of appellate jurisdiction on him who, by divine right, was absolute ruler of Church and Bishops!' On this we remark, first of all, that the Fathers of Sardica are giving a reason for the fact that Pope Julius was not personally present at a Council which was convoked from all parts of the world, and which would have been œcumenical, had not the Eusebians withdrawn before any decrees were passed.* Bishops from all parts of the world were summoned, but the Pope himself did not appear; and this was natural, for, as the Council says, 'from each and every province, "de singulis quibusque provinciis," bishops should refer to the See of Peter.' Again, the allusion to Peter makes it likely that the Council had no idea of limiting appeals to the West.

But the point to which we wish to draw special attention is this. The Cardinal states what is absolutely certain, viz. that the Council acknowledged that there was a final appeal to Rome. But, according to the tract, he committed a sin of omission. He ought to have added that the Council bestowed this power. Now, if this is certain, of course it ought to be fairly stated. If, on the other hand, it is far from certain—if it is denied by authorities whom Anglicans profess to regard as learned and impartial, and if the writers of the tract do not give the reader, 'who has no time for deeper investigation,' a hint of this—then the confident accusations made against the Cardinal fall to the ground, and their favourite charge of 'gross unfairness' rebounds against the writers themselves.

Hefele sums up on this part of the discussion on Can. 3, 4, 5, as follows (*Concilien Geschichte*, i. 458).

* Natalis Alexander held (wrongly, as we believe) that it was actually œcumenical.

“The first question which arose was this: were the rights of the Pope, mentioned in the canons, first bestowed upon him by the Council of Sardica in such sense, that before that date he was not in possession of them? This was maintained by the Gallicans De Marca, Quesnel,* Dupin, Richer, as also by Febronius and his followers. But that this is not the case; that, on the contrary, the right of the Pope to receive appeals is involved in the very idea of the Primacy, and consequently in its divine institution; that, as a matter of fact, it had been exercised before the Sardican Synod, and was only expressly declared or defined then,—all this has been shown, in my opinion triumphantly, by Natalis Alexander, himself a Gallican, and after him by the Ballerini, by Palma, Roskovany, now Bishop of Waitzen in Hungary, and by others. The formula, ‘Si placet,’ here, as elsewhere in the synods, does not mean, ‘If it seems good to you, we will introduce something new;’ in dogmatic utterances this sense would be absolutely heterodox; but, ‘If you think it good, we will explain or declare this or that’ (cf. Nat. Alex. iv. 463 a). Similarly, the words of the third Canon, ‘Sancti Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus,’ do not furnish sufficient ground for assuming that a privilege entirely new has been decreed to the Pope. For every express recognition even of an ancient right of the Pope is made in every case from reverence to Peter, to whom our Lord intrusted the primacy.” Hefele ends by observing that, at the time of the Council, the

* Quesnel, Richer, and Dupin must not be taken as representatives of Gallicanism. Richer was deprived of his syndicate in the Sorbonne, and condemned in two French councils. Quesnel was an excommunicated Jansenist. Dupin is attacked fiercely by Bossuet for his irreverence, not only to Popes, but to Councils, Fathers, and even to the articles of the Catholic faith.

right of appeal to Rome was not universally recognised, and was, in fact, expressly impugned by the Eusebians. If we remember that Athanasius treats the Eusebians (much to Neander's distaste) as Arians pure and simple, we shall not attach much weight to this exception. Indeed Hefele, earlier in the same volume, instances them as heretics 'who first denied the primacy when it was against themselves.'

In treating of appeals to Rome, it is necessary to distinguish between the right of revision vested in the Pope and his exercise of that right. The former belongs to him by divine institution; the latter is a matter of discipline, of prudence, and of custom. Thus, in the case of Apiarius, the African Bishops, as Hefele shows (ii. 107) objected to the appeal of priests to Rome, but not of Bishops.* And long after the false decretals St. Bernard says to Eugenius III., speaking of monastic exemptions: 'By doing this you prove that you have the fulness of power; scarcely, perhaps, that you act with full justice. You do this because you can; whether you ought is doubtful' (*De Consid.* iii. 4). And again: 'All the world appeals to you, and that fact witnesses to the primacy which is yours alone. But you, if you are wise, will find your delight, not in your primacy, but in what is profitable' (loc. cit. 2).

4. The Cardinal also urges the restitution of Eustathius to his see by Papal authority, and the words of St. John Chrysostom in his treatise on the priesthood. It is plain, "from the context," if we believe the writers of the tract, that St. John Chrysostom understood by the successors of St. Peter, Bishops as such. Now, in the first place, the context would prove as well that all priests are successors of the Apostles. And next, when St. John

* This is proved at length in Ballerini, Opp. S. Leonis, ii. 963.

Chrysostom asserts in the same passage Christ willed that St. Peter should be "endowed with power, and should far exceed the other Apostles," it is plain, he cannot mean that either bishops or priests are, in the full sense, his successors. The full power of Apostles does not descend to ordinary Bishops, much less the special preëminence which St. Peter had over the Apostolic College. Still, though it is absurd to bring this under the head of misquotations, and would be more absurd still to impute bad faith, we are inclined to admit that the argument which the Cardinal bases on the words is scarcely convincing. But is there no other proof that St. Chrysostom regarded the special prerogative of Peter as living on in the Church? His own appeal to Rome is the answer to this question. No one felt more strongly than he the iniquity of interference on the part of Bishops in foreign provinces. Even his opponent Theophilus, though he transgressed it in practice, invoked the principle that a Bishop should not meddle with matters beyond his territory—*ὑπερόγιον μὴ κρίνειν δίκην*. Yet in his troubles Chrysostom appeals, and that without apology, to Innocent. It is objected that his letter was addressed to the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia. But it was the custom of the Popes at that time to give their decision in Roman or Italian synods. Unless it was as assessors of the Holy See, on what theory could Italian Bishops presume to decide the quarrels of two Eastern patriarchates? But we are not left to *à priori* reasoning. Embassies came both from Chrysostom and Theophilus to Innocent, and, as far as we know, to Innocent alone. Innocent summoned no Italian synod, though he wished for a general council, and meanwhile he received both Chrysostom and Theophilus into communion, and by his own authority "cancelled" the sentence

of the synodus ad quercum.—'Αθήνας is the word Palladius uses, and the Calvinist Basnage tries to explain the word away; but we doubt if the writers of the tract will follow him in this attempt. So clear is it that Chrysostom really made his appeal to the Holy See, that Bossuet (*Def.* ix. 13), even when arguing from this very case, although of course on other grounds, against the Ultramontane position, describes the letter just as the Cardinal does, as addressed to Innocent. Of Milan and Aquileia he makes no mention.

5. The tract admits that Eustathius of Sebaste was restored to his see at the Council of Tyana on producing a certificate from Pope Liberius, but professes to show, from a comparison of Basil's Ep. 263 with 224 and 226, that this certificate attested that Eustathius had signed the Nicene Creed at Rome, and that the Council merely acted on the certificate. To judge from Basil's own statement (Ep. 263), he did not find things quite so clear. "What was proposed to him by the blessed Bishop Liberius, and what he consented to, we are not aware, save only that he brought a letter of restitution. This he laid before the synod, and was restored." Furthermore, when he relapsed into heresy, the Bishops of the Pontic diocese did not dare to depose a man who had been cleared by apostolical authority. 'From the same quarter,' as St. Basil puts it (*loc. cit.*), 'which had given him the power of injuring the Churches, the correction of the evil must come; a letter must be sent to the Churches stating the terms on which he had been received into communion, and explaining besides how, now that the sentence was reversed, the grace which he had received from the Fathers then in synod was made null.' The tract admits at the outset that this "looks a strong case." It is a strong case, and nothing has been done to abate its strength.

6. That St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom communicated with Bishops not fully recognised by Rome is true ; but it is not to the point. Meletius had been made Bishop of Antioch in a most suspicious way. After his death, possibly in spite of their own agreement, and certainly to the grief of St. Gregory Nazianzen, the Greeks continued the schism. But it is a grave error to suppose, as is sometimes done, that Meletius was in the position of the Donatists in the fourth century, or the schismatic Greeks in this. Rome and Egypt did not formally recognise Meletius, because this would have amounted to condemning the title of Paulinus to the see ; but the Pope did not bring matters to an extremity, and Meletius remained in what has been called mediate communion with Rome, *i.e.* Rome communicated with Bishops, who in turn communicated with Meletius. How real this distinction is, and how important for the doctrine of the unity of the Church, may be seen from the taunt St. Optatus (ii. 6) makes to the Donatists : ' If you have one who communicates with the apostolic Churches, through that one you communicate with the rest of the bishops (*ceteris angelis*), through these Bishops with the Churches I have mentioned, and through the Churches with us.' It may have been in this sense that Meletius declared to St. Jerome that he adhered to Pope Damasus (Ep. ad Dam. 10), which, by the way, shows how well both he and his Arian rival Euzoius understood the necessity of connection with the centre of unity. Further, in 379, Meletius signed an exposition of faith drawn up the year before by Damasus in a Roman synod, and returned it to Rome with additions. There it was received and deposited in the archives.* Such

* Coustant, 477. See also, for an account of the Codex which was first published by Holstenius, Ballerini, Opp. S. Leonis, iii. clxxv.

an interchange of letters would have been impossible, according to the discipline of those times, had the two Churches been absolutely out of communion with each other.

7. We come next to the three great Doctors of the Latin Church, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. It is not worth while disputing about the quotation from St. Ambrose in the Catechism of Trent. The catechism was drawn up long before the Benedictine edition by theologians, who, like all their contemporaries, Catholic and Protestant, were not endowed with prophetic foresight of the results which criticism would reach more than a century afterwards. If Father Weninger substitutes Rome for Italy, it proves that a Catholic may be inaccurate, though we should hardly have thought the point worth proving. But all this has scarcely any connection with the main point at issue. Learned Catholics have put forward St. Ambrose as a witness to the supremacy. The tract implies that they have no right to do so. He says, indeed, "Where Peter is, there is the Church;" but according to the tract he is thinking of Peter's confession, which was the foundation of the Church; and when he speaks "against those who have not Peter's heritage because they have not Peter's seat, which they rend asunder," the tract answers that "he alludes to the Novatian schism." Moreover, he says in express terms that Peter took the first place "in confession, not in office—in faith, not in order."

It is certain, however, that it was not only from the accidental existence of the Novatian schism that Ambrose insisted on union with Rome as the test of Catholicity. He mentions, to the praise of his brother Sabyrus, that when he doubted the orthodoxy of a Bishop, he asked him if he communicated "with the Catholic

Bishops, that is, with the Roman See"*—a strangely-inverted order, if communion with the Roman See was no more than a temporary test of Catholicity, like communion with any other Bishop, who was orthodox at the time. The words of the Council of Aquileia,† at which Ambrose presided, and of which he was the soul, are more explicit still. They implore the emperors of the East and West "not to suffer harm to fall on the Roman Church, the head of the whole Roman world, and the sacred faith of the Apostles, since it is thence that the privileges of venerable communion stream forth for all the faithful." Here the supremacy of Rome is asserted for the East as well as the West. Rome is the centre of unity, and, what is most to our purpose, Rome and the faith of the Apostles are identified. It is objected that St. Ambrose (*De Incarn.* v. 33) speaks of St. Peter as taking the first place in confession, not in office—in faith, not in order; but, if we look at the context, we shall see that there is nothing here out of harmony with the rest of his doctrine on the primacy. St. Peter, he says, in answering our Lord's question, and confessing His divinity, exercised a primacy (*primatum egit*) of faith, not of order. It is plain that, while Christ was still in the midst of His disciples, there could be no question of "exercising a primacy." It was not till He ascended that there was any need for an Apostle to act as His vicar. His commentary on Luke x. 24 shows that this distinction was present to the mind of St. Ambrose. "Christ questioned Peter," are the words of St. Ambrose, "that He might teach him whom after His ascension He was to leave as the vicar of His love (*vicarium sui amoris*). He is set before all, because alone of all he makes confession."

* i. 47.

† Generally printed with the works of St. Ambrose.

That is, the confession was the reason for which Christ chose him to an office, which he was to exercise after the ascension.

In the light of this exposition, we can see what St. Ambrose meant when he said the Novatians "had not Peter's heritage because they have not Peter's seat." The Novatians felt they must be united to Rome if they were even to pretend to be in union with the Church, and accordingly they set up a schismatical Bishop there. But St. Ambrose tells them they have not Peter's heritage because they have not Peter's seat: they were only rending Peter's See asunder. Just in the same way the Donatists set up a false bishop at Rome, and boasted they had "some part in the city." Hence the pains St. Optatus takes to show (c. 2) that Siricius is the true successor of Peter, and that the Donatists are not really in communion with the chair of Peter, "the head of the Apostles," in "which unity is to be preserved by all." Anglicans make violent efforts to escape from St. Ambrose, and in the end they find the forces against them doubled. The evidence of a Catholic Doctor is backed by the strong, because unwilling, witness of the heretics of his time.

8. Our opponents confess, as if they were making a generous admission, that St. Jerome's words, in a letter to Pope Damasus, Ep. 15, "are certainly strong: when requesting direction in a difficulty, he declares St. Peter to be the rock." It would have been as well to add, that his difficulty was about the use of the theological term 'hypostasis,' and that he was afraid the formula 'tres hypostases' common in the East might be a cloak for heresy. Again, even the reader "who has no time for deeper investigation," can scarcely fail to know that the words given in the tract are by no means the

strongest used by the saint. The whole passage runs thus: 'Following none but Christ,' he says, 'I am joined in communion with your Holiness, that is, with the chair of Peter. On that rock I know the Church was built. Whosoever eateth the Lamb out of this house is profane. If any one is not in the ark of Noe, he will perish when the deluge prevails.' And a little later: 'I know not Vitalis; I will have none of Meletius: Paulinus is strange to me.' 'Whoso gathereth not with you scattereth; that is, he who is not on Christ's side is with Antichrist.' No doubt, like Catholic theologians, he held that the Church was built on all the Apostles, and that all received the keys,* though, like them and unlike Anglicans, he also held that "one was chosen" (manifestly by our Lord) "that the occasion of schism might be taken away"—a phrase without meaning unless Peter was to be the centre of unity. But there is no need to urge this point. The letter to Damasus makes St. Jerome's opinion plain to all except those who shut their eyes.

But "Roman arguers" do not "dwell upon Jerome's letter to Evangelus (Second Letter, 145), in which he says that 'the authority of the world is greater than that of the city; that wherever a Bishop is, he has the same episcopal office, and that all (Bishops) are successors of the Apostles.'" They do not dwell upon it, and for this good reason, that it has nothing to do with the matter. Some one had presumed to set deacons above

* When Catholic theologians say that all the Apostles received the keys, they mean in subordination to Peter. But the Fathers make the same limitation; cf. Tertull. scorp. 10. Remember that our Lord here left the keys to Peter, and through him to the Church. Optat. contr. Parmen. vii. 3. Peter alone received the keys to impart them to the rest.

priests. St. Jerome writes to Evangelus that deacons were separated by an immense interval from priests, who make the Body and Blood of Christ, while priests differ from Bishops in one thing only, viz. the power of conferring holy order. He argues from Scripture and tradition, and concludes the first division of his letter by reminding Evangelus that if he wants authority, "that of the world is greater than that of the city." He is not thinking of the teaching of the Pope; for none of the phrases with which the Fathers are used to describe Papal authority, *cathedra Petri*, &c. occur. Nor had any Pope ever tried to ignore the distinction between priests and deacons. And if he had attributed to the Bishop of Eugubium the same authority, either in doctrine or discipline, his opinions since he wrote to Damasus must have undergone a revolution. In the next section he lets us see in what sense he preferred the authority of the world to that of Rome. The presumption of deacons had been excused on the ground of the Roman custom, by which a priest was ordained on the testimony of a deacon (*ad testimonium diaconi*). Jerome answers, this is the custom of one city only; that there it had arisen merely from the small number of deacons, and was neutralised by another Roman custom, according to which priests sat in the church while deacons stood; so that, in fact, Jerome thought it safer to argue from the ritual customs of the Church in general than of Rome in particular, and that the latter had not in themselves any binding force upon the faithful. We do not know anything against this in the decrees of the Vatican Council.

The episcopal office is the same at Rome and at Birmingham. When the schismatical Nikon bishop became patriarch of Moscow, he was reconsecrated,

but this is not the practice of the Church of God. That Bishops are successors of the Apostles is a truth taught in our penny Catechism. That each Bishop, however, does not succeed to the plenitude of the Apostolic jurisdiction is evident; for a Bishop is limited to a particular diocese, though the collective episcopate succeeds to the universal jurisdiction of the Apostolic College. Nor do Bishops become, on Ultramontane principles, the mere vicars of the Pope. The distinction between Vicars Apostolic and Ordinaries is notorious. Bishops with ordinary jurisdiction held in union with, and obedience to, the Pope, are essential to the constitution of the Church; and although Popes have divided and re-divided countries into dioceses, and although, as Bossuet says, in case of necessity there is nothing the Pope cannot do, this must not be extended to anything of divine institution. The Pope could in the plenitude of his powers abolish parishes. He could not reduce the episcopate to the rank of Vicars Apostolic.

9. The argument of the tract throughout is as strong as abusive language can make it; and nowhere stronger, if violence is a sign of strength, than in dealing with St. Austin. "*Roma locuta est causa finita est*," are words attributed to the Saint; but this is "one of the most scandalous misquotations in all literature." What he says is: "The decisions of two Councils have been sent to the Apostolic See; thence also rescripts have come. The case has been finished." For this, "Roman controversialists have substituted a statement essentially different;" and they have done so "to press St. Austin into the service of the Papacy—St. Austin, who, while he venerated the See of Rome as first in honour and dignity, refused to let it receive appeals from the African Church." Let us see which side has most right to be indignant.

Catholic controversialists have often quoted the words of the saint entire; sometimes they have given what they thought, or professed to think, a summary of his words. If St. Augustine considered that the rescripts from Rome finally decided a case which was not decided absolutely before, the summary is accurate, and it is the slander of the tract which is scandalous, not the quotation of Catholics. We will let the facts speak for themselves.

In 416 a Council of sixty-eight Bishops at Carthage, and of fifty-nine at Mileve in Numidia, condemned Pelagius, whose doctrine had been anathematised five years before in another Council at Carthage. Each of the two last Councils sent letters to Pope Innocent, begging that Apostolic authority might be given to their decrees (Ep. Concil. Carthag. Coust. Ep. 26). Another letter was addressed to the Pope by Augustine and four other Bishops, in which they tell him what has been done against Pelagianism, and add that the heretics were more likely to yield to his authority, which was derived from the authority of the Holy Scriptures, '*Auctoritati tuæ ex scripturarum sacrarum auctoritate depromptæ*' (Coust. Ep. 28). Innocent replied, commending them for consulting him what opinions to hold, and for following the old rule which prescribed that 'answers should come to all the provinces from the Apostolic fount' (Coust. 29). What difference did the decision make to Augustine? Before Rome spoke—but after the Provincial Councils (Ep. 128)—he says Pelagianism was not 'clearly excluded from the Church.' After the Councils had been confirmed by Rome, after the rescript came, he thought that by the letters of Innocent the 'whole doubt had been removed' (Contra Ep. Pelag. ii. 3). Of course the Provincial Councils could of themselves lay no ob-

ligation of belief upon the conscience. Is the '*Roma locuta est causa finita est*' such a very scandalous perversion of the truth?

Further, did St. Austin limit the power of Rome to a "primacy of honour and influence"? Let us take his own words: 'Come, my brethren,' he says to the Donatists, 'if you wish to be grafted in the vine. . . Reckon up the Bishops from the See of Peter. . . That is the Rock which the haughty gates of hell do not overcome' (Ps. Contr. Don.). This way of speaking is familiar to 'Roman arguers;' it will hardly square with Anglicanism.

Of the African appeals we have said as much as our space will allow already. This subject is recommended to the attention of those who wish to understand St. Augustine's relations to Rome; by all means, only let us hope the attention will not be confined to adopting secondhand accounts untested.

10. Roman Catholic writers, the writers of the tract tell us, insist on the lofty language used by the legates at Ephesus; they also expect to be reminded of the exclamation at Chalcedon—"Peter has spoken by Leo"—of the fact, that at the same Council the definition of faith was improved at the suggestion of the Roman legates, and that the Fathers of the Council called Leo the divinely appointed guardian of the vine. Our opponents must excuse us if we decline putting ourselves in the hands of this imaginary advocate, and prefer stating our own case; after that we shall do what we can to meet the objections of the tract.

It was not the Roman legates only who used lofty language about the Holy See. In a letter to Pope Celestine, Cyril informs him, according to ecclesiastical custom, 'of the errors spread by Nestorius;' says he did

not dare to break off from the communion of Nestorius till he had consulted Celestine; and begs the Pope to declare what his mind is, and particularly whether it was right to communicate with Nestorius,* or to protest openly that no one should communicate with him or his party, and finally, he asks instruction for the Bishops of the East and Macedonia. The Fathers of the Council of Ephesus pass sentence on Nestorius 'compelled and constrained (*ἀναγκαίως κατεπειχθέντες*) by the sacred canons and the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-minister Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church.'† From a natural point of view there was nothing in the letter of Celestine to constrain assent. He was a Western, far from the scene of action, and in theological acumen nobody would dream of comparing him to St. Cyril. But the Fathers looked to something higher than natural gifts. John of Antioch, after a schismatical resistance both to the Pope and the Council, returned to Catholic communion. Pope Sixtus III. reminds him that he has learned by experience 'what it is to think with us. Blessed Peter, in the person of his successors, has handed down what he has received. Who would wish to cut himself off from the first of the Apostles, taught by our Master Himself?'‡

11. In their letter to Leo, the Fathers of Chalcedon acknowledge that the Pope had presided over the council through his legates, 'as head over the members, while the emperor had done so for the sake of good order;' that 'the Pope is appointed for all (*πᾶσι καθιστάμενος*) the interpreter of the voice of Peter;' that Dioscorus had dared to restore Eutyches to the 'dignity of which he had been deprived by his Holiness;' nay, 'had turned in

* Mansi, iv. 1011, seq. † Id. iv. 1207.

‡ Const. Epp. Pont. Sixtus, iii. Ep. 6.

his madness against him to whom our Saviour had intrusted the guardianship of the vine.' They mention the 28th canon, give reasons for it, and ask its confirmation, that 'the establishment of good discipline (εὐταξίας) as well as faith might be attributed to Leo.' Finally, they have given an account of all that has been done to the Pope, 'that he may confirm it' (εἰς βεβαίωσιν).* Marcian immediately inflicted most severe penalties on Eutychianism; but next year he writes to Leo that great doubt had arisen in the minds of many whether his Holiness had confirmed the decrees of the council (τὰ τυπωθέντα βεβαίωσεν).

There is no question here of magnificent titles. The supremacy is asserted in the most plain and definite manner. We have said nothing of the acclamations, and we could afford to drop the metaphorical guardianship of the vine. But it is worth while to observe that they speak not vaguely, as the tract rather inaccurately represents, of a divinely-appointed guardian of the vine, but explicitly of 'him to whom our Saviour intrusted the vine,' alluding evidently to our Lord's commission to Peter. The close connection in the context with the words, 'appointed for all the interpreter of the voice of Peter,' removes any shadow of doubt about this.

But it is objected that the decision of Leo in his letter was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon, 'not as a matter of obedience,' but 'because it was consonant to the creeds,' and the ideal Catholic is supposed to reply that 'the definition was improved at the suggestion of Roman legates.' There is no reason why a real Catholic should make such a foolish answer. For first, though the infallibility follows as a logical consequence from the constant teaching of the Fathers as to the necessity of

* Mansi, vi. 148.

agreement and union with the See of Peter, it is not necessary to maintain that this consequence was in all ages of the Church as clearly apprehended by every one as it is at present. Next, it has been argued by learned men whose opinions cannot be set aside by an oracular *ipse dixit*, that the Fathers of Chalcedon, while they examined the letter, never had, or thought they had, the liberty of dissent from the doctrine which Leo's letter to Flavian defined. Let us try to explain very shortly their meaning and their reasons.

Flavian, when he sent his letter to Leo, thought the true doctrine needed nothing more than that the Pope should come to its 'defence.' That ought to 'suffice for securing unity and peace' (Ep. 26). After a good deal of discussion Leo consented to the convocation of a general council; but he had before warned the emperor that he should not permit people to inquire about "the opinion to be held, as if that were uncertain" (Ep. 82). The faith was not "to be discussed over again" (Ep. 90). And in fact, at the very opening of the second action, before any passages from the Fathers or Leo's letter had been read, Ceccropius, Bishop of Sebastopol, declared that the 'norm' (νόμος) given by Leo sufficed, and that they had all subscribed it. The Fathers cried out, 'So say we all; it is not lawful to make another exposition of the faith.' The letter was then read with patristic texts, and the Council exclaimed again, 'Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo; anathema to him who does not so believe.' Even after this there were still some who were not fully satisfied. Anatolius chose Bishops to 'instruct those who doubted.' It was 'seemly,' as the judges said, 'to persuade all who were perplexed.' Now, if the majority of the Fathers examined Leo's letter as really doubtful, they contradicted themselves,

for they had already accepted and practically imposed it on others. If, on the other hand, they thought that, by giving their reasons and proving Leo's doctrine consonant to Scripture and tradition, they were more likely to convince persons, many of whom turned out too obstinate to be convinced at all, their conduct was natural and consistent. It must be remembered too, that according to the teaching of Catholic theologians Bishops are judges in a council, and though their judgment has no binding force, except so far as it is confirmed by that of the Pope, it is always very different in the weight it carries from that of private persons. We do not pretend in these few sentences to have met all the counter-arguments of Bossuet in his *Defensio*, but we have done enough to expose the absurdity of taking for granted a point contested, *e. g.* by Orsi and the Ballerini, with reasons which it is easier to suppress than to refute.*

But 'why ignore the fact' that the 28th canon was maintained by the Greeks in spite of the Pope's protest? We are at a loss now to answer, for we were not aware that any Catholic historian had ignored it. It is as well, however, not to ignore another fact, viz. that the Greeks, while practically they maintained the canon, displayed their strong sense of the Pope's authority and the small confidence they had in the justice of their cause. 'The Synod of Chalcedon itself, as well as Anatolius in par-

* The question is not, did the Fathers accept the letter of Leo as consonant to Scripture and tradition? Of course they did, otherwise it would not have been either infallible or true. The Pope cannot invent new doctrines. But did they regard its agreement with Scripture and tradition as undecided till the Council had approved it? The fact that it was only formally approved in the fourth session, while in the second the Fathers of the Synod anathematised those who did not accept it, is a strong argument for supposing that the majority regarded it as binding from the first.

ticular, and the Emperor Marcian, had expressly declared that the canon needed for its validity the approbation of the Apostolic See. Indeed, for a long time the Greeks made no farther appeal to this canon, and even left it out in their collections.* It is not facts, but one-sided statements of facts, which a Catholic has any ground to fear.

12. The tract refers to a quotation made by Cardinal Wiseman from St. Ephrem, and insinuates that the appeal to antiquity in favour of devotion to the Blessed Virgin is as worthless as the evidence drawn from antiquity for the supremacy of Rome.

The Greek text of St. Ephrem has not yet found a competent editor, and as to the authenticity of different parts of the Greek version of his works, the learned have differed and continue to differ. Cardinal Wiseman appears to have relied upon a eulogy of the Blessed Virgin which Tillemont thought spurious. *Valeat quantum!* This oversight does not weaken the testimony of St. Ephrem to the doctrine of the Church on the Blessed Virgin. In 1866 Dr. Bickell, Catholic professor at Münster, assisted by a Protestant scholar, Dr. Wright, published chiefly from a ms. of the sixth century, with a Latin version, the Nisibine hymns of St. Ephrem. He was induced to do so partly from their literary value, partly because their authenticity is unquestioned. In hymn 27, str. 8, St. Ephrem addresses the Blessed Virgin thus: 'Truly it is Thou, and Thy mother only, who are fair altogether. For in Thee there is no stain, in Thy mother no spot. But my sons (it is the Church of Edessa which is speaking) are far from resembling this twofold fairness (duabus pulchritudinibus).' Elsewhere Ephrem places first among fallen men, infants who die in baptismal in-

* Hefele, Concilien Geschichte, ii. 543.

nocence; so that it must be freedom from original, not actual, sin which he ascribes to Mary. So (ii. 327, a) "Two were made simple, innocent, perfectly like each other—Mary and Eve; but afterwards one became the cause of our death, the other of our life." The doctrine of St. Ephrem in the middle of the fourth century was continued by St. James of Sarug in the fifth. When the Cardinal found that his citation from St. Athanasius was unauthentic, he withdrew it. We hope the writers of the tract will imitate his candour, and withdraw their assertion that the Immaculate Conception is a fiction of the middle ages.

13. "One might call attention," the tract goes on to say, "to the gross unfairness with which Weninger omits the qualifying clause" in the decree of union at Florence, "as it is contained in the acts of oecumenical councils and the sacred canons." The attention would do no harm to Fr. Weninger, but it would be fatal to the character of the tract. The clause is not 'as it is contained,' but 'quemadmodum etiam,' 'as also is contained.' The reading 'quemadmodum et' was defended by Döllinger lately. Cecconi published lithographs from the oldest manuscripts, particularly the original ms. at Florence, and proved that 'etiam' was unquestionably genuine. The same thing had been shown long before by Zaccaria.*

14. The rhetoric about the Breviary and the False Decretals is surely a little ridiculous. It is notorious among Catholics that the narrative portions of the Breviary impose no obligation of belief. Parts of them have been questioned by the Bollandists as well as by Tille-

* The Council defined that the Pope "is the vicar of Christ, and has received in the person of Peter full power of ruling and governing the universal Church, as also is contained in the sacred canons." The clause is not qualifying, but explanatory.

Streatley Vicarage,
Berks.

Dec 27 1872

My dear Sir,

In reference to the little story
which appears in the Guardian as
by Mr. Addis & the translation from the
Acts of the Council of Nicaea - I don't
know if you are aware that there
is a Greek version of equal
authenticity with the Latin which
runs thus -

καὶ ὅτι ἑστῶσαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς
τῶν συνουμένων συνόδων καὶ ἐν
τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ πανόσι διαδραμεύονται.

The first καὶ can hardly I should

which is tortured into the meaning
that is sought to be put on 'etiam'.

I copy from a version of Rufinus's
pious at the Vatican under the
direct sanction of Paul V.

But I have drawn many places
where the 'Latin' seems, than ~~has~~
~~manipulated~~ and does not at all
agree with the Greek in a way which
certainly suggests 'malafides'.

Looking at this matter the
other sticks are no answer -
that Superior should have so

fully unceded the 2nd place ~~Constantine~~
which after ~~that~~ ~~Leo~~ Leo is them
most referred -

But the great inconsistency
an 'again' -

I need not say them in time
repeal that perhaps you know
as well - and believe me

Yours

John Hall

mont. We will say nothing of the wilful corruptions which exist, as we believe, in the Protestant Bible; but Anglicans will not deny, we imagine, that it often gives readings which no critical scholar would defend. Yet these have been retained without explanations to the present day. Or again, supposing the Creed of St. Athanasius had been rejected at the pretended Reformation by the Church of England, while it lasted on under the same title in the Breviary, what an outcry we should have had about "lying legends," impudent forgeries, attempts to "press" St. Athanasius "into the service" of the Filioque!

There are two points about the False Decretals which Anglicans find it convenient to drop out of sight. In the first place, the False Decretals were questioned as early as 1431 by Cardinal de Cusa, and rejected by Baronius and Bellarmine; while the Ultramontane Ballerini gave them the finishing blow, and exploded parts of the documents which had escaped the critical vigilance of Protestants like the Centuriators and Blondel. In the second place, if they continued in use till the pontificate of Pius VI., 'what the canonist Wilhelm (ap. Mabillon, *de re Diplom.* i. 249) says of documenta suffecta, substituta, vicaria legitimorum, may well apply to the False Decretals.' 'Public instruments sealed in court, strong in the authority of great names, are called in question by historians, and often what the judge approves in the forum the man of letters condemns in his study. In which case I would compound and so attemper matters, that while the learned should rightly reject such documents as historical evidence, their forensic repute and authority might still remain.'*

* The concluding sentence and most of the facts in this paragraph are borrowed from Fr. Ryder's admirable *Critique on Mr. Ffoulkes' Letter*.

We grant at once that if the False Decretals changed the constitution of the Church, this plea will not avail. But two authorities, *testes minime suspecti*, may induce those who prefer truth to prejudice to pause before they accept this hypothesis. 'Theiner and others,' says Hefele,* 'did not scruple to make the exaltation of the Papal power the end which led to the forgery. But this view, once widely spread, is now abandoned as erroneous. . . . Not only Catholics such as Möhler and Walter, or in recent times Rosshirt and Phillips, but even Protestants like Spittler, Richter, Knust, Wassersleben, Gfrörer, much as they differ from each other in reference to Pseudo-Isidor, still are definitely agreed about this, that Pseudo-Isidor was not got up in the interests of Rome. . . . It has been believed in many quarters that the False Decretals utterly transformed the constitution of the Church. If it were so, these Decretals would be the greatest miracle in the world. It would be inconceivable how in so short a space, in a single lifetime, they could have obtained general recognition. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that, as a matter of fact, even propositions in Pseudo-Isidor which might seem at the first glance new, had been already put forth in older authorities and documents, or flowed as necessary consequences from the fundamental principles of the Church's constitution.' Hagemann is quite as strong. "At present, if one tried to explain the Pope's plenitude of power in the middle ages from the literary forgery of the False Decretals, his hypothesis would be considered monstrous."†

As we said at the outset, the tract directs its attack

* In the article 'Pseudo-Isidor' in Wetzer and Welte's *Cyclopædia*.

† Hagemann, *Römische Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*. Freiburg, 1864.

in effect against Catholic doctrine, not against the occasional inaccuracy of Catholic controversialists. We have shown that while the writers assume a lofty tone of rebuke, and entitle their pamphlet *Roman Misquotations*, they themselves are guilty of perverting facts and practising on the simplicity of their followers. We have tried to meet the objections made fairly and honestly ; we have done our best not to pass over anything of importance, and never to evade instead of solving a difficulty. But we have failed to understand the position of writers, who, while they profess to admit in Rome a primacy of honour and influence, do not condescend to inform us in what this primacy consists. It is not the primacy maintained by Bossuet, nor again by Ultramontanes. What it is we have yet to discover. Learned Protestants like Neander are at least consistent. They carry out the same critical method against early evidence for the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, as well as against the evidence for the Papal Supremacy. But we fail to comprehend a state of mind which can alter its method, and ignore or exaggerate difficulties at pleasure.

The tract concludes with an "expressive warning" against the Church which has made herself responsible for pious frauds and Jesuit casuistry, and has recently added St. Liguori to the list of her Doctors. "Her writers" have inherited a tradition of laxity in respect of "historical truths," and some of her 'proselytisers' 'seem to ask how is the Pope's government to be carried on, and to answer practically quocunque modo.' This charitable insinuation has been made already by Mr. Kingsley, though hardly, if we remember right, in such a sweeping way. It comes with a bad grace from persons who stoop in another tract of the same series to

circulate a silly and disreputable slander against one of our Bishops, and who belong to a party which has welcomed with eagerness the blundering misquotations of the *Eirenicon*, the mendacity of Janus, the sentimental absurdities of Mr. Ffoulkes—anything, in short, which is redeemed by the one sufficient virtue of opposition to the Vicar and the Church of Christ.

PASTORAL LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

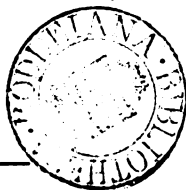
BY THE

HOUSE OF BISHOPS,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE CHURCH,

HELD AT BALTIMORE, MD., OCTOBER, 1871.



Official Copy.

NEW YORK:

AMERICAN CHURCH PRESS COMPANY.

1871.

PASTORAL LETTER

FROM THE

HOUSE OF BISHOPS.

OFFICIAL COPY.

BRETHREN, BELOVED IN THE LORD :

THE amazing love of our REDEEMER is to be devoutly recognized in all the temporal blessings of His Covenant, as well as in those which are the more glorious benefits of His Cross and Passion. For three years more, marked by many changes and by many extraordinary providences in the affairs of the world, God has continued to bless us with much of earthly happiness, and with abounding mercies in the communion of His Church. Your Bishops, in addressing you once more in a Pastoral Letter, must begin with these devout acknowledgments, and with a confession of our great unworthiness of such distinguished favours from the Most High.

In a special manner we are called on to thank our HEAVENLY FATHER for the advancing outward growth and awakened internal life which have been vouchsafed to us; for greater measures of missionary zeal and earnestness in all those works and services, which as they are the inner glory of the Bride of CHRIST, so they are also her most precious adorning in the eyes of men. If we do not enter into the manifold details

which this whole great subject presents to us, it is because we would not even seem to boast of that for which we are simply to give all glory to ALMIGHTY GOD.

Two of those who united with us in our last Pastoral Letter are now with God. The venerable Bishops Kemper, of Wisconsin, and Chase, of New Hampshire, assist in our councils no more. It is not our usage on such occasions to multiply words, whether of eulogy or regret. It is understood among your Bishops that they are not to be subjected to the judgment of their brethren in the House of Bishops, whether for praise or censure. To the bare mention of the fact that they do now "rest from their labours," we add nothing, therefore, but the simple truth that they were eminent for piety and worth, and were greatly beloved in the Church and among their brethren in the Episcopate. Their sufficient monuments are the dioceses of which respectively they were the first Bishops, and the noble works which God wrought by them, and which we doubt not will long endure to the glory and praise of His Holy Name.

The services of the Convention, of which we have reached the closing hour, have been marked in a very high degree by manifestations of the Divine favour, and of the presence of the HOLY SPIRIT. Questions of the greatest moment, and some of absorbing interest, have been before us, yet nothing has disturbed the harmony of our counsels; but, on the contrary, the marked result of our work is a degree of unity and brotherly love which cannot but inspire us with new zeal and confidence for the future. Among your Bishops, day after day, and in the midst of the most anxious deliberations, we are able to assure you that there has not been for a moment any interruption to that spirit of fraternal concord on which the LORD has commanded an especial blessing. To His presence and directing grace be all the honour and praise.

The visits to our Church and to our councils of eminent fathers and brethren from the Church of England, and sister churches of her colonial Empire, have not only given a marked and peculiar interest to this Convention, but have been rendered highly conducive to the successful prosecution of its work. This being also the year of our Missionary Jubilee, it has been, indeed, a delightful feature of our solemnities to have among us those who have so entirely sympathized with the spirit of these occasions, and who have, in many ways, contributed to their happy results.

A special feature of our practical work in this Convention has been the attention given to homes and hospitals, and to the organization of woman's work in schools and institutions of mercy. These great subjects we may, therefore, commend anew to your zeal and wisdom, invoking the liberality and self-sacrifice without which planning and legislation can accomplish little.

In the revival of the Scriptural Diaconate of Women we feel an earnest desire that prudence and good sense may so preside over every effort, and in every church where such efforts may be made, as to secure this blessed enterprise from all untoward circumstances, and from the evil consequences of zeal which is not according to knowledge.

The Bishops in council, with an extraordinary unanimity, have, during the present Convention, set forth a Declaration, touching our Offices for the Baptism of Infants, in the following words:

"We, the subscribers, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, being asked, in order to the quieting of the consciences of sundry members of the said Church, to declare our conviction as to the meaning of the word 'regenerate' in the offices for the ministration of Baptism of Infants, do declare that in our opinion the word 'regener-

ate' is not there so used as to determine that a moral change in the subject of baptism is wrought in the Sacrament."

This declaration was made in the loving hope and confidence that many consciences might thus forever be freed from false impressions, which have been prevalent, concerning the teaching of the Church as respects spiritual religion and personal piety. We exhort you, brethren, to be ever mindful of the tender love of our Master CHRIST for little children, and to think highly of the privileges to which those are admitted whom, through the agency of His Church, He still takes into His arms and blesses. We entreat you to regard them as His own children by adoption and grace, as heirs of God to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Let them not suppose that the faith, and the prayers, and the obedience of little children, are lightly regarded by the Father of Mercies. But remember, also, that baptism does not supersede the necessity of repentance, of justifying faith in CHRIST, growth in grace, and in that "holiness without which no man shall see the LORD." We exhort all the members of this Church fully to recognize and deeply to feel, therefore, the weight of responsibility which the baptismal covenant lays upon them and their children. It is still true that if the baptism of infants be not recognized as requiring such godly training as may secure by the Divine blessing the submission of their whole nature, body, soul, and spirit, to the renewing and sanctifying influences of the HOLY GHOST, then the mind of CHRIST and the purpose of the Church for the child are not fulfilled. If refraining, henceforth, from discussions of words in the acceptance of which there seems to be far less of real disagreement than has been imagined, we might now give ourselves with one heart to the rearing of our children in the fear of God, and to securing the great work of their salvation; then we shall have succeeded in rendering our formularies so practical

and so fruitful in godliness as to elevate the whole sentiment of the Church to a lofty spirituality not likely to be disturbed by agitations to which, perhaps, we have subjected ourselves by manifold inconsistencies between our professions and our practices, in the relations we bear to God in covenant.

As we dwell on these things, dear brethren, our minds recur to others, of which we must not fail to speak.

We counsel you to bear in mind that while on the one hand we must not suffer ourselves to deny any real good by reason of mere popular outcries against ritual forms, so, on the other hand, we are never to allow professions of self-denying labour and service to blind us to the actual dangers of any movement in the Church. What is known as "ritualism" is mainly a question of taste, temperament, and constitution, until it becomes the expression of doctrine. The doctrine which chiefly attempts as yet to express itself by ritual, in questionable and dangerous ways, is connected with the Holy Eucharist. That doctrine is emphatically a novelty in theology. What is known as "Eucharistical adoration" is undoubtedly inculcated and encouraged by that ritual of posture lately introduced among us, which finds no warrant in our "Office for the Administration of the Holy Communion."

Although men may, by unlawful reasoning on Divine mysteries, argue themselves into an acceptance both of the practice, and the doctrine which it implies, these are most certainly unauthorized by Holy Scripture, entirely aside from the purposes for which the Holy Sacrament was instituted, and most dangerous in their tendencies. To argue that the spiritual presence of our dear Lord in the Holy Communion for the nurture of the faithful is such a presence as allows worship to Him, thus and there present, is, to say the very least, to be wise above that which is written in God's Holy Word. For the objects of this Holy Sacrament, as therein revealed, are

first, the memorial before God of the One Sacrifice for sins forever; and secondly, the strengthening and refreshing of the souls of the faithful. Moreover, no one can fail to see that it is impossible for the common mind to draw the line between the worship of such an undefined and mysterious presence, and the awful error of adoring the elements themselves. Wherefore, if a teacher suggest this error by act or posture, he places himself in antagonism to the doctrine of this Church and the teachings of God's Word, and puts in peril the souls of men. In the presence, therefore, of this danger, we call upon the ministers and members of the Church to bear in mind that while they should always cherish and exhibit that true and genuine reverence which devoutly recognizes "the dignity of that holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof," yet it is the bounden duty of each one to deny himself the outward expression of what to him may be only reverence, if that expression even seems to inculcate and encourage superstition and idolatry.

In thus speaking of dangers connected with present movements in the Church, there are other points on which your Bishops must not be silent.

The first relates to Private Confession. Whenever a human soul is possessed by a searching and sincere repentance, and a longing for a deeper spiritual life, there come also with these a keener sense of "the exceeding sinfulness of sin" and a desire for an authoritative assurance of forgiveness. And then, on the other hand, frivolous and worldly persons, simply because they desire to rid themselves of any sense of present responsibility or future retribution, seek for the same assurance. Advantage is taken by some teachers in the Church of these two entirely different spiritual states to insist upon private confession to a priest as either the absolute duty of all Christians, or as essential to any high attainments in the religious

life. Meantime, the fact that pardon is granted to any child of God on his repentance, accompanied by prayer and reliance on the promises in CHRIST, as well as in the use of the means of grace, is utterly passed by. The teaching of the Church in this matter is plain and clear.

She permits and offers to her children the opening of their griefs in private to some minister of God's Word. But she does not make this the first resort. She does not provide for its frequent recurrence or uniform practice; she does not impose it by ecclesiastical ordinance; she does not hold or declare it necessary for the forgiveness of sins, or for the attainment of high degrees of spiritual advancement; nor does she connect with it blessings which can be secured only by its observance. She simply offers and commends this privilege to those of her children who cannot quiet their own consciences by self-examination, immediate confession to God, with faith in CHRIST, repentance and restitution. Wherefore, to make this seeking of comfort and counsel not exceptional, but customary, not free, but enforced (if not by actual law, at least by moral obligation and spiritual necessities), is to rob CHRIST's provision of its mercy, and to change it into an engine of oppression and a source of corruption. History demonstrates this. The experience of families, and even of nations, shows that the worst practical evils are inseparable from this great abuse. To pervert the godly counsel and advice which may quiet a disturbed conscience into the arbitrary direction which supplants the conscience is to do away with that sense of moral responsibility under which every man "shall give account of himself to God."

Another point of danger is a tendency toward Saint-worship, and especially its culmination in the worship of the Blessed Virgin. The annals of our race under the covenant dispensations, as well as beyond their limits, show that there

is nothing to which our fallen nature is more fearfully inclined than the worship of the creature rather than the CREATOR. And this propensity to evil has always found its most attractive development in a sensuous disposition to deify and adore the tenderness and love of womanhood. The error of which we speak has arisen chiefly from this propensity of our nature, and it has found its apology in a perverted view of the veneration due to her whom "all generations" are to "call blessed."

There is no sin more continuously and decisively marked by the signal displeasure of God than that of idolatry in its manifold varieties. Hence, although we do not anticipate a general prevalence of tendencies to *Mariolatry*, which some have done much to encourage, we nevertheless feel that their slightest indication demands our immediate and decided reprobation. The bare suggestion that the intercession of the Virgin Mary, or of any other Saint, is in any way to be sought in our approaches to the Throne of Grace, is an indignity to the One only Mediator and Intercessor which we, His Apostolic witnesses, cannot too strongly nor distinctly forbid in His Holy and All-sufficient Name.

As fostering tendencies, of which we regret to see any tokens among us, we must not fail to point out the dangers arising from devotional and doctrinal books, alien in their character to the whole spirit of our Liturgy, which have of late years been insidiously multiplied in England and America. Such works are chiefly borrowed from sources confessedly hostile to our communion, and tend only to weaken and undermine the loyalty of our people, and especially of our youth, to the primitive faith and worship of our Church. Moreover, let it be borne in mind, that the rich treasury of our own devotional authors is full of all things that minister to edification; while the inspired Psalter and other Holy Scriptures, too little studied by most of us in this age of

hurry and unrest, leave wholly without excuse the disposition to seek such aids to devotion as we here pointedly condemn.

The books just mentioned are not the only ones against which our people must be warned. Publications are scattered through our parishes, the whole aim of which is to undermine the legitimate authority of the chief pastors of the Church, to inculcate irreverence, to stir up strife, to excite suspicion, to encourage "the factious maintenance of groundless opinions," and to lead to division and schism. It was the solemn counsel of St. Paul "to mark those that cause divisions" in the Church, and to avoid them and their teaching.

Nothing is more unreal than the popular idea that our Church is a middle way, elaborately contrived as a compromise between opposing systems. But in the nature of things, as a witness to primitive truth, she is always subject, as was the Church in the days of the Apostles, to opposing lines of assault. On the one side is the temper of the Jew, and on the other that of the Greek. Our conflict on the right hand and on the left is, and must continue to be, with superstition and lawlessness, irreverence and unbelief.

Now, though little alarm is felt in view of a disposition on the part of some to detract from the testimony which we are ever to bear to "the Faith once delivered to the Saints," and if not to mutilate, yet to fall below the language of our Liturgy, and to undervalue its doctrinal teaching, we must never forget that the peculiar dangers of our age are those of irreverence, unbelief, and contempt of authority and law. All such disorders minister directly to the worst influences of the irreligion that cloaks itself in pretences of "science, falsely so called." Their negative character, indeed, accounts for the fact, already noted, that errors in this direction excite little anxiety, and the habits of our people, formed necessarily under the imperfect ministrations of our ecclesiastical nonage,

are naturally the reverse of sensitive to omissions and neglects in carrying out the system of the Book of Common Prayer. But, with increase of opportunities and of ministers, these things are less excusable. We hold that, if nothing more than what is clearly indicated by our rubrics is to be permitted in one direction, we are bound in the merest justice to condemn any counterpart disposition to diminish in any manner from their prescriptions as to order and worship.

The crying evils we have noted are setting in through many currents, and from opposing quarters; they are, in truth, so closely connected, and so invariably go hand in hand, that they may well be spoken of together. The irreverence which lightly esteems holy mysteries leads directly to lawless violations of the order of their ministration; that which scorns the due authority of those whom CHRIST has set for the government of the Church leads as directly to open disobedience and the rejection of solemn vows and binding obligations. "Despising dominion," and "speaking evil of dignities," are counted in Holy Scripture as sins of no ordinary magnitude; and they are not less sins to-day than they were in the Apostolic age.

Cultivate, then, beloved, in the daily walk of your Christian life, in your houses and by your firesides—above all, in the temple of God, where His holy name is worshipped—such a spirit of reverence as shall manifest itself in word and act, and such a temper of submission and obedience to what is duly ordained and appointed, as may make for the Church's peace and for your own greater spiritual good. So shall brethren "dwell together in unity," and you shall see "Jerusalem in prosperity all your life long."

It is a very clear part of our present duty to you, brethren, to utter anew the charge that you be "not conformed to this world." In the world you must have your daily walk and work. Your discipline of grace involves exposure to the

subtle allurements, as well as in many cases to the grosser temptations of that world. But you may turn that exposure to your great spiritual gain. You may become the wiser and holier by that very means. The grace of God will accomplish in you this glorious result, if you co-operate with His HOLY SPIRIT.

To this end we remind you that covetousness is idolatry; that the growing eagerness to get money, the widely-spread worship of money, and the lavish display of money in much of our daily life, are manifestations of that idolatry. Christian men and women ought to ponder this, and to carry the resulting views of duty and piety into their business, their social life, their homes and families. We are sure that the need of this warning has, of late, grown largely among us, and that some of those wise scruples and restraints, formerly more, perhaps, than now, influencing good men's consciences in the pursuit and use of riches, and in the habits and amusements of social life, have been far too much relaxed. Hence come the sins of covetousness, of wasteful vanity, and of the robbery of God in withholding from His cause His due share of the worldly things entrusted to our control.

Nor may we omit to renew the warnings, more than once before given in the pastoral letters of your Bishops, against some of those public amusements and exhibitions, from the sight and lessons of which any true morality, to say nothing of pure religion, ought to make good men and women withdraw themselves, and most scrupulously keep their children.

The great and destructive sin of intemperance claims our anxious notice. That sin is, as all must see and lament, growing in our land. It can be met only by such distinct pastoral warnings and examples, and by such lessons and habits of self-denial in the home, as will train and keep the people of CHRIST, young and old, faithful to the vows of their high vocation.

Wherefore, Christian fathers and Christian mothers, ask yourselves earnestly and honestly, how far the nurture and admonition which your children are receiving at your hands, in this most worldly age, are "the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" how far the pleasures and associations encouraged and allowed are compatible with the life of God in the soul of man; how far the books permitted to be read, and the ideas cherished in the minds of children, are leading them to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness;" and, therefore, how far you are discharging, toward those whom God has given you, that household priesthood which exalts your position as parents, and commensurately increases your responsibility.

If you are faithful to this solemn trust, then all the holiest interests of society are sure to feel the benefit of your fidelity. If you are unfaithful, not only will your sin be visited on those who are dearest to you, but worldliness, like a flood, will sweep away all that God has made our most precious heritage in His Holy Church. Of the effect of this on our country it is not necessary that we should speak. Fearful indications of coming judgments are already before us. The history of empires during the past year is a warning which need not be expounded of that swift destruction which nations, as well as individuals, may bring upon their own heads from a patient but just CREATOR.

To the DIVINE REDEEMER of our souls your Bishops fervently commend the beloved flock over which the CHIEF SHEPHERD has set them in authority. Love Him with a fervent love, and with an uncalculating devotion. Make proof of your gratitude for the unspeakable riches of His Gospel. "Bring presents and come into His courts." But remember, also, to worship Him in the beauty of practical holiness. We live in days which call for no stinted liberality; which demand the

sacrifices of genuine love; which indicate that God is waiting to be gracious, if only His people will prepare themselves for His visitation. The whole Church of CHRIST is giving tokens of His reviving presence.

Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied upon you, and upon all who love the LORD JESUS CHRIST in sincerity. AMEN.

AMENDED CANONS

REPORTED TO THE

GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1871

BY THE

Joint Committee on Theological Education.



PRINTED AT THE
Church Press,
HARTFORD, CONN.

Title I.

CANON II.

Of the Admission of Persons as Candidates for Holy Orders

CORRIGENDA.

- (On page 7, liné 7, of [4] for "notify the candidate" read "give the candidate written notice "
- " " 8, " 3, of [3] for "admitted, such candidate" read "admitted such candidate,"
- " " 9, " 2, of [3] for "a majority" read "two thirds"
- " " 15, " 1, of [4] for "reversible" read "revocable"
- " " 17, " 2, of [4] of § IV., after "questions" insert "or themes"
- " " 17, " 2, of [5] strike out "throughout"
- " " 19, " 1, of § VII., for "examination" read "examinations"
- " " 22, last line, for "Bishops" read "Bishop"
- " " 25, line 4, of [5] for "address" read "addressed"
- " " 25, for "§ VI." read "§ V." and for "§ VII." read "§ VI."
- " " 26, " " § VIII." read "§ VII."
- " " 29, line 2, of [5] after "of" insert "all "

6 other Diocese; (2) whether he is prepared at once to apply for
7 recommendation to be admitted Candidate; (3) or, if not
8 so prepared, where he proposes to prosecute preparatory studies,
9 and whether he expects or desires aid in such studies while a
10 Postulant; and (4) the time and place of his Baptism, Con-
11 firmation, and first Communion.

Title I.

CANON II.

Of the Admission of Persons as Candidates for Holy Orders.

1 § I. All persons seeking admission to the ministry of this
2 Church are to be regarded either as Candidates for Holy
3 Orders, or as Postulants for admission to Candidateship.

1 § II. [1.] Every person desiring to be admitted Candidate
2 for Holy Orders is, in the first instance, to consult his imme-
3 diate Spiritual Pastor or Rector, setting before him, freely and
4 fully, the grounds of his desire for admission to the Ministry,
5 together with such circumstances in his personal constitution,
6 relations, and position, as may bear on his qualifications, or
7 tend to affect his course of preparation.

1 [2.] If counselled to persevere in his intention, such person
2 shall then, with letter of approval and introduction from the
3 Pastor or Rector, personally, if possible, or by letter, give
4 notice of his intention to the Bishop of the Diocese, stating
5 whether he has ever applied for admission as a Candidate in any
6 other Diocese; (2) whether he is prepared at once to apply for
7 recommendation to be admitted Candidate; (3) or, if not
8 so prepared, where he proposes to prosecute preparatory studies,
9 and whether he expects or desires aid in such studies while a
10 Postulant; and (4) the time and place of his Baptism, Con-
11 firmation, and first Communion.

1 [3.] Such notice must be given to the Bishop of the Dio-
 2 cese in which the person is actually resident, and can be re-
 3 ceived by none other.

1 [4.] A Bishop may, at his discretion, permit the transfer of
 2 such application to the Bishop of another Diocese, for reasons
 3 seeming to him to justify such transfer.

1 [5.] A Bishop may not receive such application from a
 2 person who has been refused admission as a Candidate in any
 3 other Diocese, or who, having been admitted, has afterward
 4 ceased to be a Candidate, until he shall have caused such person
 5 to produce a Certificate from the Bishop in whose Diocese he
 6 has been refused admission, or has been a Candidate, declaring
 7 the cause of refusal, or of cessation of Candidateship; and
 8 such Certificate shall be laid before the Standing Committee
 9 of the Diocese in which such second application shall be made.

1 [6.] A Standing Committee acting under canonical provis-
 2 ion as the Ecclesiastical Authority of a Diocese, in vacancy, or
 3 for other causes, shall be competent to receive and do all
 4 assigned to the Bishop in the foregoing clauses.

1 § III. [1.] The Postulant for admission to Candidateship
 2 may at any time, after application to the Bishop, duly made,
 3 apply to the Standing Committee of the Diocese for recom-
 4 mendation to the Bishop for admission as a Candidate.

1 [2.] In order thereto, he shall, with his application, lay
 2 before the Committee *testimonials*, in the following words:

3 We, whose names are hereunder written, testify, from our personal
 4 knowledge and belief, that A. B. is pious, sober, and honest; that he is
 5 attached to the doctrine, discipline, and worship, of the Protestant Episcopal
 6 Church, and that he is a Communicant of the said Church, in good stand-
 7 ing; and do furthermore declare that, in our opinion, he possesses such

8 qualifications as fit him for entrance on a course of preparation for the
9 Holy Ministry, with prospect of advantage to himself and to the Church.

1 [3.] Such testimonials shall be signed either by the Rector
2 and a majority of the Vestry of the Parish or Congregation to
3 which the Postulant may belong, or, in circumstances justify-
4 ing such alternative, by at least one Presbyter and four res-
5 pectable Laymen, communicants of the Protestant Episcopal
6 Church.

1 [4.] The Standing Committee shall be sole judge of the
2 propriety of receiving testimonials signed by others than a
3 Rector and Vestry.

1 [5.] A majority of members of a Standing Committee hav-
2 ing the requisite personal knowledge of a Postulant for recom-
3 mendation, may, at the discretion of the Committee, dispense
4 with the presentation of testimonials by a Rector and Vestry,
5 or by others of the Clergy and Laity.

1 [6.] The Standing Committee, on the receipt of such testi-
2 monials, or, in its discretion, on the personal knowledge of its
3 members, being duly satisfied that there is not sufficient ob-
4 jection on grounds either physical, intellectual, moral, or relig-
5 ious, may proceed to recommend a Postulant for admission to
6 Candidateship, by a certificate bearing the signatures of all
7 the members participant in such action, and addressed to
8 the Bishop of the Diocese, in the following words:

9 We, whose names are hereunder written, do certify that, from personal
10 knowledge, or from testimonials laid before us, we believe that A. B. is
11 pious, sober, and honest; that he is attached to the doctrine, discipline,
12 and worship, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that he is a Com-
13 municant of the said Church, in good standing; and do furthermore declare
14 that, in our opinion, he possesses such qualifications as fit him for entrance

15 on a course of preparation for the Holy Ministry, with prospect of advan-
16 tage to himself and to the Church.

1 [7.] In the action of the Bishop on the first application of
2 any Postulant for admission to Candidateship, and in that of
3 the Standing Committee on application for its recommenda-
4 tory certificate, it is always understood, and it is also at
5 proper opportunities to be made known to every Candidate, for
6 whatever Order of the Ministry, and enforced upon his con-
7 sideration, that the Church expects of all such Candidates,
8 what can never be brought to the test of any outward
9 standard,—an inward fear and worship of Almighty God, a
10 love of religion, and a sensibility to its holy influences, a habit
11 of devout affection, and, in short, a cultivation of all those
12 graces which are called in Scripture the fruits of the Spirit,
13 and by which alone His sacred influences can be manifested.

1 § IV. [1.] Upon receipt of a Certificate from the Stand-
2 ing Committee, recommending a Postulant for admission
3 to Candidateship, the Bishop shall cause such Postulant to
4 make signification of his intention, whether it be to become a
5 Candidate for the office and administration of a *Deacon only*,
6 or to be a Candidate for the *Priesthood also*.

1 [2.] If the Postulant desire to be *Candidate for Priest-*
2 *hood*, as well as for the Diaconate, he must lay before the
3 Bishop a satisfactory diploma, or other satisfactory evidence
4 that he is a graduate in Arts of some University or College
5 in which the learned languages are duly studied; and if the
6 Bishop be not fully satisfied of the sufficiency of such
7 diploma, he may remit the same, for consideration and advice,
8 to the Standing Committee of the Diocese.

1 [3.] But if the Postulant desiring to be Candidate for the
 2 Priesthood be not a graduate as aforesaid, he shall be
 3 remitted by the Bishop to the Examiners of Candidates
 4 for Priesthood, for examination in such studies and branches
 5 of learning as they shall deem equivalent, as preparatory for
 6 theological studies, to a degree in Arts. In a case of emer-
 7 gency, the Bishop may appoint any two or more learned
 8 Presbyters to hold such examination.

1 [4.] On satisfactory evidence of a degree in Arts, or report
 2 of satisfaction by Examiners, the Bishop may, after personal
 3 conference with the Postulant, admit him to be a *Candidate*
 4 *for Priest's Orders*, and shall thereupon record his name,
 5 with the date of admission, and such other particulars as
 6 may be deemed expedient, in a book to be kept for that
 7 purpose, and forthwith notify the Candidate of such record.

1 [5.] Such admission and notification of a Candidate for
 2 Priesthood is his sufficient admission as *Candidate for the*
 3 *Diaconate*, from the date of such admission and record.

1 [6.] With the notification of his admission, every Candi-
 2 date for Priest's Orders shall also receive from the Bishop the
 3 assignment of texts of Scripture, upon which he is expected
 4 to prepare discourses for presentation at his examinations.

1 § V. [1.] A Postulant for admission to Candidateship
 2 desiring to become *Candidate for the office and adminis-*
 3 *tration of a Deacon only*, must present to the Bishop, at the
 4 time of signification of such desire, certificates from two or
 5 more learned Presbyters, that on their personal knowledge of
 6 him, and actual examination for further satisfaction, they deem
 7 him to possess such personal qualifications, and to have

8 attained such proficiency in the English language and learn-
 9 ing, and in particular in the art of reading aloud, and such
 10 general acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures and the Book
 11 of Common Prayer, as justify the expectation of his useful-
 12 ness in the office of Deacon, when thereto admitted, after due
 13 trial and preparation in his Candidateship :

14 *Provided*, always, That in the case of a Postulant propos-
 15 ing to minister in a congregation worshipping in a language
 16 other than English, testimony of proficiency in the English
 17 language may be dispensed with.

1 [2.] The Bishop, on receipt of such certificates, may ad-
 2 mit a Postulant recommended by the Standing Committee as
 3 a *Candidate for Deacon's Orders*, and shall thereupon record
 4 his name, with the date of admission, and the names of the
 5 Presbyters, his Certificators, in a book to be kept for that
 6 purpose, and notify the Candidate of such record.

1 [3.] A Candidate for Deacon's Orders may become a *Candi-*
 2 *date for Priest's Orders* by signifying to the Bishop his
 3 desire to be admitted, such candidate complying with the
 4 provisions of § IV. of this Canon, and obtaining from the
 5 Bishop admission and entry in the proper record. His
 6 Candidateship shall then date from the time of such admission
 7 and entry, as notified by the Bishop.

1 [4.] A Deacon may be admitted Candidate for Priest's
 2 Orders in the same manner.

1 § VI. [1.] When a Postulant for admission as a Candi-
 2 date for Priest's Orders wishes a knowledge of the Latin,
 3 Greek, and Hebrew languages, and other branches of learn-
 4 ing not strictly Ecclesiastical, to be dispensed with, he shall
 5 communicate his wish to the Bishop.

1 [2.] If the Bishop, on consideration of the circumstances
 2 of his case, encourage him to proceed, he shall procure and
 3 lay before the Standing Committee a testimonial, signed by
 4 at least two Presbyters of this Church, certifying that in
 5 their opinion the Postulant possesses extraordinary strength
 6 of natural understanding, a peculiar aptitude to teach, and
 7 a large share of prudence, and adding any other reason for
 8 dispensation which they may believe to exist.

1 [3.] On the receipt of such testimonial, the Standing
 2 Committee, by a vote of a majority of all the members there-
 3 of, may proceed to recommend the applicant to the Bishop
 4 for the dispensation asked.

1 [4.] The Bishop may thereupon grant to the applicant a
 2 certificate of the dispensation required, for exhibition to his
 3 examiners.

1 [5.] The Bishop shall have the sole discretion of dispen-
 2 sation with a knowledge of the Hebrew language in the case
 3 of any Candidate satisfactorily showing that its attainment by
 4 him is impracticable, and the Bishop's certificate of such dis-
 5 pensation shall exempt the bearer from examination on that
 6 subject only.

1 § VII. [1.] A person not having had Episcopal Ordina-
 2 tion, but acknowledged as an Ordained Minister or Licentiate
 3 in any other Denomination of Christians, may become a Can-
 4 didate for Holy Orders in this Church.

1 [2.] Such person must give notice of his desire to be-
 2 come Candidate to the Bishop of the Diocese in which he
 3 may be resident, stating, 1st, whether he has applied for ad-
 4 mission as Candidate in any other Diocese; and, 2d, the

5 ground and reasons of his desire ; and, 3d, furnishing sufficient
6 evidence of his standing in the Denomination in which he has
7 been Minister or Licentiate.

1 [3.] With the aforesaid Notice of Desire must be for-
2 warded a written certificate from at least two Presbyters of
3 this Church, stating that, from personal knowledge of the
4 Postulant, or from satisfactory evidence laid before them, they
5 believe that his desire to leave the Denomination to which he
6 belonged has not arisen from any circumstance unfavorable to
7 his moral or religious character, or on account of which it
8 may be inexpedient to admit him to the exercise of the Min-
9 istry in this Church ; and they may also add what they know,
10 or believe on good authority, of the circumstances leading to
11 the said desire.

1 [4.] If, on receipt of such notice and certificate, the
2 Bishop authorize further procedure, the Postulant may apply
3 to the Standing Committee of the Diocese for recommenda-
4 tion ; in order to which he must lay before the Committee,—

1 (1.) A testimonial from at least twelve members of the
2 Denomination from which he comes, or twelve members of
3 the Protestant Episcopal Church, or twelve persons—in part
4 of the Denomination from which he comes, and in part of
5 this Church—satisfactory to the Committee, certifying that
6 the Postulant has, for three years last past, lived piously,
7 soberly, and honestly ; and

1 (2.) A testimonial from at least two Presbyters of this
2 Church, certifying that they believe the Postulant to be pious,
3 sober, and honest, and sincerely attached to the doctrine, dis-
4 cipline, and worship, of the Church ; and that, in their

5 opinion, he possesses such qualifications as fit him for useful-
6 ness in this Church.

1 [5.] The Standing Committee and Bishop may then pro-
2 ceed as provided for in § III. and § IV. of this Canon.

1 [6.] Should the Postulant, applying as an ordained Min-
2 ister or Licentiate of another Denomination, not be a citizen
3 of the United States, the Bishop, to whom application is made,
4 shall require of him, with the notice of his intent to become
5 a Candidate, satisfactory evidence that he has at that time
6 resided at least one year in the United States.

1 [7.] But should such Postulant apply on the ground of a
2 call to a Church in which Divine Service is celebrated in a
3 foreign language, (1) the foregoing requisition may be dis-
4 pensed with ; and (2) it shall be in the discretion of the Bishop
5 and Standing Committee to dispense with the testimonials re-
6 quired in § II. and § III. of this Canon, and to accept and act
7 upon such other evidence as in the nature of the case may be
8 obtainable, and shall seem to their judgment fully equivalent ;
9 and (3) in such case an unanimous vote of the Standing Com-
10 mittee, at a meeting duly convened, shall be requisite : *pro-*
11 *vided*, also, that the Postulant shall be required to produce to
12 the Bishop a certificate, signed by at least four respectable
13 members of this Church, testifying to the authenticity and
14 credibility of the written evidences of his religious, moral,
15 and literary qualifications ; which certificate shall also be laid
16 before the Standing Committee.

1 § VIII. In vacancy of a Diocese, or other Canonical devo-
2 lution of the Ecclesiastical authority upon the Standing Com-
3 mittee, such Committee shall be competent to receive and do

4 all assigned to the Bishop in § III., § IV., and § VI., of this
5 Canon.

1 § IX. The Bishop of the Diocese, for the purposes of this
2 and other Canons relating to Candidates and Ordinations, shall
3 be understood as well to signify an Assistant Bishop, when so
4 empowered under Canon 13, § V. of Title I., a provisional
5 Bishop, a missionary Bishop, and any other Bishop canon-
6 ically in charge of a diocese, missionary district, or congrega-
7 tion in foreign parts.

1 § X. [1.] The provisions of this and other Canons re-
2 specting Candidates for Holy Orders, extend to persons
3 coming from places in the United States, in which the Con-
4 stitution of this Church has not been acceded to, equally
5 with others.

1 [2.] Any such person shall apply for recommendation
2 (§ III.) to the Standing Committee of the Diocese of the
3 Bishop to whom his notice of intention has been given.

CANON III.

Of Admitted Candidates.

1 § I. [1.] The superintendence of a Candidate for Holy
2 Orders, and direction of his theological studies, pertain to the
3 Bishop of the Diocese.

1 [2.] In a Diocese, vacant or otherwise, Canonically under
2 the Ecclesiastical authority of the Standing Committee, such
3 Committee shall exercise said superintendence and direction.

1 [3.] Care shall be taken that the Candidate shall pursue
2 his studies diligently, and under proper direction ; and that
3 he do not indulge in any vain or trifling conduct, or in any
4 amusements most likely to be abused to licentiousness, or un-
5 favorable to that seriousness, and to those pious and studious
6 habits, which become a person preparing for the Holy
7 Ministry.

1 § II. [1.] A Candidate once admitted must remain in con-
2 nection with the Diocese in which he has been admitted until
3 his Ordination, except as hereinafter provided.

1 [2.] Letters of Dismission to the jurisdiction of any other
2 Bishop of this Church may be given him by the Bishop,
3 upon actual change of residence, or for other good and
4 sufficient reasons, established as such to the satisfaction of the
5 Bishop.

1 [3.] The convenience of attending any theological or
 2 other seminary shall not be held to be such sufficient reason
 3 or ground of change of residence.

1 § III. A Candidate for Holy Orders shall not be
 2 allowed to accept from any Diocesan Convention an appoint-
 3 ment as a Lay Deputy to the House of Clerical and Lay
 4 Deputies of the General Convention.

1 § IV. [1.] A Candidate for Holy Orders may be licensed
 2 by the Bishop to perform the Service of the Church as a Lay
 3 Reader in his own Diocese, but in no other.

1 [2.] Without such license a Candidate may not take upon
 2 himself such functions.

1 [3.] With the consent of his own Bishop, a Candidate
 2 may receive such license as a Lay Reader, for temporary use,
 3 from any other Bishop, for the Diocese of such Bishop only.

1 [4.] A Candidate so licensed shall submit to all the regu-
 2 lations which the Bishop licensing him may prescribe.

1 [5.] Such Candidate shall not, except in case of extra-
 2 ordinary emergency, or very peculiar expediency, perform
 3 any part of the Service when a Clergyman is present.

1 [6.] He shall also be bound to conformity to all the other
 2 restrictions and regulations of the Canon "of Lay Readers."

1 § V. [1.] Every Candidate for Holy Orders shall report
 2 himself to the Bishop, personally or by letter, once at least in
 3 every three months, giving account of his manner of life and
 4 progress in theological studies.

1 [2.] Failure to make such report, not satisfactorily ac-
 2 counted for to the Bishop, shall be ground of refusal of ad-
 3 mission to Holy Orders.

CANON IV.

Of Examinations.

1 § I. [1.] In each Diocese there shall be a *Board of Exam-*
2 *iners* for Holy Orders, consisting of three or more learned
3 Presbyters.

1 [2.] Where no provision shall be made by the Diocese
2 for any compensation of service rendered by such Examiners,
3 the appointment of the members of the Board shall be made
4 by the Bishop.

1 [3.] Where such provision is made, the appointment shall
2 be by election of the Standing Committee, on nomination by
3 the Bishop.

1 [4.] Such appointment shall be reversible only for cause
2 of neglect of duty, or other malfeasance, by the Bishop, acting
3 with advice and consent of the Standing Committee.

1 [5.] Removal from the Diocese shall vacate such appoint-
2 ment.

1 [6.] A vacancy in the Board, by resignation, death, or
2 removal, shall be filled with all reasonable dispatch, as above
3 prescribed; or, in a Diocese canonically under Ecclesiastical
4 authority of the Standing Committee, by vote of a majority
5 of the Committee, at a duly convened meeting.

1 § II. [1.] An *examination of literary qualifications* of a

2 Postulant or Candidate shall extend to his knowledge of
 3 English language and literature, and at least the first prin-
 4 ciples and general outlines of logic, rhetoric, mental and
 5 moral philosophy, physics and history, the Latin and Greek
 6 languages, and any other he may have studied.

1 [2.] A distinct report of the subjects of examination, and
 2 the satisfaction given in each, shall be made by the Examiners.

1 [3.] The examination may be adjourned, or repeated after
 2 an assigned period, at the discretion of the Examiners.

1 [4.] Such examination shall be made as prescribed in
 2 Canon II. § IV. ¶ 3.

1 § III. [1.] The *examination of a Candidate for the*
 2 *office and administration of a Deacon* only, shall be so con-
 3 ducted as may most thoroughly ascertain the extent of his
 4 acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New
 5 Testaments—in every part of which he shall be required to
 6 be well versed—and also his familiarity with the Book of
 7 Common Prayer, in all its parts and adjuncts, and with the
 8 Book of Articles.

1 [2.] The Candidate shall also be examined as to his suffi-
 2 ciency for the edifying performance of the Service of the
 3 Church, and for the ministration of the office of a Deacon, in
 4 all its parts and functions.

1 [3.] If the Candidate be one who, not having had Episcopal
 2 Ordination, has been acknowledged as an ordained or licensed
 3 Minister in any other Denomination of Christians, he shall
 4 also be examined on those points in which the Denomination
 5 whence he comes differs from this Church, with a view of
 6 testing his information and soundness in the same.

1 [4.] This examination shall always be conducted by the
2 Board of Examiners, the Bishop being present at his discretion.

1 § IV. [1.] There shall be assigned to every *Candidate for*
2 *Priest's Orders* three different examinations, at such times
3 and places as the Board of Examiners shall appoint.

1 [2.] Except for extraordinary reasons of great urgency,
2 these examinations shall not be accumulated into one, but shall
3 each be assigned as the business of a separate day.

1 [3.] Each examination shall be conducted in part orally,
2 and in part by questions or themes propounded in writing,
3 to which written answers shall be made, in presence of one
4 or more of the Examiners.

1 [4.] At the discretion of the Examiners, such written
2 questions may, or may not, be previously communicated to
3 the Candidate.

1 [5.] At each examination the Candidate shall produce, and
2 read throughout, a Sermon or Discourse, composed by himself,
3 on some passage of Scripture, assigned to him for that purpose
4 by the Bishop, and shall also hand in two other Sermons or
5 Discourses on some passage or passages of Scripture, selected
6 by himself; all which Sermons or Discourses shall be sub-
7 mitted to the criticisms of the Board of Examiners.

1 [6.] At either or all of the examinations, the Board of
2 Examiners may, and at some one of them, at least, shall, sub-
3 ject the Candidate to such proof of his ability to perform the
4 Service of the Church in an edifying manner, and to deliver
5 his Sermons with propriety and devotion, as shall fully satisfy
6 them of his competence for the public duties of the Holy
7 Ministry.

1 [7.] If the Candidate be one who, not having had Episcopal
 2 Ordination, has been acknowledged as an ordained or licensed
 3 Minister in any other Denomination of Christians, and be not
 4 yet admitted to Deacon's Orders, he shall, at the first exami-
 5 nation, be also examined on those points in which the Denom-
 6 ination whence he comes differs from this Church, with a view
 7 of testing his information and soundness in the same.

1 [8.] No examination at any theological or other liter-
 2 ary institution shall be held to be equivalent to any one or
 3 more of the Canonical examinations, or allowed to supersede
 4 the same; nor shall any certificate of graduation or diploma
 5 from any theological or other literary institution be held to
 6 be sufficient ground for dispensing with any part of the
 7 Diocesan examinations of a Candidate.

1 § V. *The three examinations* shall be,—

2 [1.] *The first examination*, on the Books of Scripture, the
 3 Candidate being required to give an account of the different
 4 Books, to translate from the original Greek and Hebrew, and
 5 to explain such passages as may be proposed to him.

1 [2.] In cases of Candidates having Dispensation, whether
 2 from the knowledge of the Hebrew language only, or from
 3 Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and other branches of learning
 4 not strictly ecclesiastical, the *first examination* shall extend
 5 only to the knowledge of the text and interpretation of the
 6 English Bible, with such other matters as are comprised in
 7 what are commonly known as Introductions to the Holy
 8 Scriptures.

1 [3.] *The second examination* shall be on the evidences of
 2 Christianity, Christian ethics, and systematic divinity.

1 [4.] *The third examination* shall be on Church history,
 2 ecclesiastical polity, the Book of Common Prayer, its history
 3 and contents, and the Constitution and Canons of this Church,
 4 and those of the Diocese to which the Candidate belongs.

1 [5.] In all these examinations, reference shall be had, as
 2 closely as possible, to the course of study established by the
 3 House of Bishops, and to the books therein recommended, or
 4 equivalent works of more recent date.

1 § VI. [1.] The Bishop, at his discretion, may take part
 2 and preside in either or all of the examinations of a Candi-
 3 date for Priest's Orders.

1 [2.] The Bishop may also invite the presence and assist-
 2 ance, at any such examination, of any Presbyter, to whom he
 3 may desire to assign the duty of presenting one or more of
 4 the Candidates for Ordination.

1 [3.] If any Candidate for Priest's Orders be not exam-
 2 ined by the Bishop in at least one of the examinations by the
 3 Board of Examiners, he shall, before his Ordination, be exam-
 4 ined by the Bishop and two or more Presbyters, on the sub-
 5 jects above prescribed.

1 [4.] A Candidate ordained for a Diocese vacant or Canon-
 2 ically under the Ecclesiastical authority of the Standing Com-
 3 mittee, shall, besides the examination by the Diocesan Board
 4 of Examiners, be again examined by the Bishop, to whom
 5 he shall be recommended for Ordination, and two or more
 6 Presbyters, on the studies prescribed by this Canon.

1 § VII. [1.] The examination of a Candidate for Priest's
 2 Orders may take place either before or after Ordination to the
 3 Diaconate.

1 [2.] Their satisfactory passage by the Candidate shall be

2 his sufficient examination for Deacon's Orders: *Provided*
 3 that, if the Bishop shall not have taken part in one or more
 4 of such examinations, then the Candidate shall be examined
 5 by the Bishop and two Presbyters in the mode prescribed in
 6 § III. of this Canon.

1 [3.] The satisfactory passage of the *first* examination for
 2 Priest's Orders alone shall suffice for the admission of the
 3 Candidate to Deacon's Orders: *Provided* as above, and
 4 *further provided* that, in any case, before Ordination, he
 5 be examined by the Bishop and at least two Presbyters on his
 6 familiarity with the Book of Common Prayer, in all its parts
 7 and adjuncts, and with the text of the Book of Articles; and
 8 that such examination on the Prayer Book be not held to
 9 have satisfied in his case the requisitions of the *third* exami-
 10 nation for Priest's Orders.

1 § VIII. Satisfaction given in any examination shall
 2 in every case be certified in writing to the Bishop, with the
 3 signatures of the Examiners.

1 § IX. Violation of any of the provisions of this Canon
 2 shall disqualify for Ordination the Candidate implicated,
 3 and shall also subject any other party concerned to Canon-
 4 ical procedure and censure.

1 § X. [1.] A Candidate for Priest's Orders must apply for
 2 at least his *first* and *second* examinations within three years,
 3 and his *third* within five years from his admission, or else
 4 assign, to the Bishop, causes which he shall deem satisfactory
 5 for failure so to do.

1 [2.] For contravention of this rule, the offender shall be
 2 stricken from the list of Candidates, after due warning by the
 3 Bishop.

CANON V.

Provisions and Cautions concerning Ordination.

1 § I. [1.] No Candidate who may be refused Holy Orders,
2 in any Diocese, shall be Ordained in any other Diocese, except
3 by renewal of Candidateship, under the provisions of Canon II.

1 [2.] A Bishop who shall finally reject the application of a
2 Candidate for Holy Orders, shall immediately notify such
3 rejection to every Bishop and other diocesan ecclesiastical
4 authority in this Church.

1 § II. [1.] A candidate for Holy Orders, recommended by
2 a Standing Committee, canonically acting as ecclesiastical
3 authority, if he have lately resided for a length of time, not
4 less than one year, in any other Diocese, shall apply to the
5 Bishop of such Diocese for ordination.

1 [2.] Such Candidate shall, besides his recommendation from
2 his own Diocese, apply for recommendation from the Standing
3 Committee of the Diocese in which he seeks ordination.

1 § III. [1.] No Bishop of this Church shall ordain any
2 person to officiate in any congregation or church destitute of
3 a Bishop, situated without the jurisdiction of the United
4 States, except with the canonically prescribed testimonials
5 and examinations.

1 [2.] In such case, the testimonials allowed in Canon II.
2 § VII. ¶ 7 shall be accounted sufficient.

1 [3.] Should any person so Ordained desire to settle in any
 2 Congregation or Parish of this Church, he must obtain a
 3 special License therefor from the Bishop, and officiate as a
 4 Probationer for at least one year.

1 § IV. A Clergyman who presents a person to the
 2 Bishop for Holy Orders, as specified in the Office for Ordination,
 3 without having good grounds to believe that the
 4 requisitions of the Canons have been complied with, shall be
 5 liable to Ecclesiastical censure.

1 § V. [1.] Agreeably to the practice of the Primitive
 2 Church, the stated times of Ordination shall be on the
 3 Sundays following the Ember Weeks, namely, the Second
 4 Sunday in Lent, the Feast of Trinity, and the Sundays after
 5 the Wednesday following the 14th day of September and the
 6 13th of December.

1 [2.] Occasional Ordinations may be held at other times,
 2 as the Bishops shall appoint.

CANON VI.

Of the Ordination of Deacons.

1 § I. A Candidate for the Office and Administration of a
2 Deacon only shall not be ordained within one year from his
3 admission, unless the Bishop, with the consent of the Stand-
4 ing Committee, shall deem it expedient to ordain him after
5 the expiration of a shorter period, in no case to be less than
6 six months.

1 § II. Before the examination preceding Ordination, such
2 Candidate shall be required to present to the Bishop a
3 testimonial from at least one Rector of a Parish, signifying
4 the belief that he is well qualified to minister in the Office of
5 a Deacon, to the glory of God and the edification of the
6 Church.

1 § III. A Candidate for Priest's Orders shall not be
2 ordained to the Diaconate within three years from his
3 admission, unless the Bishop, for urgent reasons, with the
4 consent of the Standing Committee, shall admit him to the
5 Diaconate while yet prosecuting his course of theological
6 study; in which case he may be ordained at any time after
7 the expiration of one year from his admission.

1 § IV. [1.] No person shall be ordained Deacon in this
2 Church unless he be recommended to the Bishop for ordina-
3 tion by the Standing Committee of the Diocese.

1 [2.] In order to such recommendation, the Candidate must
 2 lay before the Standing Committee testimonials from the
 3 Minister and Vestry of the Parish or Congregation of which
 4 he is a member, or from the Vestry alone, if the Parish be
 5 vacant; or, if there be no organized Parish or Congregation
 6 where he has resided, from at least twelve respectable mem-
 7 bers of the Protestant Episcopal Church, testifying to his
 8 piety, good morals, and orderly conduct, in the following
 9 words:

10 We, whose names are hereunder written, do testify, from evidence
 11 satisfactory to us, that A. B., for the space of three years last past, hath
 12 lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not, so far as we know or
 13 believe, written, taught, or held anything contrary to the doctrine or disci-
 14 pline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a
 15 person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Deacons. In witness
 16 whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this — day of —, in the
 17 year of our Lord —.

1 [3.] But in case a Candidate, from some peculiar circum-
 2 stances not affecting his pious or moral character, shall be
 3 unable to procure testimonials from the Minister and Vestry
 4 of the Parish where he resides, the Standing Committee may
 5 accept testimonials of the purport above stated, from at least
 6 twelve respectable members of the Protestant Episcopal
 7 Church.

1 [4.] The Candidate shall also lay before the Standing
 2 Committee a testimonial, signed by at least one respectable
 3 Presbyterian of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United
 4 States, in the following words:

5 I [or we] do certify that A. B., for the space of three years last past,
 6 hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not, so far as I know

7 or believe, written, taught, or held anything contrary to the doctrine or
 8 discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, I [or we]
 9 think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Deacons.
 10 This testimonial is founded on my [or our] personal knowledge of the
 11 said A. B., for one year last past, and for the residue of the said time, upon
 12 evidence that is satisfactory to me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto
 13 set my hand, this — day of —, in the year of our Lord —.

1 [5.] The Standing Committee, on receipt of such testimo-
 2 nials, may, at a meeting duly convened, a majority of all the
 3 Committee consenting, proceed to recommend the Candidate
 4 for ordination, by a testimonial address to the Bishop of the
 5 Diocese, in the following words:

6 We, whose names are hereunder written, certify that A. B. hath laid
 7 before us satisfactory testimonials that, for the space of three years last
 8 past, he hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not written
 9 taught, or held anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the
 10 Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a person
 11 worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Deacons. In witness
 12 whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this — day of —, in the year
 13 of our Lord —.

14 This testimonial shall have the signatures of all consenting
 15 to it.

1 § VI. In the case of a Candidate not having had Episcopal
 2 Ordination, but acknowledged as an ordained Minister or
 3 Licentiate by some other Denomination of Christians, the
 4 testimonials to be laid before the Standing Committee, and
 5 the testimonial given by the Committee, shall be required to
 6 cover only the time since the admission of the person to a
 7 Candidateship.

1 § VII. The same provision shall apply to the case of a
 2 person to be ordained on the ground of a call to a church in
 3 which Divine Service is celebrated in a foreign language.

- 1 § VIII. Deacon's Orders shall not be conferred on any
- 2 person under the age of twenty-one years complete.

CANON VII.

Of Deacons.

[The present Canon VI., without change of text or arrangement.]

CANON VIII.

Of the Ordination of Priests.

1 § I. A Candidate for Priest's Orders, who has been a
2 Candidate for the Ministry of any other Denomination of
3 Christians, may be allowed as part of the duration of his
4 Candidateship, by the Bishop, with the consent of the Stand-
5 ing Committee, the period during which he may have been a
6 Student of Theology, or Candidate in such other Denomina-
7 tion: *Provided*, That the time so allowed shall not exceed
8 two years.

1 § II. A Candidate for Priesthood shall not be ordained
2 within three years from his admission, nor, in any case, within
3 one year from his reception of Deacon's Orders, except by
4 the advice and consent of a majority of all the members of
5 the Standing Committee of the Diocese, at a meeting duly
6 convened.

1 § III. No person shall be ordained a Priest unless he shall
2 produce to the Bishop a satisfactory certificate from some
3 Church, Parish, or Congregation, that he is engaged with
4 them, and that they will receive him as their Minister; or
5 unless he be a Missionary under the Ecclesiastical authority of
6 the Diocese to which he belongs, or in the employment
7 of some Missionary Society recognized by the General Con-
8 vention; or unless he be engaged as a Professor, Tutor, or

9 Instructor of Youth. in some College, Academy, or other
10 Seminary of learning, duly incorporated, or as a Chaplain in
11 the Army or Navy of the United States.

1 § IV. [1.] No person shall be ordained a Priest in this
2 Church unless he be recommended to the Bishop for ordina-
3 tion by the Standing Committee of the Diocese for which he
4 is to be ordained.

1 [2.] In order to such recommendation, the Candidate
2 must lay before the Standing Committee testimonials of his
3 piety, good morals, and orderly conduct, from the Minister
4 and Vestry of the Parish where he resides; or, if the Parish
5 be vacant, or if the applicant be the Minister of the Parish
6 (a Deacon desirous of Priest's Orders), from the Vestry alone,
7 in the following words:

8 We, whose names are hereunder written, do testify that A. B., for the
9 space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly
10 and hath not, so far as we know or believe, written, taught, or held any-
11 thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal
12 Church; and, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to
13 the Sacred Order of Priests. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set
14 our hands, this — day of —, in the year of our Lord —.

1 [3.] But in case peculiar circumstances, not affecting his
2 moral character, or the want of a Vestry where he is residing
3 or ministering, should hinder the procurement of testimonials
4 as above, the Standing Committee may accept testimonials of
5 the same tenor from at least twelve respectable members of
6 the Protestant Episcopal Church.

1 [4.] The Candidate shall also lay before the Standing
2 Committee a testimonial, signed by at least one Presbyter of
3 the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in the
4 following form:

5 I do certify that A. B., for the space of three years past, has lived
 6 piously, soberly, and honestly, and has not, so far as I know or believe,
 7 written, taught, or held anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of
 8 the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, I think him a person
 9 worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Priests. This testimonial is
 10 founded on my personal knowledge of the said A. B., for one year last past,
 11 and for the residue of the said time, upon evidence that is satisfactory to
 12 me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this — day of
 13 —, in the year of our Lord —.

1 [5.] The Standing Committee, on receipt of such testimo-
 2 nials, may, at a meeting duly convened, a majority of the
 3 Committee consenting, proceed to recommend the Candidate
 4 for ordination, by a testimonial addressed to the Bishop, in
 5 the following words:

6 We, whose names are underwritten, members of the Standing Com-
 7 mittee of the Diocese of —, do testify that A. B. hath laid before us
 8 satisfactory testimonials that, for the space of three years last past, he
 9 hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not written, taught, or
 10 held anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant
 11 Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be
 12 admitted to the Sacred Order of Priests. In witness whereof, we have
 13 hereunto set our hands, this — day of —, in the year of our Lord —.

14 This testimonial shall have the signatures of all consenting
 15 to it.

1 § V. Candidates for the Priesthood, ordained Deacons
 2 under § VI. or § VII. of Canon VI., shall not be required to
 3 have testimonials covering more time than has elapsed since
 4 their admission to Candidateship.

1 § VI. A Candidate for Priest's Orders, ordained Deacon
 2 within three years preceding the time of his application for
 3 recommendation for ordination to the Priesthood, shall only
 4 be required to have testimonials extending back to the time

5 of his ordination: *Provided* nothing shall have in the
6 meanwhile occurred that tends to invalidate the force of the
7 evidence on which the Candidate was ordained a Deacon.

1 § VII. Priest's Orders shall not be conferred on any
2 person until he shall have attained the age of twenty-four
3 years complete.

CANON IX.

Of Lay Readers.

1 § I. A Lay Communicant of this Church may receive
2 from the Bishop a commission to perform the service of the
3 Church in a congregation convened for public worship, as a
4 Lay Reader.

1 § II. [1.] In order to such appointment, the Bishop shall
2 require a testimonial in behalf of the person to be appointed,
3 in the following words :

4 We, whose names are hereunder written, testify, from our personal knowl-
5 edge and belief, that A. B. is pious, sober, and honest ; that he is attached to
6 the doctrine, discipline, and worship, of the Protestant Episcopal Church,
7 and that he is a Communicant of the said Church, in good standing.

1 [2.] This testimonial shall be either (1) from the Rector and
2 a majority of the Vestry of the Parish or Congregation in
3 which the service of such Lay Reader may be desired ; or
4 (2) from the Rector and a majority of the Vestry of the
5 Parish or Congregation of which the person recommended is
6 a member ; or (3) from any two Presbyters, and at least
7 four Lay Communicants of the Diocese.

1 § III. [1.] Such appointment may be made by the Bishop,
2 of his own motion, for service in any vacant Parish, Congre-
3 gation, or Mission.

1 [2.] But where a Rector is in charge, his request and
 2 recommendation must have been previously signified to the
 3 Bishop.

1 § IV. [1.] The Lay Reader so appointed shall be subject
 2 to any regulations prescribed by the Bishop or Ecclesiastical
 3 authority of the Diocese.

1 [2.] He shall not use the Absolution, nor the Benediction,
 2 nor the Offices of the Church, except those for the Burial of
 3 the Dead, and for Visitation of the Sick, and of Prisoners;
 4 omitting, in these last, the Absolutions and Benedictions.

1 [3.] He shall not assume the dress appropriate to Clergy-
 2 men ministering in the congregation.

1 [4.] He shall conform to the direction of the Bishop; or,
 2 if in a Parish or Congregation having a Rector, then of such
 3 Rector, as to the sermons or homilies to be read.

1 [5.] He shall not deliver sermons of his own composition.

1 [6.] He shall not, except in case of extraordinary emer-
 2 gency, or very peculiar expediency, perform any part of the
 3 Service when a Clergyman is present.

CHANGES
IN THE
CONSTITUTION AND CANONS
OF THE
Protestant Episcopal Church
IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
ADOPTED AT A
GENERAL CONVENTION,
HELD IN THE CITY OF BALTIMORE, OCTOBER 4-26, A.D. 1871.



PRINTED FOR THE CONVENTION.
1871.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

HOUSE OF DEPUTIES.

TWENTIETH DAY OF THE SESSION, }
BALTIMORE, MD., *October 26, 1871.* }

On motion,

Resolved, That the Secretary of this House, acting with the Joint Committee appointed to certify the changes made in the Constitution and Canons, cause the said certification to be printed immediately after adjournment, and forwarded to each of the members of this Convention, and to the several Church papers for publication.

From the Journal.

Attest:

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY,
Secretary of the House of Deputies.

We hereby certify that the following are the changes made in the Constitution and Canons, at the session of the General Convention, held in the city of Baltimore, October, 1871, and that the said changes are to be arranged in the following order, as required by Canon 2, of Title IV., of the Digest.

JOHN WILLIAMS, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Connecticut;

HORATIO POTTER, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of New York.

Committee on the part of the House of Bishops.

BENJ. I. HAIGHT, S.T.D., LL.D.;

BENJ. H. PADDOCK.

Committee on the part of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

NEW YORK, December 9, 1871.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION AND CANONS

FINALLY RATIFIED AND APPROVED AT THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1871.

The Secretary was instructed in all future publications of the Constitution to cause the word "or" to be printed between the words "Clerical" and "Lay" in Article 2 of the Constitution instead of the word "and"; so that the Article as corrected, will read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.

The Church in each Diocese shall be entitled to a representation of both the Clergy and the Laity. Such representation shall consist of not more than four Clergymen, and four Laymen communicants in this Church, residents in the Diocese, and chosen in the manner prescribed by the Convention thereof; and in all questions when required by the clerical or lay representation from any Diocese, each Order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages by Dioceses shall be conclusive in each Order, provided such majority comprehend a majority of the Dioceses represented in that Order. The concurrence of both Orders shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Convention. If the Convention of any Diocese should neglect or decline to appoint clerical Deputies, or if they should neglect or decline to appoint lay Deputies, or if any of those of either Order appointed should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness or any other accident, such Diocese shall nevertheless be considered as duly represented by such Deputy or Deputies as may attend, whether lay or clerical. And if, through the neglect of the Convention of any of the Churches which shall have adopted or may hereafter adopt this Constitution, no Deputies, either lay or clerical, should attend at any General Convention, the Church in such Diocese shall nevertheless be bound by the acts of such Convention.

Article 5 of the Constitution was amended so as to read as follows:

ARTICLE 5.

A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, or any Territory thereof, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted on acceding to this Constitution; and a new Diocese, to be formed from one or more existing Dioceses, may be admitted under the following restrictions, viz.:

No new Diocese shall be formed or erected within the limits of any other Diocese, nor shall any Diocese be formed by the junction of two or more Dioceses, or parts of Dioceses, unless with the consent of the Bishop and Convention of each of the Dioceses concerned, as well as of the General Convention, and such consent shall not be given by the General Convention until it has satisfactory assurance of a suitable provision for the support of the Episcopate in the contemplated new Diocese.

No such new Diocese shall be formed which shall contain less than six Parishes, or less than six Presbyters who have been for at least one year canonically resident within the bounds of such new Diocese, regularly settled in a Parish or Congregation, and qualified to vote for a Bishop. Nor shall such new Diocese be formed, if thereby any existing Diocese shall be so reduced as to contain less than twelve Parishes, or less than twelve Presbyters who have been residing therein and settled and qualified as above mentioned: *Provided*, that no city shall form more than one Diocese.

In case one Diocese shall be divided into two or more Dioceses, the Diocesan of the Diocese divided may elect the one to which he will be attached, and shall thereupon become the Diocesan thereof; and the Assistant Bishop, if there be one, may elect the one to which he will be attached: and if it be not the one elected by the Bishop, he shall be the Diocesan thereof.

Whenever the division of a Diocese into two or more Dioceses shall be ratified by the General Convention, each of the Dioceses shall be subject to the Constitution and Canons of the Diocese so divided, except as local circumstances may prevent, until the same may be altered in either Diocese by the Convention thereof. And whenever a Diocese shall be formed out of two or more existing Dioceses, the new Diocese shall be subject to the Constitution and Canons of that one of the said existing Dioceses to which the greater number of Clergymen shall have belonged prior to the erection of such new Diocese, until the same may be altered by the Convention of the new Diocese.

The following Canons were adopted as substitutes for Canons 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9, of Title I of the Digest, and the numbering of Canon 6 of Title I of the Digest was changed, making it Canon 7, as follows:

CANON 2.

Of the Admission of Persons as Candidates for Holy Orders.

§ I. All persons seeking admission to the ministry of this Church are to be regarded either as Candidates for Holy Orders, or as Postulants for admission to Candidateship.

§ II. [1.] Every person desiring to be admitted Candidate for Holy Orders is, in the first instance, to consult his immediate Spiritual Pastor or Rector, setting before him, freely and fully, the grounds of his desire for admission to the Ministry, together with such circumstances in his personal constitution, relations, and position, as may bear on his qualifications, or tend to affect his course of preparation.

[2.] If counselled to persevere in his intention, such person shall then, with letter of approval and introduction from the Pastor or Rector, personally, if possible, or by letter, give notice of his intention to the Bishop of the Diocese, stating whether he has ever applied for admission as a Candidate in any other Diocese; (2) whether he is prepared at once to apply for recommendation to be admitted Candidate; (3) or, if not so prepared, where he proposes to prosecute preparatory studies, and whether he expects or desires aid in such studies while a Postulant; and (4) the time and place of his Baptism, Confirmation, and first Communion. *Provided*, however, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the Bishop for reasons satisfactory to himself, from receiving such application and notice, without such letter of approval and introduction, if the same, when applied for, be not given by such Pastor or Rector.

[3.] Such notice must be given to the Bishop of the Diocese in which the person is actually resident, and can be received by none other.

[4.] A Bishop may, at his discretion, permit the transfer of such application to the Bishop of another Diocese, for reasons seeming to him to justify such transfer.

[5.] A Bishop may not receive such application from a person who has been refused admission as a Candidate in any other Diocese, or who, having been admitted, has afterward ceased to be a Candidate, until he shall have caused such person to produce a Certificate from the Bishop in whose Diocese he has been refused admission, or has been a Candidate, declaring the cause of refusal, or of cessation of Candidateship; and such Certificate shall be laid before the Standing Committee of the Diocese in which such second application shall be made.

[6.] A Standing Committee acting under canonical provision as the Ecclesiastical Authority of a Diocese, in vacancy, or for other causes, shall be competent to receive and do all assigned to the Bishop in the foregoing clauses.

§ III. [1.] The Postulant for admission to Candidateship may at any time, after application to the Bishop, duly made, apply to the Standing Committee of the Diocese for recommendation to the Bishop for admission as a Candidate.

[2.] In order thereto, he shall, with his application, lay before the Committee *testimonials*, in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, testify, from our personal knowledge and belief, that A. B. is pious, sober, and honest; that he is attached to the doctrine, discipline, and worship, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that he is a Communicant of the said Church, in good standing; and do furthermore declare that, in our opinion, he possesses such qualifications as fit him for entrance on a course of preparation for the Holy Ministry.

[3.] Such testimonials shall be signed either by the Rector and a majority of the Vestry of the Parish or Congregation to which the Postulant may belong, said Vestry being duly convened, and this fact being explicitly stated on the face of the testimonial, or, in circumstances justifying such alternative, by at least one Presbyter and four respectable Laymen, communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[4.] The Standing Committee shall be sole judge of the propriety of receiving testimonials signed by others than a Rector and Vestry.

[5.] A majority of members of a Standing Committee having the requisite personal knowledge of a Postulant for recommendation, may, at the discretion of the Committee, dispense with the presentation of testimonials by a Rector and Vestry, or by others of the Clergy and Laity.

[6.] The Standing Committee, on the receipt of such testimonials, or, in its discretion, on the personal knowledge of its members, being duly satisfied that there is not sufficient objection on grounds either physical, intellectual, moral, or religious, may proceed to recommend a Postulant for admission to Candidateship, by a certificate bearing the signatures of a majority of all the members of the Committee and addressed to the Bishop of the Diocese, in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, do certify that (from personal knowledge, or from testimonials laid before us, as the case may be) we believe that A. B. is pious, sober, and honest; that he is attached to the doctrine, discipline, and worship, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that he is a Communicant of the said Church, in good standing; and do furthermore declare that, in our opinion, he possesses such qualifications as fit him for entrance on a course of preparation for the Holy Ministry.

[7.] In the action of the Bishop on the first application of any Postulant for admission to Candidateship, and in that of the Standing Committee on application for its recommendatory certificate, it is always understood, and it is also at proper opportunities to be made known to every Candidate, for whatever Order of the Ministry, and enforced upon his consideration, that the Church expects of all such Candidates what can never be brought to the test of any outward standard,—an inward fear and worship of Almighty God, a love of religion and a sensibility to its holy influences, a habit of devout affection, and, in short, a cultivation of all those graces which are called in Scripture the fruits of the Spirit, and by which alone His sacred influences can be manifested.

§ IV. [1.] Upon receipt of a Certificate from the Standing Committee, recommending a Postulant for admission to Candidateship, the Bishop shall require such Postulant to make signification of his intention, whether it be to become a Candidate for the office and ministration of a *Deacon only*, or to be a Candidate for the *Priesthood also*.

[2.] If the Postulant desires to be *Candidate for Priesthood*, as well as for the Diaconate, he must lay before the Bishop a satisfactory diploma, or other satisfactory evidence, that he is a graduate in Arts of some University

or College in which the learned languages are duly studied; and if the Bishop be not fully satisfied of the sufficiency of such diploma, he may remit the same, for consideration and advice, to the Standing Committee of the Diocese.

[3.] But if the Postulant desiring to be Candidate for the Priesthood be not a graduate as aforesaid, he shall be remitted by the Bishop to the Examiners of Candidates for Priesthood, for examination as prescribed in the Canon of Examinations. In a case of emergency, the Bishop may appoint any two or more learned Presbyters to hold such examination.

[4.] On satisfactory evidence of a degree in Arts, or report of satisfaction by Examiners, the Bishop may, after personal conference with the Postulant, admit him to be a *Candidate for Priest's Orders*, and shall thereupon record his name, with the date of admission, and such other particulars as may be deemed expedient, in a book to be kept for that purpose, and forthwith give the Candidate written notice of such record.

[5.] Such admission and notification of a Candidate for Priesthood is his sufficient admission as *Candidate for the Diaconate*, from the date of such admission and record.

[6.] With the notification of his admission, every Candidate for Priest's Orders shall also receive from the Bishop the assignment of texts of Scripture, upon which he is expected to prepare discourses for presentation at his examinations.

§ V. [1.] A Postulant for admission to Candidateship desiring to become *Candidate for the office and ministration of a Deacon only*, must present to the Bishop, at the time of signification of such desire, certificates from two or more learned Presbyters, that on their personal knowledge of him, and actual examination for further satisfaction, they deem him to possess such personal qualifications, and to have attained such proficiency in the English language and learning, and in particular in the art of reading aloud, and such general acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer, as justify the expectation of his usefulness in the office of Deacon, when thereto admitted, after due trial and preparation in his Candidateship: *Provided*, always, that in the case of a Postulant proposing to minister in a congregation worshipping in a language other than English, testimony of proficiency in the English language may be dispensed with.

[2.] The Bishop, on receipt of such certificates, may admit a Postulant recommended by the Standing Committee as a *Candidate for Deacon's Orders*, and shall thereupon record his name, with the date of admission, and the names of the Presbyters signing such Certificate, in a book to be kept for that purpose, and notify the Candidate of such record.

[3.] A Candidate for Deacon's Orders may become a *Candidate for Priest's Orders* by signifying to the Bishop his desire to be admitted, such Candidate complying with the provisions of § IV. of this Canon, and obtaining from the Bishop admission and entry in the proper record. His Candidateship shall then date from the time of such admission and entry, as notified by the Bishop.

[4.] A Deacon may be admitted Candidate for Priest's Orders in the same manner.

§ VI. [1.] When a Postulant for admission as a Candidate for Priest's Orders wishes a knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and other branches of learning not strictly ecclesiastical, to be dispensed with, he shall communicate his wish to the Bishop.

[2.] If the Bishop, on consideration of the circumstances of his case, encourage him to proceed, he shall procure and lay before the Standing Committee a testimonial, signed by at least two Presbyters of this Church, certifying that in their opinion the Postulant possesses extraordinary strength of natural understanding, a peculiar aptitude to teach, and a large share of prudence, and adding any other reason for dispensation which they may believe to exist.

[3.] On the receipt of such testimonial, the Standing Committee, by a

vote of two-thirds of all the members thereof, may proceed to recommend the applicant to the Bishop for the dispensation asked.

[4.] The Bishop may thereupon grant to the applicant a certificate of the dispensation required, for exhibition to his examiners.

[5.] The Bishop shall have the sole discretion of dispensation with a knowledge of the Hebrew language, in the case of any Candidate satisfactorily showing that its attainment by him is impracticable, and the Bishop's certificate of such dispensation shall exempt the bearer from examination on that subject only.

§ VII. [1.] A person not having had Episcopal Ordination, but acknowledged as an Ordained Minister or Licentiate in any other denomination of Christians, may become a Candidate for Holy Orders in this Church.

[2.] Such person must give notice of his desire to become Candidate to the Bishop of the Diocese in which he may be resident, stating, 1st, whether he has applied for admission as Candidate in any other Diocese; and, 2d, the ground and reasons of his desire; and, 3d, furnishing sufficient evidence of his standing in the Denomination in which he has been Minister or Licentiate.

[3.] With the aforesaid Notice of Desire must be forwarded a written certificate from at least two Presbyters of this Church, stating that, from personal knowledge of the Postulant, or from satisfactory evidence laid before them, they believe that his desire to leave the Denomination to which he belonged has not arisen from any circumstance unfavorable to his moral or religious character, or on account of which it may be inexpedient to admit him to the exercise of the Ministry in this Church; and they may also add what they know, or believe on good authority, of the circumstances leading to the said desire.

[4.] If, on receipt of such notice and certificate, the Bishop authorize further procedure, the Postulant may apply to the Standing Committee of the Diocese for recommendation; in order to which he must lay before the Committee,—

(1) A testimonial from at least twelve members of the Denomination from which he comes, or twelve members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or twelve persons—in part of the Denomination from which he comes, and in part of this Church—satisfactory to the Committee, certifying that the Postulant has, for three years past, lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and

(2) A testimonial from at least two Presbyters of this Church, certifying that they believe the Postulant to be pious, sober, and honest, and sincerely attached to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church; and that, in their opinion, he possesses such qualifications as fit him for usefulness in this Church.

[5.] The Standing Committee and Bishop may then proceed as provided for in § III. and § IV. of this Canon.

[6.] Should the Postulant, applying as an ordained Minister or Licentiate of another Denomination, not be a citizen of the United States, the Bishop to whom application is made shall require of him, with the notice of his intent to become a Candidate, satisfactory evidence that he has at that time resided at least one year in the United States.

[7.] But should such Postulant apply on the ground of a call to a Church in which Divine Service is celebrated in a foreign language, (1) the foregoing requisition may be dispensed with; and (2) it shall be in the discretion of the Bishop and Standing Committee to dispense with the testimonials required in § II. and § III. of this Canon, and to accept and act upon such other evidence as in the nature of the case may be obtainable, and shall seem to their judgment fully equivalent; and (3) in such case an unanimous vote of the Standing Committee, at a meeting duly convened, shall be requisite: *Provided*, also, that the Postulant shall be required to produce to the Bishop a certificate, signed by at least four respectable members of this Church, testifying to the authenticity and credibility of the written evi-

dences of his religious, moral, and literary qualifications; which certificate shall also be laid before the Standing Committee.

§ VIII. In any case when the Standing Committee is the Ecclesiastical authority of the Diocese, such Committee shall be competent to receive and do all assigned to the Bishop in § III., § IV., and § VI., of this Canon.

§ IX. The Bishop of the Diocese, for the purposes of this and other Canons relating to Candidates and Ordinations, shall be understood, in cases so requiring, to signify an Assistant Bishop, when so empowered under Canon 13, § V. of Title I., a Provisional Bishop, a Missionary Bishop, and any other Bishop canonically in charge of a Diocese, Missionary District, or Congregation in foreign parts.

§ X. [1.] The provisions of this and other Canons respecting Candidates for Holy Orders, extend to persons coming from places in the United States, in which the Constitution of this Church has not been acceded to, equally with others.

[2.] Any such person shall apply for recommendation (§ III.) to the Standing Committee of the Diocese of the Bishop to whom his notice of intention has been given.

CANON 3.

Of Admitted Candidates.

§ I. [1.] The superintendence of a Candidate for Holy Orders, and direction of his theological studies, pertain to the Bishop of the Diocese.

[2.] In a Diocese, vacant or otherwise, Canonically under the Ecclesiastical authority of the Standing Committee, the Clerical Members of such Committee shall exercise said superintendence and direction.

[3.] Care shall be taken that the Candidate shall pursue his studies diligently, and under proper direction; and that he do not indulge in any vain or trifling conduct, or in any amusements most likely to be abused to licentiousness, or unfavorable to that seriousness, and to those pious and studious habits, which become a person preparing for the Holy Ministry.

§ II. [1.] A Candidate once admitted must remain in connection with the Diocese in which he has been admitted until his Ordination, except as hereinafter provided.

[2.] Letters of Dismission to the jurisdiction of any other Bishop of this Church may be given him by the Bishop, upon actual change of residence, or for other good and sufficient reasons, established as such to the satisfaction of the Bishop.

[3.] The convenience of attending any theological or other seminary shall not be held to be such sufficient reason or ground of change of residence.

§ III. A Candidate for Holy Orders shall not be allowed to accept from any Diocesan Convention an appointment as a Lay Deputy to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the General Convention.

§ IV. [1.] A Candidate for Holy Orders may be licensed by the Bishop to perform the Service of the Church as a Lay Reader in his own Diocese, but in no other.

[2.] Without such license a Candidate may not take upon himself such functions.

[3.] With the consent of his own Bishop, a Candidate may receive such license as a Lay Reader, for temporary use, from any other Bishop, for the Diocese of such Bishop only.

[4.] A Candidate so licensed shall submit to all the regulations which the Bishop licensing him may prescribe.

[5.] He shall also be bound to conformity to all the other restrictions and regulations of the Canon "of Lay Readers."

§ V. [1.] Every Candidate for Holy Orders shall report himself to the Bishop, personally or by letter, once at least in every three months, giving account of his manner of life and progress in theological studies.

[2.] Failure to make such report, not satisfactorily accounted for to the Bishop, shall be ground of refusal of admission to Holy Orders.

CANON 4.

Of Examinations.

§ I. In each Diocese there shall be two or more Examining Chaplains, to be appointed by the Bishop, and holding their office at his discretion.

§ II. [1.] An *examination of the literary qualifications* of a Postulant or Candidate shall extend to his knowledge of the English language and literature, and at least the first principles and general outlines of logic, rhetoric, mental and moral philosophy, physics and history, and the Latin and Greek languages.

[2.] A distinct report of the subjects of examination, and the satisfaction given in each, shall be made by the Examining Chaplains.

[3.] The examination may be adjourned, or repeated after an assigned period, at the discretion of the Examining Chaplains.

[4.] Such examination shall be made as prescribed in Canon II. § IV [3.].

§ III. [1.] The *examination of a Candidate for the office and ministration of a Deacon* only, shall be so conducted as may most thoroughly ascertain the extent of his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments—in every part of which he shall be required to be well versed—and also his familiarity with the Book of Common Prayer, in all its parts and adjuncts, and with the Book of Articles.

[2.] The Candidate shall also be examined as to his sufficiency for the edifying performance of the Service of the Church, and for the ministration of the office of a Deacon, in all its parts and functions.

[3.] If the Candidate be one who, not having had Episcopal Ordination, has been acknowledged as an ordained or licensed Minister in any other Denomination of Christians, he shall also be examined on those points in which the Denomination whence he comes differs from this Church, with a view of testing his information and soundness in the same.

[4.] This examination shall always be conducted by the Examining Chaplains, the Bishop being present at his discretion.

§ IV. [1.] There shall be assigned to every *Candidate for Priest's Orders* three different examinations, at such times and places as the Examining Chaplains shall appoint.

[2.] Except for extraordinary reasons of great urgency, these examinations shall not be accumulated into one, but shall each be assigned as the business of a separate day.

[3.] Each examination shall be conducted in part orally, and in part by questions or themes propounded in writing, to which written answers shall be made, in presence of one or more of the Examining Chaplains.

[4.] At the discretion of the Examining Chaplains, such written questions or themes may, or may not, be previously communicated to the Candidate.

[5.] At each examination the Candidate shall produce, and read, a Sermon or Discourse, composed by himself, on some passage of Scripture assigned to him for that purpose by the Bishop, and shall also hand in two other Sermons or Discourses on some passage or passages of Scripture selected by himself; all which Sermons or Discourses shall be submitted to the criticisms of the Examining Chaplains.

[6.] At either or all of the examinations, the Examining Chaplains may, and at some one of them, at least, shall, subject the Candidate to such proof of his ability to conduct the Service of the Church in an edifying manner, and to deliver his Sermons with propriety and effectiveness, as shall fully satisfy them of his competence for the public duties of the Holy Ministry.

[7.] If the Candidate be one who, not having had Episcopal Ordination, has been acknowledged as an ordained or licensed Minister in any other Denomination of Christians, and be not yet admitted to Deacon's Orders, he shall, at the first examination, be also examined on those points in which

the Denomination whence he comes differs from this Church, with a view of testing his information and soundness in the same.

[8.] No examination at any theological or other literary institution shall be held to be equivalent to any one or more Canonical examinations, or allowed to supersede the same; nor shall any certificate of graduation, or diploma from any theological or other literary institution be held to be sufficient ground for dispensing with any part of the Diocesan examinations of a Candidate.

§ V. *The three examinations shall be,—*

[1.] *The first examination*, on the Books of Scripture, the Candidate being required to give an account of the different Books, to translate from the original Greek and Hebrew, and to explain such passages as may be proposed to him.

[2.] In cases of Candidates having Dispensations from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, and other branches of learning not strictly Ecclesiastical, the *first examination* shall extend only to the knowledge of the text and interpretation of the English Bible, with such other matters as are comprised in what are commonly known as Introductions to the Holy Scriptures.

[3.] *The second examination* shall be on the Evidences of Christianity, Christian Ethics, and Systematic Divinity.

[4.] *The third examination* shall be on Church History, Ecclesiastical Polity, the Book of Common Prayer, its history and contents, and the Constitution and Canons of this Church, and those of the Diocese to which the Candidate belongs.

[5.] In all these examinations reference shall be had, as closely as possible, to the course of study established by the House of Bishops, and to the books therein recommended, or equivalent works of more recent date.

§ VI. [1.] The Bishop, at his discretion, may take part and preside in either or all of the examinations of a Candidate for Priest's Orders.

[2.] The Bishop may also invite the presence and assistance, at any such examination, of any Presbyter to whom he may desire to assign the duty of presenting one or more of the Candidates for Ordination.

[3.] If any Candidate for Priest's Orders be not examined by the Bishop in at least one of the examinations by the Examining Chaplains, he shall, before his Ordination, be examined by the Bishop and two or more Presbyters, on the subjects above prescribed.

[4.] A Candidate ordained for a Diocese vacant or Canonically under the Ecclesiastical authority of the Standing Committee, shall, besides the examination by the Examining Chaplains, be again examined by the Bishop to whom he shall be recommended for Ordination, and two or more Presbyters, on the studies prescribed by this Canon.

§ VII. [1.] The examinations of a Candidate for Priest's Orders may take place either before or after Ordination to the Diaconate.

[2.] Their satisfactory passage by the Candidate shall be his sufficient examination for Deacon's Orders: *Provided* that, if the Bishop shall not have taken part in one or more of such examinations, then the Candidate shall be examined by the Bishop and two Presbyters in the mode prescribed in § III. of this Canon.

[3.] The satisfactory passage of the *first examination* for Priest's Orders alone shall suffice for the admission of the Candidate to Deacon's Orders: *Provided* as above, and *further provided* that, in any case, before ordination, he be examined by the Bishop and at least two Presbyters on his familiarity with the Book of Common Prayer, in all its parts and adjuncts, and with the text of the Book of Articles; and that such examination on the Prayer Book be not held to have satisfied in his case the requisitions of the *third examination* for Priest's Orders.

§ VIII. Satisfaction given in any examination shall, in every case, be certified in writing to the Bishop, with the signatures of the Examiners.

§ IX. Violation of any of the provisions of this Canon shall disqualify for Ordination the Candidate implicated, and shall also subject any other party concerned to Canonical procedure and censure.

§ X. [1.] A Candidate for Priest's Orders must apply for at least his *first* and *second* examinations within three years, and his *third* within five years from his admission, or else assign, to the Bishop, causes which he shall deem satisfactory for failure so to do.

[2.] For contravention of this rule the name of the offender shall be stricken from the list of Candidates, after due warning by the Bishop.

CANON 5.

Provisions and Cautions concerning Ordination.

§ I. [1.] No Candidate who may be refused Holy Orders, in any Diocese, shall be ordained in any other Diocese, except by renewal of Candidature, under the provisions of Canon 2.

[2.] A Bishop who shall finally reject the application of a Candidate for Holy Orders, shall immediately notify such rejection to every Bishop and other Diocesan Ecclesiastical authority in this Church.

§ II. [1.] A Candidate for Holy Orders, recommended by a Standing Committee, canonically acting as Ecclesiastical authority, if he have lately resided for a length of time, not less than one year, in any other Diocese, shall apply to the Bishop of such Diocese for ordination.

[2.] Such Candidate shall, besides his recommendation from his own Diocese, apply for recommendation from the Standing Committee of the Diocese in which he seeks ordination.

§ III. [1.] No Bishop of this Church shall ordain any person to officiate in any Congregation or Church destitute of a Bishop, situated without the jurisdiction of the United States, except with the canonically prescribed testimonials and examinations.

[2.] Should any person so ordained desire to settle in any Congregation or Parish of this Church, he must obtain a special license therefor from the Bishop, and officiate as a Probationer for at least one year.

§ IV. A Clergyman who presents a person to the Bishop for Holy Orders, as specified in the Office for Ordination, without having good grounds to believe that the requisitions of the Canons have been complied with, shall be liable to Ecclesiastical censure.

§ V. [1.] Agreeably to the practice of the Primitive Church, the stated times of Ordination shall be on the Sundays following the Ember Weeks, namely, the Second Sunday in Lent, the Feast of Trinity, and the Sundays after the Wednesday following the 14th day of September and the 13th of December.

[2.] Occasional Ordinations may be held at other times, as the Bishop shall appoint.

CANON 6.

Of the Ordination of Deacons.

§ I. A Candidate for the Office and Ministration of a Deacon only shall not be ordained within one year from his admission, unless the Bishop, with the consent of the Standing Committee, shall deem it expedient to ordain him after the expiration of a shorter period, in no case to be less than six months.

§ II. Before the examination preceding Ordination, such Candidate shall be required to present to the Bishop a testimonial from at least one Rector of a Parish, signifying the belief that he is well qualified to minister in the Office of a Deacon to the glory of God and the edification of the Church.

§ III. A Candidate for Priest's Orders shall not be ordained to the Diaconate within three years from his admission, unless the Bishop, for urgent reasons, with the consent of three fourths of the Standing Committee, shall admit him to the Diaconate while yet prosecuting his course of theological studies; in which case he may be ordained at any time after the expiration of one year from his admission.

§ IV. [1.] No person shall be ordained Deacon in this Church unless he be recommended to the Bishop for ordination by the Standing Committee of the Diocese.

[2.] In order to such recommendation, the Candidate must lay before the Standing Committee testimonials from the Minister and Vestry of the Parish or Congregation of which he is a member, or from the Vestry alone, if the Parish be vacant; or, if there be no organized Parish or Congregation where he has resided, from at least twelve respectable members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, testifying to his piety, good morals, and orderly conduct, in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, do testify, from evidence satisfactory to us, that A. B., for the space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not, so far as we know or believe, written, taught, or held any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Deacons. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord _____.

[3.] But in case a Candidate, from some peculiar circumstances not affecting his pious or moral character, shall be unable to procure testimonials from the Minister and Vestry of the Parish where he resides, the Standing Committee may accept testimonials of the purport above stated, from at least twelve respectable members of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[4.] The Candidate shall also lay before the Standing Committee a testimonial, signed by at least one respectable Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in the following words:

I [or we] do certify that A. B., for the space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not, so far as I [or we] know or believe, written, taught, or held any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, I [or we] think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Deacons. This testimonial is founded on my [or our] personal knowledge of the said A. B., for one year last past, and for the residue of the said time, upon evidence that is satisfactory to me [or us]. In witness whereof, I [or we] have hereunto set my [or our] hands, this _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord _____.

[5.] The Standing Committee, on receipt of such testimonials, may, at a meeting duly convened, a majority of all the Committee consenting, proceed to recommend the Candidate for Ordination, by a testimonial addressed to the Bishop of the Diocese, in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, certify that A. B. hath laid before us satisfactory testimonials that, for the space of three years last past, he hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not written, taught, or held any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Deacons. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord _____.

This testimonial shall have the signatures of all consenting to it.

§ V. In the case of a Candidate not having had Episcopal Ordination, but acknowledged as an ordained Minister or Licentiate by some other Denomination of Christians, the testimonials to be laid before the Standing Committee, and the testimonial given by the Committee, shall be required to cover only the time since the admission of the person to a Candidature.

§ VI. The same provision shall apply to the case of a person to be ordained on the ground of a call to a church in which Divine Service is celebrated in a foreign language.

§ VII. Deacon's Orders shall not be conferred on any person under the age of twenty-one years complete.

CANON 7.

Of Deacons.

[The present Canon 6, without change of text or arrangement.]

CANON 8.

Of the Ordination of Priests.

§ I. A Candidate for Priest's Orders, who has been a Candidate for the Ministry of any other Denomination of Christians, may be allowed as part of the duration of his Candidatship, by the Bishop, with the consent of the Standing Committee, the period during which he may have been a Student of Theology, or Candidate in such other Denomination: *Provided*, that the time so allowed shall not exceed two years.

§ II. A Candidate for Priesthood shall not be ordained within three years from his admission, nor, in any case, within one year from his reception of Deacon's Orders, except by the advice and consent of three fourths of all the members of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, at a meeting duly convened.

§ III. No person shall be ordained a Priest unless he shall produce to the Bishop a satisfactory certificate from some Church, Parish, or Congregation, that he is engaged with them, and that they will receive him as their Minister; or unless he be a Missionary under the Ecclesiastical authority of the Diocese to which he belongs, or in the employment of some Missionary Society recognized by the General Convention; or unless he be engaged as a Professor, Tutor, or Instructor of Youth in some College, Academy, or other Seminary of learning, duly incorporated, or as a Chaplain in the Army or Navy of the United States.

§ IV. [1.] No person shall be ordained a Priest in this Church unless he be recommended to the Bishop for ordination by the Standing Committee of the Diocese for which he is to be ordained.

[2.] In order to such recommendation, the Candidate must lay before the Standing Committee testimonials of his piety, good morals, and orderly conduct, from the Minister and Vestry of the Parish where he resides; or, if the Parish be vacant, or if the applicant be the Minister of the Parish (a Deacon desirous of Priest's Orders), from the Vestry alone, in the following words:

We, whose names are hereunder written, do testify that A. B., for the space of three years last past, hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not, so far as we know or believe, written, taught, or held any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Priests. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this—day of —, in the year of our Lord —.

[3.] But in case peculiar circumstances, not affecting his moral character, or the want of a Vestry where he is residing or ministering, should hinder the procurement of testimonials as above, the Standing Committee may accept testimonials, of the same tenor, from at least twelve respectable members of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[4.] The Candidate shall also lay before the Standing Committee a testimonial signed by at least one Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in the following form:

I do certify that A. B., for the space of three years past, has lived piously, soberly, and honestly, and hath not, so far as I know or believe, written, taught, or held any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, I think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Priests. This testimonial is founded on my personal knowledge of the said A. B., for one year last past, and for the residue of the said time, upon evidence that is satisfactory to me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this — day of —, in the year of our Lord —.

[5.] The Standing Committee, on receipt of such testimonials, may, at a meeting duly convened, a majority of all the Committee consenting, proceed to recommend the Candidate for ordination, by a testimonial addressed to the Bishop, in the following words:

We, whose names are underwritten, members of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of —, do testify that A. B., hath laid before us satisfactory testimonials that, for the

space of three years last past, he hath lived piously, soberly, and honestly; and hath not written, taught, or held any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and, moreover, we think him a person worthy to be admitted to the Sacred Order of Priests. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this ——— day of ———, in the year of our Lord ———.

This testimonial shall have the signatures of all consenting to it.

§ V. Candidates for the Priesthood, ordained Deacons under § V. or § VI. of Canon 8, shall not be required to have testimonials covering more time than has elapsed since their admission to Candidatship.

§ VI. A Candidate for Priest's Orders, ordained Deacon within three years preceding the time of his application for recommendation for ordination to the Priesthood, shall only be required to have testimonials extending back to the time of his ordination: *Provided*, nothing shall have in the meanwhile occurred that tends to invalidate the force of the evidence on which the Candidate was ordained a Deacon.

§ VII. Priest's Orders shall not be conferred on any person until he shall have attained the age of twenty-four years complete.

CANON 9.

Of Lay Readers.

§ I. A Lay Communicant of this Church may receive from the Bishop a written license to conduct the service of the Church in a congregation convened for public worship, as a Lay Reader.

§ II. [1.] Such appointment may be made by the Bishop, of his own motion, for service in any vacant Parish, Congregation, or Mission.

[2.] But where a Rector is in charge, his request and recommendation must have been previously signified to the Bishop.

§ III. [1.] The Lay Reader so appointed shall be subject to any regulations prescribed by the Bishop or Ecclesiastical authority of the Diocese.

[2.] He shall not use the Absolution, nor the Benediction, nor the Offices of the Church, except those for the Burial of the Dead, and for Visitation of the Sick and of Prisoners; omitting, in these last, the Absolutions and Benedictions.

[3.] He shall not assume the dress appropriate to Clergymen ministering in the congregation.

[4.] He shall conform to the direction of the Bishop as to the sermons or homilies to be read; or, in the absence of such directions, if he is officiating in a Parish or Congregation having a Rector, then of such Rector.

[5.] He shall not deliver sermons of his own composition.

[6.] He shall not, except in case of emergency, or peculiar expediency, perform any part of the Service when a Clergyman is present.

§ IV. The license authorized by this Canon may be revoked at the discretion of the Ecclesiastical authority.

§ V. of Canon 13 of Title I is amended so as to read as follows.

§ V. When a Bishop of a Diocese is unable, by reason of old age, or other permanent cause of infirmity, or by reason of the extent of his Diocese, to discharge his Episcopal duties, one Assistant Bishop may be elected by and for the said Diocese, who shall, in all cases, succeed the Bishop in case of surviving him: *Provided*, that before the election of an Assistant Bishop for the reason of extent of Diocese, the consent of the General Convention, or during the recess thereof, the consent of a majority of the Bishops and of the several Standing Committees, must be had and obtained. The Assistant Bishop shall perform such Episcopal duties, and exercise such Episcopal authority in the Diocese, as the Bishop shall assign to him; and, in case of the Bishop's inability to assign such duties, declared by the Convention of the Diocese, the Assistant Bishop shall, during such inability, perform all the duties, and exercise all the authorities which appertain to the office of a

Bishop. No person shall be elected or consecrated a Suffragan Bishop, nor shall there be more than one Assistant Bishop in a Diocese at the same time.

Clauses [1.], [2.], and [7.], of § VII. of Canon 13 of Title I., are amended so as to read as follows:

§ VII. [1.] The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies may, from time to time, on nomination by the House of Bishops, elect a suitable person or persons, to be a Bishop or Bishops of this Church, to exercise Episcopal functions in States or Territories, or parts thereof not organized into Dioceses. The evidence of such election shall be a certificate, to be subscribed by a constitutional majority of said House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, in the form required by the second Section of this Canon, to be given by the members of Diocesan Conventions on the recommendation of Bishops elect for consecration, which certificate shall be produced to the House of Bishops; and if the House of Bishops shall consent to the consecration, they may take order for that purpose.

[2.] The Bishop or Bishops so elected and consecrated, shall exercise Episcopal functions in such States and Territories, or parts thereof, in conformity with the Constitution and Canons of the Church, and under such regulations and instructions, not inconsistent therewith, as the House of Bishops may prescribe; and the House of Bishops may, at any time, increase or diminish the number of States or Territories, or parts thereof, over which the said Bishop or Bishops shall exercise Episcopal functions.

[7.] Every such Bishop shall report to each General Convention his proceedings, and the state and condition of the Church within his missionary jurisdiction; and, at least once a year, make a report to the Board of Missions.

§ II. of Canon 17 of Title I., is amended so as to read as follows:

§ II. [1.] The octavo edition of the Book of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, Articles of Religion, and the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, set forth by the General Convention, in the year of our Lord 1871, and published by the New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, is hereby declared to be the standard edition.

[2.] The stereotype plates of the said edition shall be in the custody of a Presbyter, appointed by the General Convention, and no alteration, correction, or emendation of any sort in the said plates shall be made, except under the direction of the said custodian, acting with the advice and consent of a Joint Committee, appointed by the General Convention, consisting of two Bishops and two Presbyters; and all alterations, corrections, and emendations thus made shall be reported by the said custodian, in writing, to the next General Convention, and entered upon the Journal of the House of Deputies.

§ I. of Canon 21 of Title I., is amended so as to read as follows:

CANON 21.

Of the Consecration of Churches.

§ I. No Church or Chapel shall be consecrated until the Bishop shall have been sufficiently certified that the building and ground on which it is erected have been fully paid for and are free from lien or other encumbrance; and also that such building and ground are secured, by the terms of the devise, or deed, or subscription by which they are given, from the danger of alienation from those who profess and practise the doctrine, discipline, and wor-

ship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, except in the cases provided for in Sections II. and III. of this Canon: *Provided*, that this shall not preclude the alienation of lots for burial in vaults or otherwise, nor apply to land owned by the Church corporation and not necessary for religious uses.

Canon 4 of Title II., is amended so as to read as follows:

CANON 4.

Of Differences between Ministers and their Congregations, and of the Dissolution of a Pastoral Connection.

§ I. In case of a controversy between any Rector or Assistant Minister of any Church or Parish, and the Vestry or Congregation of such Church or Parish, which cannot be settled by themselves, the parties, or either of them, may make application to the Bishop of the Diocese, who shall thereupon notify each of the contesting parties to furnish him with the names of three Presbyters of the Diocese. The Bishop shall add to them the names of three other Presbyters, and the whole number shall then be reduced to five by striking off the names alternately by each of the contesting parties. Should either party refuse or neglect to name three Presbyters, or to strike from the list as aforesaid, the Bishop shall act for the parties so refusing or neglecting. And in all the proceedings aforesaid the Vestry or Congregation, as the case may be, shall be represented by some layman of their number, duly selected by them for the purpose: *Provided*, that the party or parties applying as above shall have first given the Bishop satisfactory assurance of compliance with whatever may be required of them as the final issue of such proceedings.

§ II. The five Presbyters thus designated shall constitute a Board of Reference to consider such controversy; and, if after hearing such allegations and proofs as the parties may submit, a majority of the Presbyters shall be of opinion that there is no hope of a favorable termination of such controversy, and that a dissolution of the connection between such Rector or Assistant Minister, and his Parish or Congregation, is necessary to restore the peace of the Church and promote its prosperity, such Presbyters shall recommend to the Bishop that such Minister shall be required to relinquish his connection with such Church or Parish, on such conditions as may appear to them proper and reasonable.

§ III. If any Rector or Assistant Minister shall refuse to comply with the recommendation of the Bishop and Presbyters, the Bishop shall proceed to forbid him the exercise of any ministerial functions within the Diocese, until he shall retract his refusal; or if the Vestry or Congregation shall refuse to comply with any such recommendation, they shall not be allowed any representation in the Diocesan Convention until they shall have retracted their refusal.

§ IV. When there is no Bishop, the President of the Standing Committee of the Diocese shall perform all the duties herein allotted to the Bishop: *Provided*, that he shall not exercise any power under the preceding third Section without the aid and consent of some Bishop of the Church.

§ V. The preceding Sections of this Canon shall not be obligatory upon any Diocese which has made, or shall hereafter make, provision by Canon upon this subject.

§ VI. In case a Minister, who has been regularly instituted or settled in a Parish or Church, be dismissed by such Parish or Church without the concurrence of the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese, the Vestry or Congregation of such Parish or Church shall have no right to a representation in the Convention of the Diocese, until they have made such satisfaction as the Convention may require; but the Minister thus dismissed shall retain his right to a seat in the Convention, subject to the approval of the Ecclesi-

astical Authority of the Diocese. And no Minister shall leave his Congregation against their will, without the concurrence of the Ecclesiastical Authority aforesaid; and if he shall leave them without such concurrence, he shall not be allowed to take his seat in any Convention of this Church, or be eligible into any Church or Parish, until he shall have made such satisfaction as the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese may require; but the Vestry or Congregation of such Parish or Church shall not be thereby deprived of its right to a representation in the Convention of the Diocese.

§ VII. In case of the regular and canonical dissolution of the connection between a Minister and his Congregation, the Bishop, or if there be no Bishop, the Standing Committee, shall direct the Secretary of the Convention to record the same. But if the dissolution of the connection between a Minister and his Congregation be not regular or canonical, the Bishop or Standing Committee shall lay the same before the Convention of the Diocese, in order that the above-mentioned penalties may take effect.

§ VIII. This Canon shall not be obligatory in those Dioceses with whose Canons, laws, or charters, it may interfere.

Clause [1.] of § II. of Canon 10 of Title II., is amended so as to read:

§ II. [1.] When any Minister is degraded from the Holy Ministry, he is degraded therefrom entirely, and not from a higher to a lower Order of the same. Deposition, displacing, and all like expressions, are the same as degradation.

Canon II. of Title II., is amended by adding the following section, so as to read as follows:

§ II. A Bishop of this Church may remit and terminate any sentence of deposition or degradation judicially pronounced by him upon a Presbyter or Deacon, within his jurisdiction, if upon reasons which, with unanimous advice and consent of the Standing Committee of his Diocese, he shall deem sufficient, he shall receive from any five Bishops of this Church, to whose judgment he shall submit his proposed action, with his reasons for the same, their unanimous consent and approval for the proposed remission.

Clause [3.] of § II. of Canon 1 of Title III., is amended so as to read as follows:

[3.] It shall be the duty of the said Registrar to procure a proper and sufficient book of record, and to enter therein a record of the consecrations of all the Bishops of this Church, designating accurately the time and place of the same, with the names of the consecrating Bishops, and of others present and assisting; to have the same authenticated in the fullest manner now practicable; and to take care for the similar record and authentication of all future consecrations in this Church, by securing in person, or by deputy, at the time and place of every such consecration, the signatures of at least three of the consecrating Bishops in the said Book of Record.

Section III. of Canon 5 of Title III., is amended so as to read as follows:

§ III. [1.] It shall be lawful, under the conditions hereinafter stated, to organize a Church or Congregation in any foreign country (other than Great Britain and Ireland, and the colonies and dependencies thereof), and not within the limits of any Foreign Missionary Bishop of this Church.

[2.] The Bishop in charge of such Congregations, and the Standing Committee hereinafter provided for, may authorize any Presbyter of this Church to officiate temporarily at any place to be named by them, within any such foreign country, upon being satisfactorily assured that it is expedient to establish at such place a Congregation of this Church. Such Presbyter,

having publicly officiated at such place not less than four Sundays consecutively, may give notice in the time of Divine service, that a meeting of the members of this Church attending such services will be held, at a time and place to be named by him, to organize a Church or Congregation. All male persons of full age, belonging to this Church, may take part in said meeting. And the said meeting may proceed to effect an organization, subject to the approval of the said Bishop and Standing Committee, and in conformity to such regulations as the said Standing Committee may prescribe.

[3.] Such Church or Congregation shall be required, in its Constitution, or Plan, or Articles of Organization, to recognize and accede to the Constitution, Canons, Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and particularly to submit to and abide by such directions as may be from time to time received from the Bishop in charge, and the Standing Committee hereinafter provided for, in order to its being received under the direction of the General Convention of this Church.

[4.] In order to such reception, it shall be required to declare its desire therefore, duly certified by the Minister, one Churchwarden, and two Vestrymen or Trustees of said Church or Congregation.

[5.] Such Certificate, and the Constitution, Plan, or Articles of Organization, shall be submitted to the General Convention during its session, or to the Presiding Bishop of the House of Bishops at any other time; and in case the same are found satisfactory, a Certificate thereof shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the General Convention, who shall thereupon place its name on the list of Foreign Churches under the direction of the General Convention; and also a copy of the same shall be forwarded to and filed by the Registrar of the Church, and such Church or Congregation shall thereupon become subject to and placed under the Episcopal government and jurisdiction of such Presiding Bishop for the time being.

[6.] Such Presiding Bishop may, from time to time, by written commission under his own signature and seal, assign to any other Bishop of this Church having jurisdiction in the United States, the full Episcopal charge of such Churches or Congregations, and the Clergymen officiating therein, for such period of time as he may deem expedient: *Provided*, such commissions shall not extend to a period longer than three years, and shall then cease and determine, unless renewed by the Presiding Bishop.

[7.] To aid the Presiding Bishop, or the Bishop in charge of these Foreign Churches, in administering the affairs of the same, and in settling such questions as may by reason of their peculiar situation arise, there shall be a Standing Committee, to consist of Communicants of this Church, who shall be chosen and elected as follows: each Church or Congregation, thus in union with the General Convention, shall have the right to nominate to the Bishop in charge, one person, who shall be a communicant, and the General Convention shall nominate four persons, of whom two at least shall be Clergymen, who shall hold office until the General Convention next ensuing, and until their successors are elected, and, together, they shall constitute the said Standing Committee, of which the Bishop in charge of said Foreign Churches shall be the Chairman. Said Committee shall have power to fill all vacancies in the same. A majority of all the members resident in the United States shall be a quorum. This Standing Committee shall be a council of advice to the Bishop. They shall be summoned on the requisition of the Bishop, whenever he shall desire their advice. And they may meet of their own accord, and agreeably to their own rules, when they may be disposed to advise the Bishop.

[8.] In case a Clergyman in charge of either of these Congregations in Foreign lands shall be charged with either of the punishable offences, as specified in Section I., of Canon 2, of Title II., of the Digest, it shall be the duty of the Bishop in charge of such Churches to summon the Standing Committee above provided for, and to see that an inquiry be instituted as to

the truth of such public charges; and should there be reasonable grounds for believing them to be true, the Bishop in charge and the Standing Committee, shall appoint a Commission, consisting of three Clergymen and two Laymen, whose duty it shall be to obtain all the evidence in the case, from the parties interested, and, who shall, if possible, hold their meeting in the place where the accused resides, giving to the accused all rights under the Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which can be exercised in a foreign land. The judgment of said Commission, solemnly made and subscribed to, shall then be sent to the Bishop in charge, and to the Presiding Bishop, and, if approved by them, shall be carried into effect: *Provided*, that no such Commission shall recommend any other discipline than admonition or removal from his charge as Minister of said Congregation. Should the result of the inquiry of the aforementioned Commission reveal evidence tending to show that said Clergyman deserves a severer discipline, then all the documents in the case shall be placed in the hands of the Presiding Bishop, who shall then proceed against said Clergyman (as far as possible) according to the Canon of Discipline under Title II. of the Digest, and the Diocesan Canons of the Diocese of the said Presiding Bishop.

[9.] If there be but one such Church or Congregation within the limits of any city, said city shall be deemed the parochial cure of the Minister having charge of the same, and no new Church or Congregation shall be established therein, unless with the consent of the Bishop in charge, and of the Standing Committee herein appointed. Nor shall any Church or Congregation be organized in any foreign city, under the provisions of this Canon, unless with the approval of the Bishop in charge, and the Standing Committee herein provided for.

[10.] In cases of difference between the Minister and his Congregation, the Bishop in charge shall, with the Standing Committee, duly examine the same, and said Bishop and Standing Committee shall have full power to settle, and, if possible, adjust such differences, upon the recognized principles of Ecclesiastical law, as laid down in the Canon law of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[11.] No Clergyman shall hereafter be allowed to take charge of any such Church or Congregation in Foreign Lands, unless and until he shall be approved of, and be licensed by the Bishop in charge of such Churches, and shall have been duly transferred to his jurisdiction by the letter dimissory provided for in Canon 12, Section VII., Title I., of the Digest.

An additional Section, to be numbered Section IV. of Canon 6 of Title III., was adopted to read as follows:

§ IV. Whenever the formation of a new Diocese shall be ratified by the General Convention, such new Diocese shall be considered as admitted under Article 5 of the Constitution, so soon as it shall have organized in primary Convention in the manner prescribed in the previous Sections of this Canon, and the naming of the new Diocese shall be a part of its organization.

The following new Canon was adopted to be Canon 9 of Title III., as follows:

CANON 9.

Of the Board of Missions.

§ I. [1.] It shall be the duty of the General Convention, at every Triennial meeting, on nomination by a Joint Committee of the two Houses designated that purpose, to appoint a Board of Missions, for the management of the General Missions, Foreign and Domestic, of this Church.

[2.] All the Bishops of this Church shall be *ex officio* members of said Board. The elective members shall be selected from the Presbyters and

Laymen of the several organized dioceses of this Church, in such numerical proportion as shall from time to time be determined.

§ II. The Board of Missions may adopt a Constitution, and modify the same as occasion shall require; *Provided*, that such Constitution and amendments shall be of no force until the same shall have been submitted to and approved by the General Convention.

§ III. At every Triennial Convention, the Board of Missions shall make report of its doings to the General Convention.

The following new Canon, to be Canon 4, Title IV., was adopted, to read as follows:

CANON 4.

Of the time when new Canons shall take effect.

All Canons hereafter enacted, unless otherwise specially ordered, shall take effect on the first day of January following the adjournment of the General Convention at which they are made.

AUTHORIZED REPORT
OF THE
Meetings in Defence of the Athanasian Creed
ON JANUARY 31, 1873.



100. f. 136. 6.

AUTHORIZED REPORT OF THE

MEETINGS

IN

Defence of the Athanasian Creed

WHICH WERE HELD

*IN ST. JAMES'S HALL AND IN THE
HANOVER SQUARE ROOMS*

ON JANUARY 31, 1873.

With an Explanatory Preface.

London:
RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.

HIGH STREET
Oxford

TRINITY STREET
Cambridge

1873.

TO THE
FIVE HUNDRED REPRESENTATIVES
OF VARIOUS TOWNS AND PLACES,
WHO AT MUCH PERSONAL INCONVENIENCE AND COST
WERE PRESENT AT THE
Meeting in Defence of the Athanasian Creed,
JAN. 31, 1873,
THIS REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS,
HELD UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF MR. J. G. HUBBARD AT ST. JAMES'S HALL,
AND OF THE MARQUESS OF BATH AT THE HANOVER SQUARE ROOMS,
Is respectfully Dedicated.

It was announced early in 1872, that the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury would invite the Lower House of that Province to consider what method of dealing with the Athanasian Creed would tend to remove the difficulties which it was alleged were occasioned by its present use in the Service of the Church of England; a Committee of Clergy and Laity was therefore organized by the exertions of a few Laymen, and the following circular was issued to all the Parochial Clergy of England and Wales.

"REVEREND SIR,

"71, DEAN STREET, SOHO SQUARE,
"LONDON, W.C.

"WE, the undersigned, beg leave to urge upon you very seriously the importance and necessity of obtaining the signatures of your parishioners to a petition, headed by yourself, to the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, or to the Convocation of York (according to your province), in favour of maintaining the Athanasian Creed in its integrity in the Public Service of the Church."

BEAUCHAMP (*Chairman*).

SALISBURY.

GALLOWAY.

GLASGOW.

NELSON.

LIMERICK.

RICHARD CAVENDISH.

ELIOT.

WALTER FARQUHAR.

JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

T. COLLINS, M.P.

R. BRETT.

W. BUTTERFIELD.

J. D. CHAMBERS.

W. C. COCKS.

J. C. MEYMOTT.

T. GAMBIER PARRY.

H. E. PELLEW.

GERALD PONSONBY.

G. RICHMOND, B.A.

E. P. SHIRLEY.

W. F. HOOK.

E. M. GOULBURN.

EDW. CHURTON (Archdeacon).

G. A. DENISON

PHILIP FREEMAN

G. PREVOST

W. BRIGHT, D.D.

"

"

"

J. S. BREWER.
 W. BUTLER.
 W. R. CHURTON.
 B. COMPTON.
 ALWYNE COMPTON.
 C. L. COURTENAY.
 C. B. DALTON.
 W. DENTON.
 J. DITCHER.
 F. R. GREY.
 E. KING.

ROBERT LIDDELL.
 H. P. LIDDON, D.D.
 P. G. MEDD.
 T. W. PERRY.
 W. PULLING.
 W. E. SCUDAMORE.
 R. SEYMOUR.
 B. WEBB.
 R. T. WEST.
 G. WILLIAMS.

The following forms of petition are in circulation.

I.

THE humble Petition of the undersigned Communicants of the Church of England sheweth, that your Petitioners being persuaded that the Doctrines of the Holy Trinity, of the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, of Eternal Punishment, and of the necessity of accepting God's revelation of Himself in the Christian dispensation, are thoroughly to be received and believed by all Christians, "for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture," and being further of opinion that the controversies of the present day require members of the Church to be duly reminded of these truths as set forth in the Confession of our Christian faith commonly called the Creed of S. Athanasius, earnestly pray your Venerable House to maintain the said Creed in its integrity, and not to consent to any proposal for its disuse.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

II.

THE humble Petition of the undersigned Communicants of the Church of England sheweth, that your Petitioners, being persuaded that the Doctrines of the Holy Trinity, and of the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as set forth in the Confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of S. Athanasius, are thoroughly to be received and believed, earnestly pray your Venerable House to maintain

the said Creed as it now stands in the Book of Common Prayer, and not to consent to any proposal for its disuse.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

III.

THE humble Petition of the undersigned Members of the Church of England sheweth, that your Petitioners, believing that the Doctrines set forth in the Athanasian Creed may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, earnestly pray your Venerable House to maintain the said Creed in its integrity, and not to consent to any proposal for its disuse.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

IV.

THE humble Petition of the undersigned Communicants of the Church of England sheweth, that your Petitioners have learnt with much regret and alarm that proposals have been submitted to your Reverend House for removing the Athanasian Creed from the Public Service of the Church of England, or for cutting out or abolishing certain Clauses of the said Creed.

That your Petitioners are unable to reconcile either of these proceedings with a loyal interpretation of the meaning and intention of the Eighth Article of the Church of England.

That your Petitioners cannot doubt that the effect of either of these proposed changes would be to weaken the strength of our Church's witness to the necessity of a right faith in the Doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Divine Incarnation in order to Eternal Salvation, and to cast a public slight and disparagement on these fundamental Doctrines.

That your Petitioners apprehend the danger of serious schism if such revolutionary changes should be adopted.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Venerable House to maintain this Creed in its integrity in that position which it has held since the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer in the Public Service of the Church of England.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

V.

THE humble Petition of the undersigned Clergy and Communicants of the Church of England sheweth, that your Petitioners

have learnt with much regret and alarm that proposals have been submitted to your Reverend House for removing the Athanasian Creed from the Public Services of the Church of England, or for altering or abolishing certain Clauses of the said Creed.

That your Petitioners cannot doubt that the effect of either of the proposed changes would be to weaken the strength of our Church's witness to the necessity of a right faith in the Doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Divine Incarnation in order to Eternal Salvation, and to cast a public slight and disparagement on those fundamental Doctrines.

That your Petitioners apprehend serious danger to the Established Church if such revolutionary changes should be adopted.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Reverend House to maintain this Creed in its integrity in that position which it has held since the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer in the Public Services of the Church of England.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

VI.

THE humble Petition of the undersigned Clergy and Communicants of the Church of England sheweth, that your Petitioners desire your Reverend House, in the exercise of your office and privilege, "to deliberate of and to do all such things as shall concern the settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England," not to consent to "any varying or departing in the least degree from that Doctrine and Discipline, and pray that you will firmly uphold the Order of the Church concerning the authority and use of 'the Three Creeds,' which the Eighth Article declares ought thoroughly to be received and believed."

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

When the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury proceeded to the consideration of the question remitted to it by the Bishops, nearly eight hundred petitions, couched in terms similar to the forms printed above, were presented in favour of the present use of the Athanasian Creed in its integrity. The signatures attached to these petitions, amounting in the aggregate to more than 38,000 *bonâ fide* Members of

the Church of England,* were obtained without any pressure. Those Clergy, who thought the danger sufficiently imminent to call for active efforts in defence of the Creed, invited their Churchwardens and flocks to petition Convocation.

The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, when dealing with the subject, enjoyed the advantage of possessing authentic materials to guide them as to the opinion of the bulk of the laity, and all propositions which tended to impair the status of the Creed and its prescribed use in the Church of England having been rejected, it was ultimately resolved that his Grace the President be requested to appoint a Joint Committee to consider the question of a Synodical Declaration.

The Joint Committee consisted of the following:—Upper House—The Bishops of London, Winchester, St. David's, Llandaff, Gloucester and Bristol, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Lichfield, Peterborough, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Oxford, Chichester, and St. Asaph.

Lower House—The Prolocutor, the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean

* The following is the authorized digest of the Petitions presented to the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury in the year 1872 up to the end of the May Session.

Prayer of Petition.	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signatures.		
		Clergy.	Laity.	Undefined.
For the retention of the three Creeds ..	3	—	—	96
Athanasian Creed—				
For its maintenance as now used	766	1,661	4,192	32,607
„ investigating its text	8	467	—	94
„ relief in its use	4	19	—	10
„ its omission from the Prayer Book ..	2	3	—	3
„ delay in dealing with it	6	221	—	1
„ omitting the Condemnatory Clauses ..	5	24	64	—
„ making its use optional	4	80	—	58
„ modifying it	1	—	—	9
„ its disuse in public	5	178	243	17
„ affixing a note to it	2	4	3	—

of Norwich, the Dean of Wells, the Dean of Rochester, the Dean of Lincoln (designate), the Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Archdeacon of Maidstone, the Archdeacon of London, the Archdeacon of Nottingham, the Archdeacon of Stafford, the Archdeacon of Taunton, the Archdeacon of Gloucester, the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, the Archdeacon of Exeter, the Archdeacon of Rochester and St. Alban's, the Archdeacon of Leicester, the Archdeacon of Surrey, the Archdeacon of Colchester, the Archdeacon of Coventry, Archdeacon Randall, Chancellor Massingberd, Canons Swainson, Selwyn, Seymour, Harvey, Gregory, Morley, Dr. Kay, Dr. Fraser, Dr. Jebb, Lord A. Compton, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Kempe, Mr. Perry, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Puckle, Mr. How, Mr. Fagan, Mr. Bathurst.

The Joint Committee was appointed to meet in December, but in the meantime the opponents of the Creed were not idle, and more than one memorial was presented to the Archbishop against the use of the Creed.

It was therefore determined to hold a meeting at Leeds during the week of the Church Congress to consider what further steps should be taken in defence of the Creed. At this Meeting a new Committee* was formed to carry still further the work commenced in the previous spring.

* The following is a complete list of the members of the Committee:—The Duke of Marlborough, K.G.; the Marquess of Salisbury; the Marquess of Bath; the Earl of Devon; the Earl of Eldon; the Earl of Haddington; the Earl of Glasgow; the Earl of Limerick; the Earl Nelson; the Earl Beauchamp; Earl of Kinnoul; the Lord Richard Cavendish; the Lord Henry Scott, M.P.; the Lord Eliot; Bishop Claughton, Archdeacon of London; the Rev. Lord A. Compton, M.A.; the Hon. C. L. Wood; the Hon. and Rev. C. L. Courtenay, M.A.; the Hon. and Rev. H. Douglas, M.A.; the Hon. A. Gerald Ponsonby, M.A.; the Hon. and Rev. J. Grey, M.A.; the Hon. and Rev. F. R. Grey, M.A.; the Hon. and Rev. R. Liddell, M.A.; the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of York; the Hon. P. C. Glyn; Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart.; Sir Walter R. Farquhar, Bart.; the Ven. Sir George Prevost, Bart., Archdeacon, Gloucester; the Rev. Sir J. H. Culme Seymour, Bart., M.A., Canon of Gloucester; Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart.; the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester; the Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich; the Very Rev. the Dean of

The following circular was accordingly issued at the end of November.

" Athanasian Creed Defence Committee.

" 3, WATERLOO PLACE, PAUL MALL,
" LONDON, S.W.

" In compliance with a wide-spread and weighty opinion among various classes of Churchmen that it is desirable that an influential Meeting of men should be held in London, to express the solemn conviction that the Athanasian Creed should be retained and be in use within the Church of England in its integrity as heretofore, the Athanasian Creed Defence Committee (of which we enclose the list) have taken steps to hold such Meeting on the evening of Friday, January 31st, at St. James's Hall, at 8 o'clock, at which the Duke of Marlborough will preside.

Ripon; the Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester; the Ven. Edward Churton, M.A., Archdeacon of York; the Ven. G. A. Denison, M.A., Archdeacon of Taunton; the Ven. P. Freeman, M.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Exeter; the Ven. G. H. Hamilton, M.A., Archdeacon of Lindisfarne; the Rev. A. R. Ashwell, Canon of Chichester; H. Barnett, Esq., M.P.; Rev. H. W. Beadon, M.A.; R. Brett, Esq.; the Rev. Professor Brewer, M.A.; the Rev. W. Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford; the Rev. J. W. Burgon, M.A.; W. Butterfield, Esq.; the Rev. W. J. Butler, M.A., Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; the Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A., Honorary Canon of Oxford; Rev. J. C. Chambers, M.A.; J. D. Chambers, Esq.; T. Collins, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. J. D. Collis, D.D., Honorary Canon of Worcester; the Rev. Berdmore Compton, M.A.; the Rev. William Cooke, M.A., Honorary Canon of Chester; Rev. W. Denton, M.A.; the Rev. J. Ditcher, M.A.; the Rev. T. Simpson Evans, M.A.; the Rev. C. Wellington Furse, Vicar of Staines, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford; H. H. Gibbs, Esq.; the Rev. Stephen E. Gladstone, M.A.; W. H. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. B. Gregory, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's; the Rev. W. Gresley; the Rev. J. Hannah, D.C.L., Vicar of Brighton; E. Herford, Esq.; C. L. Higgins, Esq.; the Rev. G. H. Hodson, M.A.; A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, Esq., M.P., Treasurer; the Rev. H. J. Hotham, M.A., Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; J. G. Hubbard, Esq.; the Rev. W. J. Irons, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's; the Rev. John Jebb, D.D., Prebendary and Canon of Hereford; S. T. Kekewich, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. E. King, M.A., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, Oxford; the Rev. C. Kingsley, M.A., Canon of Chester; Rev. Francis Lear, M.A., Precentor of Salisbury; the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L.; the Rev. H. P. Liddon, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's; the Rev. H. R. Luard, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Registrar of the University; the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, M.A., Secretary; the Rev. G. R. Mackarness, M.A.; L. A. Majendie, Esq.; Rev. M. W. Mayow, M.A., Rector of Southam, and Rural Dean; the Rev. P. G. Medd, M.A.;

"It is intended that the Meeting should not be one mainly composed of Clergymen, or of Londoners, but that it should represent the feelings of that vast multitude of Churchmen throughout the country who would regard with the deepest regret any attempt to tamper with the Creed, or its use.

"It would not meet to deliberate, to threaten, or to treat of any compromise, but simply to affirm that feeling with all earnestness, and all sobriety; consequently it would not invite the presence of those who, while favourable to the retention, in some shape, of more or less of the Athanasian Creed, are yet desirous of some alteration. At the same time the Committee do not wish to pledge you on the question of an explanatory note.

"The Committee, believing you to be favourable to their views, earnestly entreat you to take counsel with your friends in your County and neighbourhood who may be of the same opinion, and to hold such local meeting or meetings, of a more or less public or private character, as you and they may think expedient for the purpose of choosing representatives from your County and neighbourhood, to take part in the Meeting.

"You will doubtless be able to enlist influential helpers, lay and clerical, and for this purpose we shall gladly send you as many circulars as you require.

"It would be desirable that the representatives invited to take part in the London Meeting should, as far as possible, include not only Churchmen of all opinions favourable to the retention of the

Lieut.-Colonel E. Neville; the Rev. F. Neville, M.A., Prebendary of Wells; Rev. J. W. Perry; the Rev. N. Pocock; the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; the Rev. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury, and Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford; the Rev. W. Upton Richards, M.A.; G. Richmond, Esq., R.A.; Joseph Ridgway, Esq.; the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, B.C.L.; Vice-Admiral A. P. Ryder; the Rev. M. F. Sadler, M.A., Prebendary of Wells; the Rev. R. Seymour, M.A.; the Rev. J. Sharp, M.A.; C. B. Skinner, Esq.; the Rev. J. Skinner, M.A.; J. A. Shaw Stewart, Esq.; George E. Street, Esq., R.A., Treasurer; the Rev. W. Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford; the Rev. F. Sutton, M.A.; J. G. Talbot, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. E. Talbot, M.A., Principal of Keble College, Oxford; the Rev. Henry Temple, M.A., Secretary; the Rev. George Trevor, M.A., Prebendary and Canon of York; the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., Precentor of Chichester; the Rev. P. Webb, M.A.; the Rev. R. T. West, M.A.; the Rev. G. C. White, M.A.; the Rev. G. Williams, B.D.; the Rev. R. F. Wilson, M.A.; the Rev. N. Woodard, M.A., Canon of Manchester; the Rev. Cecil Wray, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield.

Athanasian Creed, but members of all classes of society, including, besides Clergymen, landholders, professional men, farmers, and substantial tradesmen, and in particular Churchwardens.

"N.B.—You are particularly requested to answer (Address, Honorary Secretary, Athanasian Creed Defence Committee, at Messrs. Rivingtons', Waterloo Place, London, S.W.), at your earliest convenience, whether you are willing to act, and if so, when you propose to hold your local meeting, and in what form; and also to write again after that meeting has been held, stating what took place, and whom you have named as representatives.

"The Committee will then be able to take steps to see that the representatives are accommodated at the London Meeting, to which admission will be given by ticket, and which will be exclusively composed of men.

"This circular has been sent to the subjoined persons* in your County, and it is suggested that you and they should, as far as possible, concert your action together. The list having been drawn up so hastily is necessarily imperfect.

"MALCOLM MACCOLL,
*Rector of St. George, Botolph
Lane, London.*

"HENRY TEMPLE,
Vicar of St. John's, Leeds.

HON. SECRETARIES."

In consequence of this circular, Meetings of various degrees of importance were held all over England, at which representatives were chosen to attend the London Meeting. Thirty-six counties of England and Wales, and upwards of 120 towns and populous places, sent up representatives, exceeding in number 500, not only of all ranks and classes, but also representing various schools of theological opinion.

The names of the towns and places are here subjoined.

BERKS.—Reading, Chilton, Newbury, Wallingford.

BUCKS.—Fenny Stratford, Slough, Windsor.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—Cambridge.

CORNWALL.—Hayle.

* The names of leading persons in the neighbourhood were subjoined.

- CUMBERLAND.—Carlisle, Penrith.
 DERBYSHIRE.—Derby.
 DEVONSHIRE.—Exeter, Barnstaple, Devonport, Ilfracombe, Plymouth, Torquay.
 DORSETSHIRE.—Wimborne, Yetminster.
 DURHAM.—Durham, Middleton S. George.
 ESSEX.—Rural Deanery of Hedingham.
 GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Gloucester, Bristol, Cheltenham, Chipping Sodbury.
 HANTS.—Winchester, Basingstoke, Broughton - in - Romsey, Hursley, Ryde, Southampton.
 HEREFORDSHIRE.—Hereford.
 HERTFORDSHIRE.—Hertford, Buntingford, Hitchin.
 HUNTS.—S. Ives.
 KENT.—Canterbury, Bexley, Brompton, Chatham, Dartford, Deptford, Folkestone, Gillingham, Greenhithe, Hawkhurst, Lee, Lewisham, Maidstone, Northfleet, Rochester, Strood, Sydenham, Tunbridge Wells, Woolwich, Woolwich Dockyard.
 LANCASHIRE.—Manchester, Accrington, Barrow-in-Furness, Liverpool, Preston, Warrington, Wigan.
 LEICESTERSHIRE.—Leicester.
 LINCOLNSHIRE.—Lincoln, Gainsborough, Glandford Brigg, Sleaford.
 MIDDLESEX.—City of London, Bow Common, Barnes, Brompton, Clapton, Finsbury, Fulham, Hackney, Hammersmith, Kensington, West Kensington, Kilburn, SS. Marylebone and Pancras, Paddington, Stoke Newington, Westminster.
 NORFOLK.—Norwich, Lynn, West Norfolk.
 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—Northampton, Daventry.
 NORTHUMBERLAND.—Newcastle-on-Tyne, Alnwick, Morpeth.
 NOTTS.—Nottingham, East Retford, Newark.
 OXFORDSHIRE.—Banbury, Chipping Norton, Oxford, Witney.
 SHROPSHIRE.—Shrewsbury, Ludlow.
 SOMERSETSHIRE.—Bath, Taunton, Wells, Weston-super-Mare.
 STAFFORDSHIRE.—Wolverhampton, Wombourne.
 SUFFOLK.—Beccles.
 SURREY.—Lambeth, Dorking.
 SUSSEX.—Chichester, Brighton, S. Leonards-on-Sea.
 WARWICKSHIRE.—Birmingham, Coventry, Rugby, Stratford-on-Avon.
 WILTS.—Salisbury, Malmesbury, Warminster.
 WORCESTERSHIRE.—Worcester, Malvern.

YORKSHIRE.—York, Barnsley, Bradford, Bridlington, Halifax, Harrogate, Huddersfield, Hull, Leeds, Rotherham, Scarborough, Sheffield, Wakefield.

WALES.—Bangor, Cardigan, Cyfeiliog, S. Asaph, Swansea, Tenby.

The Athanasian Creed is supposed by many to be a stumbling-block in the way of the unlearned especially. The Committee have received numerous proofs during the last few months that this objection has been hazarded somewhat hastily. The following is one of several letters which have been sent to the Committee. It was written and printed in answer to a request that the writer, a genuine working man, would sign Lord Shaftesbury's petition against the Creed, and the Committee publish it here by way of evidence that, if the Athanasian Creed were tampered with, the working classes would not be the least aggrieved portion of the community. In a note, enclosing the subjoined letter to the Committee, the writer expresses his indignation that "a few dissatisfied members of the Church should demand an alteration in our ancient Creed, without consulting the wishes of the whole;" and adds,—“I am a poor man; but I have as much right to defend my Creed as a rich one has to attack it, and had I the means I would rouse Churchmen from their sleeping.”

The letter shows that the writer of it is unlearned; but it also shows that he takes an intelligent interest in questions in respect to which his class is supposed to be ignorantly indifferent. The following is a verbatim reprint of it.

*A Letter to the Members of the National Church on the
Athanasian Creed.*

“BRETHREN,—A petition against an ancient Creed of our National Church, commonly called the Athanasian Creed, has been signed by several persons, and signed, I think, without a due consideration of what they were doing.

“I beg your kind attention to the following few remarks on the Creed, the doctrine of the Trinity, and on the Petition.

b

"I divide the Creed into two parts, whether rightly or not I leave to those who are wiser than myself. The first part contains the first sixteen verses, to He, therefore, &c.; the second part, the remainder.

"The Creed, I think, was used in the time of St. John and his disciples, and taught by word of mouth to those who were about to be baptized.

"Whosoever will be saved. Who—in like manner—ever will be saved. In what manner? According to the Christian form.

"In my humble opinion the Creed in the first three verses thus speaks :—Thou art about to be Christianized, and first of all thou must believe in the true Faith taught by all true disciples of Christ in all His churches, throughout all lands, and thou must steadily keep in this faith.

"Thou must not be uncertain, or waver in thy mind whether thou must hold to thine own religion or to the religion of Christ ; for, if thou art unsteadfast in thy faith thou wilt, without doubt, perish (decay) from that eternal life which is given through Jesus Christ.

"Thou must be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and the Catholick Faith is this, thou shalt worship One Name in three Names, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the Three Names in One Name, the great I AM.

"I consider that the definition of the Trinity as given from these words, Neither confounding the Persons, &c., to the words, But the whole Three Persons are co-eternal, &c., was used to keep the converts from idolatry, and to guard them against thinking that there were three Gods or three Lords, and is such a kind of teaching as a disciple of Christ would use to one wishing to be instructed in the Catholick Faith.

"The words—thus think—refer to the worshipping of the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity, and though many persons prate about these words—thus think—yet are there but very few who speak of these words—thus act—and if any man ridicule the definition of the Trinity given by the Creed, let him produce a *better one*.

"The second part beginning at the words, Furthermore, &c., to the latter part of the twenty-fifth verse, So God and Man is one Christ, is a declaration of the Church's belief in the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a similar kind of teaching is used as is used in the first part ; and the two parts, in the early age of the Church, were drawn up in the form, or written Creed, as now used, and for centuries it has been received as the Creed of the Holy Catholick Church ; and, in spite of the mockery of the scornful, it is a joyful truth for all mankind, that Christ is God of the Substance of the Father begotten before the world, and Man of the Substance of our Sister born in the world ; and if any man ridicule the truth of the immaculate conception, I shall feel obliged if he will answer

the following questions:—First, give in the English language a correct definition of the word Substance used in the Creed ; second, tell by what Law of Nature were our common ancestors brought into life ?

“ OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

“ St. Peter says—God’s holy men spake, taught by the Holy Ghost.

“ The Holy Ghost taught the prophets of the Old and the disciples of the New Testament, and He strengthened them in their labours, and He comforted them in their sufferings. He taught the writer of the Book of Genesis that—in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. St. John—that all things were made by Jesus. Isaiah—a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and his name shall be Immanuel, God with (joined to) us. St. Paul—God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. St. John—This is the true God and eternal life. And St. Peter bears this testimony to all the world—That God’s holy men spake, not according to their own will, but that they wrote according to His inspiration, who is the Sanctifying Teacher of all God’s elect.

“ OF THE PETITION [OF LORD SHAFTESBURY].

“ All persons who are rightly baptized must, according to the command of Christ, be baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and our Lord added these words, ‘ He that believeth and is baptized *shall be saved*, and he that believeth *not shall be damned*.’

“ I think that the Petitioners ought to petition that this condemnatory clause should be first struck out of the New Testament, ere they petition that it should be erased from the Creed, for should it be taken from the Creed, this solemn declaration of our Lord, that the cursed shall depart from Him into everlasting fire (and which is repeated in verse 29 of the Creed) will still remain in the Scriptures, and, with the other, will be read in our National Church, unless man become so wise as to have a Bible of reason read to the congregation instead of the Bible of God.

“ Whether these words of Our Saviour are to be interpreted according to the letter, or not, I leave unto Him, ‘ in whose hand is the soul of every living thing and the spirit of all mankind.’

“ We profess to believe in the Trinity, and we were baptized in these three names, Father, Son, Holy Ghost ; and the Creed teaches that He who, in like manner, ever will be saved, must keep in this Faith.

“ We are told by St. John that in Jesus is the life, that we must honour the Son even as we honour the Father ; and if we have not the Son we have *not the life* ; then, if we have not this life, which

is the light of man, must we NOT HAVE the death and the darkness. Quarrel not with your Creed for speaking as the Scriptures speak ; neither mutilate your Creed because some men, in their conceit, would have you think as they think ; for should you do so, be mindful of this—In rejecting your Creed you will reject your Church also.

“ We are taught to worship One God in Trinity and the Trinity in One God—The Lord God Almighty, The Father uncreate, Almighty, The Son incomprehensible, God the Holy Ghost, eternal, Lord ; also, to believe rightly the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Matt. i. 18–25 ; St. Luke i. 30–80) ; and in my humble opinion, the Creed, in language both elegant and simple, endeavours to explain those mysteries ; and if words cannot be found to define them, yet an excellent attempt is made to convey the ideas of the writers ; and if a simpleton mock at the words used, a wise man will receive them with respect.

“ Many persons have prattled concerning these two words—perish everlastingly—and have spoken of the Creed in a manner that has plainly showed their zealous wisdom. If you will examine the original and true meaning of these two words, I think you will find it to be—to ruin, *ever continuing the road*. Believe the Gospel of Christ and be saved ; reject it, and remain in the way to be lost.

“ I do not expect you to think as I think ; but I sincerely hope that you will *twice* think ere you *once* sign a petition against our Gospel Creed.

“ There is a struggle commenced, and you will shortly be compelled to take a part, not only in the Babel of opinions, whether the whole or a part of the Creed shall be rejected ; whether the Church of our forefathers must stand or fall ; but in other things also, when your faith and zeal will be tested by the incidents surrounding you.

“ Being unskilful in language, I respectfully trust you will not censure my plain manner of speaking ; also, that you will kindly pardon the liberty taken in addressing you ; and in conclusion,

“ I humbly pray that He who said to the turbulent waves of the sea, Peace, be still, will grant unto you and to all Christians that peace which this world has not the power to give, and in the world to come, life everlasting.”

The Dean of Ripon, being unable to attend the meeting in St. James's Hall, published the following letter in 'The Times' of January 30:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"THE DEANERY, RIPON,

"January 28.

"SIR,—Some months ago your columns were opened to a discussion of the Athanasian Creed question, and your own sentiments upon the subject were freely expressed. A renewal of that discussion is imminent; and although my convictions are not in accordance with the course you advocated, yet, as I am no longer able to encounter the fatigue of Synodical debate, I venture to hope you will do me the favour to publish my plea for the Creed.

"The real question at issue is not one of authorship, or antiquity, or translation. We have the Creed; we have long used it; we have solemnly declared our conviction of its Scriptural truth (Art. VIII.). The questions now agitated are—Shall we continue to use it as heretofore? or shall we cease to use it in public worship altogether? or shall we leave it optional with every officiating minister to use it or not, as he thinks best? or shall we modify it in some way that will render it at once more unequivocal and less offensive?

"The chief objections to its Liturgical use, which have been so powerfully and influentially urged, even by those who are fully persuaded of its truth, are the obnoxious character of its damnable clauses, and the bewildering mysteriousness of its definitions. With all these fully before me, sincerely sympathizing with much that has been feelingly said, and earnestly desiring to persuade and in no wise to wound, I am constrained to advocate the continued use of the Creed for the following reasons:—

"1. Because it supplies a want.

"There are indications around us, neither few nor obscure, of a disposition to get rid of all Creeds and of all distinctive religious truth. Into that wider question I do not now enter; but if we are to have a 'form of sound words' at all, it ought, I think, to be comprehensive of fundamental truth. In this direction the Athanasian Creed is valuable, recognizing as it does, and resting upon, important portions of Revelation to which no testimony is borne by the other Creeds of the Church.

"The first of these I would specify is the revelation of a righteous judgment of every man 'according to his works.' It is impossible for language to reveal anything more unequivocally than this is revealed. Its importance will not be denied. And yet there is no confession of it, or reference to it with any distinctness, in either the Apostles' Creed or the Nicene Creed. This want is supplied by the Athanasian Creed.

"Again, and to approach the heart and core of the controversy where it presses most keenly upon sensitive minds, a vital portion of Revelation, on which the Church of England at least is emphatic (Art. IX.) is this:—That by the transgression of the first man—the parent stock of all men—the whole human race come into this world in such a state of alienation from, and enmity against, the Creator, as amounts to misery when brought face to face with Him. To this truth and its tremendous consequences there is no reference in the other Creeds. To the denial of this truth may be traced many, if not all, of the heresies which have rejected or corrupted Christianity. And most naturally; for as with a disease so with its remedy. If

the disease be partial or superficial, a remedy of the same character will be sufficient. Such are all the remedies prescribed by man's wisdom.

"The damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed are based, as I read them, on this truth—To 'perish everlastingly' is to remain in our natural state unreconciled to God. It does not of necessity involve any further fiction, whether for unbelief, or misbelief, but simply to remain in the estrangement of the fall; the misery endured varying in degree with the antecedent opportunities, cultivation, and consequent sensitiveness of the sufferer; the same state of things around them being 'more tolerable' (*αυκτοτερον*) for one than for another.

"In the teaching of Christ, to have heard and known and rejected the way, the only way, of deliverance, is imaged by a servant who 'knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to His will.' He shall 'perish everlastingly,' with aggravation of self-reproach. 'He shall be beaten with many stripes.' To have lived and died in ignorance of the way is imaged by a servant who 'knew not his Lord's will, and did commit things worthy of stripes.' Ignorant of his Lord's revealed law, he had a law of conscience within himself, by the violation of which he did commit things worthy of stripes. He shall 'perish everlastingly' with comparative mitigations. 'He shall be beaten with few stripes.' There is no deliverance from stripes for either; but it is 'more tolerable' for Tyre and Sidon than for Chorazin and Bethsaida—more tolerable, that is, all, for Sodom than for Capernaum.

"The way, the only way, of deliverance is inseparable from the Trinity and the Incarnation—the Trinity and the Incarnation as defended against divers specious denials and perversions. There is no attempt in the Athanasian Creed to explain the revealed mystery, but only to define with accuracy what is revealed. I do not say that this is so perfectly done that it cannot be improved. I do not claim infallibility for the Creed; but in the face of ancient heresies revived, and modern heresies multiplied, I plead for the propriety and even the necessity of a defensive description of the truth.

"A direct statement of truth ought to be sufficient for the Church, as a direct statement of law ought to be sufficient for the nation. But as the ingenuity of crime compels an enlargement of the Statute Book, so the ingenuity of heresy compelled an enlargement of the Creed.

"There is a very natural and very amiable repugnance in the human heart to admit the painful feeling of contemplating the state of any of our fellow-creatures as a state of irremediable misery—a state of moral estrangement without hope from Him 'in whose favour is life.' This repugnance lies at the root of much uncertainty of conviction, if not of actual unbelief. Under its secret and unsuspected influence the plainest language of revelation is forced into a non-natural sense. The charitable emotions of philanthropy obscure, so as practically to erase, the awful announcements of Divine truth. I dare not take this course, though my flesh trembles at the bearing of those announcements upon our fallen race. I am driven, though on my knees, to a full agreement with Lord Bacon, where he says that as it is our duty to yield the obedience of practice to the commandments of God, *licet reluctetur voluntas*, so it is our duty to yield the faith of assent to the mysteries of God, *licet eluctetur ratio*, and, I may add, *charitas*.

"A Christianity which is only one way of salvation, and not the one only way, is not the Christianity of the Bible, nor of history. As one of many ways, it might have found a peaceable place in the all-tolerating Pantheon. It was its claim to be the only way that raised the storm. The same is true now.

"Many who bear the Christian name are not believing Christianity, and many who are believing it, sincerely and tenderly believing, are at the same time shrinking from any open and bold avowal of it. They are not 'valiant for the truth' of God in that aspect of it which seems uncharitable towards men. This is the secret of the pain and irritation occasioned by the 'damnatory clauses.'

"If these clauses be expressed with needless harshness or severity, and if the Scriptural truths to which they bear witness can be expressed in words less repugnant to our feelings, it would, indeed, be a work worthy the highest wisdom of the Church to effect the alteration. But, as 'a faithful witness and keeper of Holy Writ,' we dare not remove this ancient landmark until we are supplied with a better.

"On this ground I, for one, would respectfully request our brethren who differ from us in this matter to consider that what we ask them to consent to, until some satisfactory alteration can be devised, is only to continue to do what they have been doing all their lives, conscientiously, though painfully doing, whereas what they are asking us to do is a new thing, which we have never done: it is to pass our Christian year without the authoritative use of any symbol of this part of our testimony. What we ask of them would be urgent for some improvement. What they ask of us would be a confession of impotence to improve. And why should we so despair?

"Objections to the mysterious definitions in the Creed are not so formidable, and happily so, for mystery is inevitable. My conviction is that if the Athanasian Creed were silenced, in deference to the dissatisfaction complained of on this ground, we should hear of similar dissatisfaction at the public recital of the Nicene Creed; and if that were removed, the objections would follow to the Apostles' Creed. In point of fact, during a long and somewhat varied experience, the clause most pointedly objected to by the few—the very few—laymen who have ever expressed to me any painful difficulty, has been 'conceived by the Holy Ghost.'

"Statements concerning the Godhead, being all in matters of thought, and wholly above our reason, are comparatively easy to faith; but this one, abutting on matter which is within our reach, is felt to be not only a demand on our faith, but an assault on our reason. Yet this is the Divine foundation fact, without which Christianity must dwindle down as one among many human speculations.

"2. Further, I value the Athanasian Creed, because it contains an epithet descriptive of our Lord's flesh which is more precisely Scriptural, and more unequivocally intelligible, than the general statements of the other Creeds. The clause I refer to is this:—

"'Of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.'

"The Apostle of the Gentiles, in his sublime discourse on the resurrection of the body, said, 'All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds.' There may possibly be others still not enumerated by the Apostle. There may possibly be flesh possessing properties which none of these possess. There may be flesh which can be present without being visible, which can be eaten without being tasted, which may be sacrificed without any shedding of blood, which may be at one and the same time in more places than one. We are not called upon to deny possibilities. We dare not say that anything of the kind is impossible with God. But when we are required to believe anything of the kind we ask for the Divine warrant. Where and what is the announcement? Show us the inspired Word, and

we veil our faces in profoundest reverence; but in the absence of such authority we pause and reason. To say that the mystery to be believed is 'ineffable' is to acknowledge that it cannot be expressed in words, and therefore is not revealed. Much that is far above our reason, much that is unintelligible we are willing to believe, and do believe, because it is plainly expressed in words which are reasonably proved to be of Divine authority. But we are altogether unwilling to believe what is 'ineffable.'

"Human flesh is not unintelligible. We are reasonably acquainted with its properties, and we know as assuredly as we can know anything that it cannot be present without being visible, that it cannot be eaten without being tasted, that it cannot be sacrificed without bloodshedding, and cannot at one time be in more places than one.

"The flesh of our Saviour Christ is human flesh. So the Church Catholic describes Him of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. This is proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture. 'For the children,' the human children to be redeemed, 'being partakers of flesh and blood, He also himself likewise took part of the same.' To this He himself appealed after his resurrection, saying, 'Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.' Therefore we know as assuredly as we can know anything, that the flesh of our Saviour Christ cannot be present without being visible, cannot be eaten without being tasted, cannot be sacrificed without shedding of blood, and, as our own branch of the Church Catholic plainly declares, cannot at one time be in more places than one.

"I could say more in defence and commendation of the Athanasian Creed, but I fear my letter has already become inconveniently long.

"Your obedient servant,

"HUGH M'NEILE."

ON Friday, January 31st, 1873, a Meeting was held in St. James's Hall, for the purpose of protesting against any interference with the form or the use of the *Quicunque Vult* in the service of the Church. A large number of tickets had been issued in excess of the accommodation of the Large Hall, in consequence of which a supplementary Meeting was held simultaneously in Hanover Square Rooms.

The Duke of Marlborough had promised to take the Chair, but owing to his recent severe illness was unable to do so, and his place was taken by Mr. J. G. Hubbard. "From the beginning to the end," says the 'Guardian,' "the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and the immense applause that greeted Dr. Liddon and the mention of Dr. Pusey's name can never be forgotten by those present, the whole assembly rising up and again and again renewing their cheers."

Before the business of the Meeting commenced,

MR. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P., said—His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, to his great regret, is unable, owing to the severe indisposition with which he has been visited, to take the Chair. The Committee has invited Mr. Hubbard to take his place, and Mr. Hubbard has kindly consented; but before the proceedings begin, I will read the letter of the Duke of Marlborough.

"MY DEAR MR. HOPE,—In consequence of a recent severe attack of illness I regret that it will not be in my power to be present and preside at the meeting to be held on Friday next in St. James's Hall, as an expression of public feeling in favour of the retention in its un mutilated form of the Athanasian Creed. My original engagement to preside at the meeting will be the best proof of the sincere sympathy I have with its object, and although circumstances have prevented that engagement, my earnest hope is that the result of the meeting—which, I doubt not, will be much more ably presided over—will show unmistakably that Churchmen of all shades of opinion unite in a common determination to resist any attempt to mutilate or excise a Creed which has always commanded the reverence and consent of the Christian world.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

"MARLBOROUGH."

B

The DEAN OF YORK then said the Collect for Trinity Sunday, and the Lord's Prayer; all present repeating the latter.

The CHAIRMAN.—This meeting will have learnt with great regret that his Grace the Duke of Marlborough is unable to fulfil his promise to preside here to-day. The Duke has been very seriously ill, and, although now happily convalescent, he is still unequal to the exertion of taking the chair. The Committee cherished as long as possible the hope that his Grace might aid by his presidency here the all-important cause in which he has expressed so deep an interest; and the necessity for providing another chairman upon the eve of the meeting, and when those who might have adequately replaced him had already accepted their several parts in the proceedings, will serve to excuse the Committee for having assigned the presidency to one who, undistinguished by theological learning or high position, has great need of your indulgence in the discharge of the duties which he undertakes in compliance with their request. (Cheers.) This meeting is gathered to deprecate, and if needful to resist, an agitation directed against the present use and position of the Athanasian Creed. (Cheers.) The proposals adverse to the Creed are many and multifarious, but I will allude only to the five which occur to me as the principal. It has been proposed—That the use of the Creed be restricted to fewer occasions; that the use of the Creed be altogether optional; that the Creed be excluded from the Book of Common Prayer, and be appended to the Articles; that the so-called "Damnatory Clauses" be expunged; that a Parliamentary indemnity be provided for the clergy who may break the law of the Church by omitting the use of the Creed. To these proposals the obvious replies are—That to restrict even to a single day the occasions on which the Athanasian Creed is authoritatively used would not satisfy those who object to the Creed itself; that to make the use of the Creed optional would be to introduce a new element of disunion into the Church, and create dissensions between the clergy and their congregations; that the banishment of the Creed from its present position and use in the public service of the Church to the region of the Thirty-nine Articles would be a cruel and intolerable privation to those who find in its clear and unfaltering utterance the priceless foundations of their faith; that it is not within the competency of a single branch of Christ's Church to make changes

in a Creed which is the inheritance of the whole Catholic Church ; that to provide by statute an immunity for a breach of ecclesiastical law would fail to remove the conscientious difficulty of any loyal clergy, and would create an injurious antagonism between the law of the Church and the law of the State. (Cheers.) But although the proposals I have now dealt with be inadmissible, it must not be assumed that the agitation for some change as regards the Athanasian Creed may not partly proceed from loyal men who would suffer real disquiet in their enunciation of the so-called Damnatory Clauses. I for one cannot deny it—for I can recall the time when I shrank from pronouncing them as they occurred in the recital of the Creed, although the retrospect carries me over more than fifty years, to the age of early youth, and although study and observation entirely removed the difficulty I then felt, by showing me that the warning clauses in the Creed are to be taken in the same sense, and with the same limitations, as the words of our Lord and his Apostles, of which they are virtually the iteration. I cannot doubt that much, if not all, of the dissatisfaction which has been expressed would vanish if the clergy generally were more learned, and the laity generally were better taught. I say this with reluctance, but with no doubt as to the fact. I have seen a pamphlet adverse to the Athanasian Creed, by a clergyman, who attempted to demonstrate the unreasonableness of insisting upon the acceptance of its clauses, by pointing out that one of those clauses declared God to be “incomprehensible”—interpreting, in his own mind, as “incapable of being understood,” a word which he should have known meant “incapable of being confined or limited.” And so, again, the charge of uncharitable condemnation of the uninstructed is advanced by some who are unmindful that in order that a man may “hold” or may “keep” the faith it must first be presented to him. Whether it be possible to devise an authoritative declaration of the true sense and application of the warning clauses, which would dissipate the prejudice against them, is an important question, but one not included in our present consideration. Our purpose is to discuss and adopt resolutions touching an agitation which endangers the essential doctrines of Christianity. The discussion, to be successful, must be conducted with firmness, but with calmness, and, above all, with charity. It has been painful to observe in the course of this controversy, angry, resentful, and contemptuous expressions, sadly incongruous with the consideration of the nature of the God of Love ; but no uncharitable spirit will, I feel confi-

dent, be allowed to mar the proceedings or impair the influence of this important meeting. (Loud cheering.)

MR. BERESFORD HOPE.—The Chairman has given me permission to read some letters from distinguished persons who are unable to be present. The first letter I shall read is from Bishop Ryan, now Vicar of Bradford:—

“MY LORD,

“VICARAGE, BRADFORD, Jan. 28, 1873.

“I regret very much that I am not able to attend the meeting on the 31st. The resolution which you have asked me to support is so entirely in accordance with my own convictions, that I should have felt it a privilege to have the opportunity of doing so. The reason why I cannot attend is that there is to be a public meeting in Bradford on that evening, in connection with the movement for the suppression of the slave-trade in Eastern Africa; and as that abominable traffic was brought under my notice very specially during the thirteen years of my work in Mauritius, and again in the summer of last year, I feel a special obligation to attend the meeting in Bradford, having already done so in Leeds and other towns in the North as well as in London.

“I hope you will have a successful meeting,—and remain, my Lord, your very faithful servant,

“VINCENT W. RYAN (Bishop).

“The Right Honourable Earl Beauchamp.”

The second is from the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, addressed to Lord Beauchamp:—

“MY DEAR BEAUCHAMP,

“HEMSTEAD PARK, Jan. 26.

“Although I have doubts as to the advisability of a public meeting in reference to the Athanasian Creed, I heartily accept the resolutions which it is proposed to move and to adopt. At a time when we most need to be held to our moorings it would be most unwise to neglect or let slip an anchor which has for so many ages assisted to hold us securely. I hope the agitation for changes, any of which would grieve many consciences, may cease when it is seen how serious might be the result.—Believe me, yours very sincerely,

“GATHORNE HARDY.”

The next is from the Rev. Charles Kingsley to Mr. MacColl.

“EVERSLEY RECTORY, WINCHEFIELD,

“DEAR MR. MACCOLL,

“January 31.

“I am, to my regret, unable to be present at the meeting to-night. But I cannot let it pass without asking leave to express my strong sympathy with its object.

"I have long held that the general use and understanding of the Athanasian Creed by the Church of England would exercise hereafter (as it has exercised already) a most potent and salutary influence, not only on the theology, but on the ethics, and on the science, physical and metaphysical, of all English-speaking nations.

"I believe that that influence was never more needed than now since the great French revolution of the last century; and I am therefore the more jealous at this moment of the safety of the Athanasian Creed.

"I feel for, though I cannot feel with, the objections of many excellent persons to the so-called Damnatory Clauses. But I believe that those objections would die out were the true and ancient Catholic doctrine concerning the future state better known among us; and therefore, in the event of an explanatory rubric being appended to the Creed in our Prayer Book, I should humbly pray that it may express, or at least include and allow, that orthodox and salutary doctrine. — Believe me, yours with sincere good wishes,

"CHARLES KINGSLEY."

The next is from the Dean of St. Paul's to Dr. Liddon.

"MY DEAR LIDDON,

"Jan. 31, 1873.

"I fully intended to be present at the meeting to-night; but it will be impossible for me to reach it in time. I only desire to say that the objects of the meeting have my entire concurrence, and seem to me to be of the first importance.—Yours ever,

"R. W. CHURCH."

The following letters were also read :—

"DEAR LORD BEAUCHAMP,

"BATSFORD PARK, Jan. 30, 1873.

"Prudence forbids my travelling up to town to-morrow, and particularly in this weather. I am what is called going on well, but the well is very slow. I am now free from pain, but am ordered to keep quiet, and remain in bed half the day. I must be fit to attend the meeting of Parliament, and for that purpose must be very careful now. Pray let my regret at not being able to attend be expressed to the meeting.—Yours very truly,

"REDESDALE."

"WALMER WOOD, MORTIMER, READING,

"Jan. 30, 1873.

"MY DEAR BEAUCHAMP,

"I am sorry that I am prevented by a severe cold from attending the meeting at St. James's Hall. But I regret it the less as I hear that your numbers are overflowing. When I first heard of the intention to hold a public meeting in defence of the

Athanasian Creed, I entertained some doubts of the policy of such a step. But I fully recognize the importance of obtaining a distinct manifestation of the opinions of Churchmen on a question so vitally affecting the preservation of Christian truth, and I beg to express my hearty concurrence in the resolutions proposed for adoption.—I remain, my dear Beauchamp, yours sincerely,

“J. R. MOWBRAY.

“The Earl Beauchamp, &c., &c.”

“DEAR LORD BEAUCHAMP,

“ESTCOURT, TETBURY, Jan. 23, 1873.

“As the time approaches for the conference, which you announced to me, to be held in London, for the purpose of confirming the Archbishop and others in the maintenance of the Athanasian Creed unmutated in our Prayer Book, I write one line to express my consent, and to add my name to the list of supporters of that resolution in any form you may think proper to use it. But I cannot undertake to attend, or to take an active part in the business.—Believe me, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

“T. SOTHERON ESTCOURT.”

I have one more document in my hand which is a Declaration emanating from Oxford:—“We, the undersigned, without expressing any opinion on the advisability of an Explanatory Note, or of a Synodical Declaration, desire to express our conviction, that the Athanasian Creed in its integrity ought to be retained in its present position in the services of the Church of England.”

The above statement is signed by 1562 members of the Church of England resident in the University and City of Oxford, and in several parishes in the County and Archdeaconry of Oxford and the neighbourhood. Of these signatures, 178 are those of clergymen, 116 of churchwardens; and it is signed by Charles Clerke, Archdeacon of Oxford. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN.—Before I call upon the first speaker, I ought to say that I hold in my hand a list of those places that have sent delegates. The list comprises 36 counties, more than 100 towns, and the number of delegates sent to attend this meeting is more than 560. (Cheers.)

Mr. HENRY HUCKS GIBBS (Director of the Bank of England) said—I accept the task which is imposed upon me of moving the first resolution with the more confidence and satisfaction, because I feel that this is not a question of High Church or Low Church—not a

question of cleric or lay distinctively ; but it is a question of the heritage of our Christian faith handed down to us from nineteen centuries back, and now, as ever, the object of attack. The present point of attack, as you all know, is the Athanasian Creed ; but the resolution that I have to move has a wider scope ; it affirms what the Church of England affirms in her Eighth Article, that the three Creeds—the Nicene Creed, the Apostles' Creed, and the Creed of St. Athanasius—are to be perfectly received and believed, for that they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. Now, I wish to say that the attacks upon the Athanasian Creed are, to my mind, attacks not only upon that Creed, but upon the other Creeds, and upon all dogmatic teaching. I am quite sure that of those who feel scruples as regards this Creed who wish to amend it, or to mar it, or to discontinue its use in the services of the Church, a large majority have no such thought ; they have the earnest, but I believe the entirely mistaken, idea that they are aiding true religion by the course they are taking. I am equally sure that they are unwillingly playing into the hands of a small knot of noisy agitators, who know right well what they are about, who wish to destroy the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England, and who make this, the Athanasian Creed, which is the fullest exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England, their first point of attack. If they succeed in that attack, the time must come when the Church of England as a body will teach nothing, for as a body it must believe nothing. (Cheers.) What, then, are the allegations that they bring against this Creed ? They tell us that it is unintelligible, that it is uncharitable, that it is contrary to public opinion—(laughter)—and not consonant with the spirit of the age. Now, as to its unintelligibility, it seems to me that it is intelligible enough for any Christian man ; that if there be any difficulties, any unintelligibility in it, equally so there are in the other Creeds ; for can any man say that he fully understands every clause in the Apostles' Creed and in the Nicene Creed ? The grammatical propositions he can accept and understand, but the doctrines contained in them are the subjects not of intellect, but of faith. (Loud cheers.) They are too wide, too vast, for the finite intellect of man, and must be accepted by him as a revelation from God Almighty. I think, then, that in the matter of intelligibility the three Creeds must stand or fall together, and it is my belief that they will stand. Again, we are told that it is uncharitable ; but that I deny. The Church in the not damnatory

but monitory clauses of this Creed sits in judgment upon no individual soul, upon no particular Church. Our Lord has said that belief is a necessary condition to salvation, and the Church in her three Creeds but recalls the words of her Lord, and, summarising the doctrines that she has received from the earliest ages, she warns her sons that to them they must keep for their soul's health, for in them lies the appointed path of safety. The Nicene Creed and the Apostles' Creed have no monitory clauses ; but they also must be read in conjunction with the words of our Lord to which I have alluded, and, read with those words, their warnings are as strong and as severe as the warnings of the Athanasian Creed. But to warn is not the office of uncharitableness : to warn is the office of charity itself. And if it be said that whether for condemnation or warning this Creed is offensive to the Eastern Church, I say that we must not, then, stop at this Creed, but we must go further, and take the Nicene Creed also ; for it is the Nicene Creed which first clashes with the Eastern Church. I leave it to others to discuss the difference between the Churches, which I believe is but verbal and not real. (Cheers.) I will, however, say that in point of charity, again, the three Creeds must stand on the same footing, and must be accepted by all of us. Then, again, we hear that the Athanasian Creed is not consonant with public opinion. Why, sir, if it were not consonant with public opinion, it is not now for the first time that we hear of *Athanasius contra mundum* ; and in this age also the truth will prevail if the world be against it. Public opinion ! Why, this crowded meeting that is before me, and the meetings that are held all over the country, are an answer to the allegation. I believe that the true public opinion of the Church of England is in its great majority not against us, but on our side. They know that this Creed has existed in its present form at least for thirteen centuries ; they know that the doctrines which it embodies are drawn from the earliest ages of the Church, before the division of the East and West ; they know that at the Reformation the Church of England deliberately adopted those three Creeds, and that at every successive revision of her formularies these three Creeds have held their own place, and I believe that the great majority of the laity and clergy of the Church of England will now refuse to alter the *status* of these three Creeds. Sir, this is a layman's question. (Cheers.) The heritage of the faith is the heritage alike of the clergy and the laity ; but the clergy are the guardians and teachers of this faith ; and for whom do they guard

it, and to whom do they teach it? For us, the laity; to us, the great body of the Church; and I say that it is now time for the laity to speak out in defence of their Church. It is for this reason that I, a layman, a man of business, unaccustomed to controversy, undesirous of entering into controversy on Church matters, or any other matters, come before you this night to advocate fidelity to the faith and the Creeds of the Church, and to express my belief that the great majority of the laity of the Church will refuse to see their Creeds tampered with, and their faith frittered away, and will heartily concur with you in the resolution which I have now the honour to propose:—

“That this meeting fully and unhesitatingly accepts the teaching of the Church of England, contained in its Eighth Article of Religion; that ‘the three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius’s Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles’ Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.’” (Loud cheers.)

The REV. BERDMORE COMPTON (Rector of St. Paul, Covent Garden).—In seconding this resolution, the first sentiment I wish to enounce is the echo of that which has been so plainly stated by my predecessor—namely, that this is a layman’s question much more than a clergyman’s question. With regard to the holding the truth of this resolution, I should be simply a perjured man if I did not. (Loud cheers.) I have, I believe, solemnly sworn to it six times, and I hold my present position in the Church simply and wholly on the faith of adherence to it. Now, with regard to the attacks upon the Athanasian Creed which have brought us together to-night, they may be mainly divided into attacks upon the substance, and attacks upon the language. The attacks on the substance, so far as they are made within our Church, are headed by no less a person than the Dean of Westminster. (Hisses.) I leave him to Dean Waterland and Mr. Brewer. I do not think this is a fit place to go into these questions, and I propose now to direct your attention rather to the attacks on the language of the Creed than to those on the substance. What, then, are the attacks on the language of the Creed? First, it is said that it consists mainly of the negation of certain abstruse philosophical principles which a man cannot understand. To this I answer, in the first place, that although they may be abstruse, while they are abstruse they can do no harm, and when their abstruseness disappears they

are wanted. An ignorant man, who has not sounded the depths of the difficulties of the doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Blessed Trinity, does not require them, nor can I see that it does him any harm to have them declared to him. In support of this principle, I will only remind you that we do not hesitate to teach our children the Seventh Commandment. It is not till the abstruseness disappears that it is wanted, and then it is immediately wanted. And here let me say that very few persons who raise these objections really do believe the whole of the Creed, though it is to its language only they profess to object. Some may, but I believe they are very few. Nothing can be more remarkable in the experience of all those who have lately had to do with this great question, than the manner in which the extraordinary ignorance and disbelief of many people has come out. For, it must be remembered that this Creed contains a great deal more than the two prominent chapters—if I may so call them—on the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation. It contains, besides, most definite announcement of two most important doctrines—viz. the doctrine of eternal punishment, and the doctrine that a right faith is necessary to salvation; and I can only say that I have almost invariably found, in talking and discussing this great subject with persons who did not agree in maintaining the Creed, that it was on one or other of these supplementary subjects that they really did not believe in what the Creed taught. When we were getting up petitions some time ago to the Lower House of Convocation, on this subject, I was talking to two of my friends whom I asked to sign the petition. They said they could not sign it on account of what they called the Damnatory Clauses. I pointed out to them the famous passage in the 16th chapter of St. Mark's Gospel, and I showed them that the language of the Damnatory Clauses, as they called them, was not stronger than the language of our Blessed Lord. Well, one of them immediately said that he thought that language was too strong; and the other said he did not believe in eternal punishment at all. Both those men thought themselves good Churchmen. (A laugh.) They had gone on thinking themselves good Churchmen, and it was not till this question arose, and these differences were brought out, that these really dangerous doubts came up. Secondly, the objectors to the expressions of the Creed find great fault with them for being negative; and I grieve to say that in the pamphlet of the Bishop of Salisbury he has to a great degree endorsed these doubts by

stating in a most careful way that, only so far as the statements of this Creed are affirmative, he believes it to be a most useful and venerable document. I am prepared to maintain that negative precepts are absolutely necessary for complete instruction when you get beyond the very first rudiments of knowledge in almost anything. Go to a master of elocution, to be taught to read or speak, which many of us so grievously require—(laughter)—and after he has found out that you have the power of stringing two or three words together, what does he say to you—"Don't drop your voice at the end of your sentences; don't raise it up in what used to be called House of Commons twang; don't play with your watch-chain," and twenty more negative precepts; and you will be lucky if you escape without the most pungent of all negative teaching, *viz.* the ludicrous mimicry of your absurd peculiarities. It is the same in rowing. As soon as you have the power of sitting in the boat at all, what does an instructor tell you?—"Don't look at your oar; don't stiffen your back; don't pull your arms in till you have done your stroke." It is the same thing with skating. As soon as a man can struggle along on a skate at all, what does a kind friend tell him?—"Don't look at the ice; don't bend the knee of the leg that is off the ice; don't stiffen your elbows;" and it is lucky if he does not add a minatory sentence—"If you don't mind what I say you'll fall down." (Cheers.) But now to rise to higher things. Even in such elementary instruction as the Ten Commandments, as soon as a child or a grown-up person arrives at the barest knowledge that he has some duty to God and to man, are not seven of the Commandments negative? But I can scarcely give you a better illustration of the point than by telling you of a conversation I had the other day with one of our most eminent architects. He said—"In giving instructions to my builders and to my clerks of the works, I always find it necessary not only to tell them what to do, but also carefully to tell them what not to do. I find," he said, "by experience, that I know perfectly well the faults they will fall into unless they are expressly warned against them." Sir, I submit that that is precisely the position of the Catholic Church in framing and keeping before us the Athanasian Creed. The Church as early, no doubt, as the middle of the fifth century found out by four centuries of experience the errors of faith into which her children were liable to fall unless they were expressly warned against them. Therefore it is that she put before us, under, as I believe, the Divine

guidance, and has maintained ever since, this Creed of St. Athanasius, containing these negative precepts, as supplementary to the affirmative precepts of the Nicene Creed. Now, sir, I proceed to those well-known clauses, miscalled damnatory. I suppose there is hardly a man in this room who does not know that this term is thoroughly misapplied; that they are admonitory and not damnatory; or, if I might venture to put it in rather more legal language, they are the announcements of God's law, and not the pronouncing of God's sentence. I lament, I must say again, that the Bishop of Salisbury ignores this great truth, and I am sure that that great truth is, in fact, the main answer to his argument against the admonitory clauses in the pamphlet he has lately published. I cannot understand how a person's conscience can be offended by a declaration of law against special offences, unless, indeed, the cap fits. (Cheers.) It appears to me to be as absurd to object to the law being announced to us in this way as it would be for the troops in her Majesty's service to object to the articles of war being read to them, as I believe they are, by Act of Parliament, every three months. It appears to me that the consciences of those who hear these announcements of law ought no more to be hurt by it than the conscience of every soldier in her Majesty's service is hurt when the officer reads the law whereby every one who deserts her Majesty's service is liable to the punishment of death; nor can I conceive any but the most ignorant soldier in her Majesty's service mistaking that for a sentence of death upon any one else! or thinking it uncharitable to intending deserters! I now approach the remaining argument, which has been so much pressed upon us now—that this question, having once been raised, must now be settled, and settled by some alteration of the Creed. The Creed, it is said, is unpopular; people do not like it, and some persons sit down when the Creed is said in the churches. Sir, I can hardly find words to express my detestation of the principle that popular taste is to be the criterion of religious practice! As long as we live on this side the grave, the natural man is not crushed in each one of us; and as long as the natural man is alive he will always strive against the Spirit, and in striving against the Spirit he, of course, dislikes the announcements of the Spirit. We are told in Holy Scripture that the office of the Holy Spirit Himself is to “convince the world of sin, because they believe not;” and is it reasonable to expect that the world will like to be convinced of sin? Moreover,

it is said that this fact of unpopularity requires that the question should be settled somehow. It is argued on behalf of some tender consciences that they would be greatly relieved if the question was at an end, and they no longer heard this most sacred question publicly and loudly debated among men. I confess to have a considerable feeling for them, but that feeling has not such force that I can consent for one moment to sacrifice for it not only one of the important articles of faith, but not even the expression of the important articles of faith. Let me advert to a point of Church history which strongly illustrates this. At the great Council of Ariminum in the fourth century, it was strongly pressed by the Arians that the word *ὁμοούσιον*, being a new word, and not found in Holy Scripture, caused division amongst Catholics, and therefore they wished that the word should be removed from the Creed of Nicæa. The orthodox Bishops at that council were weak enough to remove that word, and the consequence was that immediately after, the Arians throughout the whole world boasted that the doctrine of the Council of Nicæa was contradicted at that council, and Arianism substituted for it. I say this is a great warning to us to stick to our terms as well as to our Faith. And now there is another argument still left which must be dealt with,—that this question must be settled somehow, and that something must be done to the Creed, simply because the question has been raised. I submit to you, sir, and to all this meeting that you will agree with me in this sentiment—we are not so anxious to have the question settled at all. I am a member of Christ's Church "militant here on earth"—(loud cheers)—and as long as I am a soldier I shall have to fight. If I thought that the enemy would lay down their arms altogether, I should be very willing to have the question settled in that way; but I am not going to settle the question by either surrendering or dismantling any bulwark of our faith. They are not the least likely to leave off their assaults if we yield to them on this one point. I suppose that no reasonable man can doubt that the next thing we should have to do would be to defend the other two Creeds; therefore, say I, let us go on fighting this, if they choose to fight, till the end of the chapter. There are indications, indeed, that the enemy are already looking behind them. I believe we have only to stand firm a little longer, and we shall find that what was the fate of the proposals of comprehension in the year 1689 will be the fate of the schemes of the present comprehensionists. There is an old story

of Marshal Saxe, who described the many battles he had been in as having all one feature: that the two sides faced each other fighting for a long time, and at last one side ran away, and he never could make out why they ran away. Here is a piece of useful negative precept, *viz.* that the way to win a battle is not to run away. Provided you stand firm, let the other party perform that manœuvre. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I cannot see why we should have any cause whatever for fear. I cannot see that the artillery of the present comprehensionists is any heavier than the artillery of Tillotson and Burnet. As far as I can understand what is very difficult to understand, the weapons of the most practised controversialist amongst our opponents, even though they come from an episcopal quiver, are more like the arrows of a dexterous archer, endeavouring to pick off our sentinels, than the crushing blows of a Roman catapult on the walls of our Zion. (Cheers.) In this matter I believe that the guns have not surpassed the armour. I believe that we are fully capable of maintaining our position, that our fort—and, remember, this is our advanced fort—is as strong as ever. I cannot say that it might not be possible to have the glacis smoothed or the ditch cleaned out. I cannot say that possibly something might not be done by an improved translation; but I cannot believe that in the present temper of the Church of England the profit of that endeavour would be worth the risk. In conclusion, let me avow my belief that this great contest, which has now been going on for a good many months among us, has already not only done no harm, but a great deal of good. I believe it has brought out in the most prominent way that which has been far too much kept in the background, even amongst the clergy, and that is, the absolute necessity of a right faith in order to salvation. I am not afraid to say—I should be a coward if I were—that I believe it very possible that a man leading a most moral, respectable, and well-conducted life, but not believing any more than he chooses of what Almighty God has been pleased to reveal to him of Himself, is more offensive in the sight of God even than the profligate who, in a humble spirit, is ready as soon as he knows it to come unconditionally before the mercy of God. (Cheers.) I should be wrong if I did not believe that, when I know that the publican and the harlot were nearer the kingdom of God than the Pharisee, even though his manner of life be “after the most straitest sect of our religion.” I believe this contest has done a great deal of good in another way. It has drawn an extra-

ordinary sharp and hard line through the Church—in one respect very sadly. It has found out many men as not being really firmly attached to the faith, who, we earnestly hoped, would have been found so. It may be sad for us, but I believe it is good for the camp of God. But secondly, and far more joyfully, it has found out many men through the length and breadth of England who are far more attached to the faith of Christ than they ever thought themselves to be. (Cheers.) I rejoice most unfeignedly in a line having been drawn irrespective of parties, separating a great party of faith to stand together, as I hope, immovably and inseparably, united together by the only bond which can safely and permanently unite Christian men—the bond of firm, humble, hearty belief in all that has been revealed to them. It has parted off this party of faith to stand together united in this one determination—to uphold the doctrine of the Eighth Article, and to maintain that the doctrines of the three Creeds are firmly to be preserved and maintained, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY (who was received with great cheering) said—The resolution which I have to move is—

“That this meeting earnestly deprecates, as fraught with danger to the preservation of Christian truth throughout the world, any mutilation of the Athanasian Creed, or any alteration of its status in the Book of Common Prayer.”

The position of things with which we have to deal is this—an ancient Creed (which we now know dates from the sixth century) representing with exact fidelity the words and phrases of the greatest uninspired champion the Christian Church ever produced, round which the faith and devotion of thirty generations of Christians have entwined themselves—this Creed has come down to our time, and for the first time in the history of Europe it is proposed to offer an affront to it. We have to ask ourselves what are the reasons on which this course is taken, what are the grounds which can be alleged in its behalf, and what are the dangers which it reveals? Of course, there have been many different courses proposed to be adopted with reference to this Creed. On the part of those who, partly from their own feelings, but I think more often with the desire of averting a supposed popular feeling, which perhaps after all did not exist, complain of this Creed, a great variety of changes

have been suggested ; but in the main they have resolved themselves into two. One of them is that which has been unhappily supported by some Bishops of our Church, and which I am bound to say has commended itself to a few excellent men, and that is the mutilation of the Creed. To me that has always seemed the most inadmissible proposition that could possibly be made. (Cheers.) There is not only that consideration upon which the chairman has so forcibly remarked, that this Creed is the inheritance of the whole Catholic Church, and no part of the Church can take upon itself to tamper with its words ; but there is also the fact that these clauses, speaking of the retribution of guilty unbelief, only express a doctrine which is expressed with quite as much distinctness and force in other parts of the formularies of the Church. Until you can get rid of the Eighteenth Article, the one anathema which the gentle spirit of our Reformers allowed them to insert in the formularies of faith,—the Article which states that “they are to be had accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature,”—you will not get rid of the objection which these gentlemen feel to the warning clauses of the Athanasian Creed. Therefore, the whole object which they have in view would not be met except by far more drastic measures than they venture to propose. I do not like to speak of the purely theological objections, for I know there are those coming after me who can dwell with a great deal more force than I can upon the terrible danger of teaching in this age of scepticism that dogma is a matter of small account, and that men may safely tamper with their faith. I do not dwell on that ; but do not suppose I pass it by because I lightly regard its importance, but because I greatly regard my own incapacity to deal with such a theme. Look, then, at the matter in a humbler but more practical view. If you propose in any way to alter or mutilate the Athanasian Creed, who is to do it? (Cheers.) Convocation will not. (Loud cheers.) Then, it must be done by the House of Commons. (“Oh, oh !”) Anyone who has been privileged to hear the way in which discussions in committee, on any important proposition, are carried on in that House, will not feel that it will tend much to the advance of Christian edification if the highest doctrines of our faith are submitted to amendments and counter amendments, divisions and cross divisions, in that highly honourable, but somewhat combative, assembly. (A laugh.) Yet that is what you will be driven to, if it is allowed

for one moment that the Legislature of its own mind, and without any support or sanction from the Church, is to undertake the task, before which synods of Churchmen have shrunk, of framing new formulas of faith for the acceptance of the Christian Church. I, therefore, put aside this question of altering the Creed. Apart from theological objections, I put it aside as a thing that in the present constitution of the English Government, in the present relations between the Church and the State, it would be impossible to do. Then, we come to the other proposition—the proposition which has the sanction of Lord Shaftesbury's name, and which was supported by a memorial he procured in the course of the summer. The proposal is that the Creed should be banished from its present position in the service of the Church,—not, as I understand, dismissed altogether from the Church's consideration, but put upon a kind of retired list—(laughter)—put, as a gentleman in the gallery observes, upon half-pay, and in that condition left upon the formularies of the Church. Now, have these 7000 gentlemen who signed the memorial asked themselves what their objection really is? It cannot be an objection to substance, because if it was an objection to substance it could not possibly have been signed by any clergy of the Established Church. We know that the clergy have all stated in the most solemn way, and so have many besides the clergy, that this Creed is most thoroughly to be received and believed, for it may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture; and we know that they are all not only pious but honourable men; and it is perfectly inconceivable that they should join in an objection to the substance of that which they have pronounced to be perfectly consonant with Holy Scripture. But not only that—the very course they propose to pursue shows that they do not object to the substance of the Creed; because it is to be left among the formularies, only it is not to be recited in church: in other words, if they object to the substance, they are prepared to say that that may be announced to the world as the belief of a body of Christians which that body of Christians dare not say in the presence of Almighty God in church. That is an inconceivable proposition, and I think it is impossible to come to any other conclusion but that these 7000 gentlemen—(*A Voice*—"3000"*)—these 3000 gentlemen, then

* The "*Voice*" was in error. Lord Shaftesbury's memorial had the ostensible support of nearly 7000 names; though it is fair to add that Lord Shaftesbury himself has no means of verifying the genuineness of many of these names.—EDITOR.

—I beg their pardon for exaggerating their number—object to nothing but the form of the Creed. Well, now, I have read a great number of objections to the form of the Creed, I might almost call them cavils, and what has struck me in respect of them all is, that though they show much learning and great ingenuity, they are all marked by an utter want of breadth. They are the criticisms not of men accustomed to deal with large masses of mankind, but rather the fastidious criticisms of men accustomed to deal with literary productions. I was much struck with the fact that in this memorial of 3000 there were several peers, many members of Parliament, and many persons well known in London, but there was a very beggarly array of churchwardens. (Cheers.) There was, in fact, a large assemblage of the rich and educated, but of the other portions of the laity very little account seems to have been taken. I am not myself adverse in secular matters to a certain flavour of aristocratic doctrine, but I never dreamt of such Toryism as would imagine that the objections of peers and members of Parliament to an article of faith were more valuable than those of humbler laymen. But there is a lesson to be drawn from this peculiar proportion. It struck me on reading it that it was a proportion not dissimilar to that which St. Paul observed when he contemplated the ranks of the early Christian converts, and possibly for the same reason; but, at all events, it shows us that these criticisms and objections which are levelled at the Creed are not of a kind which can commend themselves to the broad views of the mass of men. The mass of men do not understand these fastidious objections to mere form. They think of substance, and of substance only. They do not inquire whether this Article may be possibly offensive to the Greek Church. They do not ask whether that Article may represent a view of the Divine hypostasis later than the Nicæan: they do not enter into subtleties of that kind; but these broad facts are present to their minds—they know this Creed has come down through many centuries associated with the most sacred doctrines of the Christian Church; they know it was taken by the Reformers whose names they venerate, and from whose fellowship they would not be lightly parted, and put in the forefront in order to mark, at a moment when faith was sorely tried, the intensity of the adhesion of the Church of England to this, the foundation of our faith. They know that under the shadow of this Creed have rested minds as learned and hearts as holy as any Church has ever produced; they know that through the three

centuries that have elapsed since this Creed was put into the common service of our Church, numbers of men, generations of Christian men, certainly not less devoted and less holy than those amongst whom we live, have been perfectly satisfied to receive this Creed; and they now know that it has been attacked, in the first instance, mainly under the urgency and at the desire of men to whom all dogmatic teaching is an abomination. Well, then, if you give it up, do you imagine they will think it is on account of a criticism of mere form? Do you imagine they will not see the substance behind the form, and that they will not conclude that the Church that deserts a position that has been held so long is really indifferent to the doctrine which that Creed contains? I am astounded, I confess, at the levity with which many men seem to have regarded the effects that will follow from the course which they recommend with respect to this Creed. They seem to imagine that tender consciences are all upon one side. They seem to think that a man may be very sensitive to words in a Creed which he thinks are too strongly expressed, but that it is impossible that any man should be sensitive if an affront is put upon the main article of the faith which he holds. That is the danger which we have to fear. There are two courses which may be pursued. It is barely possible that Parliament may interfere with this Creed; it is barely possible that the Church may give it up. ("Never, never.") If Parliament were to interfere with it the evil would be very great. Supposing it were to remove the Creed from the Prayer Book and prohibit its use in church, I fear that the prohibition would be disregarded—(great cheering)—in such a vast number of instances that Parliament would be puzzled to execute its own decrees. If, on the other hand, the option, as it is called, of abandoning it were given, it would introduce a new party line into the Church, a new cause of bitterness and antagonism between parish and parish, new controversies, new acrimonies, new sources of paralysis to the efforts by which alone religion and civilization can be carried into the masses of ignorance with which we have to deal. But the interference of Parliament would be a far lighter evil than the possible submission and desertion of the Church. It is a small matter comparatively that consciences would be wounded, and deep resentments would be excited, and probably a formidable schism would be created; it is a small matter compared with that frightful evil that men would come to look upon the Church as having deserted her sacred mission, and having sunk to the level of those Protes-

tant communities abroad—at Geneva and in Paris—where the faith which the Athanasian Creed proclaims has been openly abandoned. Such a result might be obtained by the help of those scrupulous consciences whom we respect, though we regret their efforts; but it would not be the scrupulous consciences that would reap the ultimate results. Behind the thin line of scrupulous consciences we see the vast forces of unbelief. The scrupulous consciences would win the battle; the forces of unbelief would gather the spoils of victory. (Great cheering.) But I need not pursue that theme. I feel that it cannot be. (Renewed cheers.) I am sure that the experience of the last few months has taught Churchmen and politicians alike that this is not a subject to be lightly tampered with. I feel certain, at least, of this—from all that in public or in private I have seen, that if at this time, and at such a bidding, under such threatening circumstances, with infidelity raging around our walls—if this standard of our faith is in any degree resigned, it will not be by the will or with the consent of the Church, but it will be done by external force alone; and that to the end the Church will be faithful to the heritage that has been handed down to her from olden times. (Loud cheers.)

REV. H. TEMPLE (Vicar of St. John's, Leeds).—It will be, I fear, only as a feeble, almost voiceless echo of the north that I can venture to lift up such a voice as I have in this assembly; but when the Committee requested me this morning to supplement the feeble efforts I have been making during the last three months as honorary secretary for the northern province by appearing in this presence and speaking here, I felt that the least I could do would be to make the attempt. There is no question that the resolution which the Marquess of Salisbury has so ably moved, and which I am now trying to second, is the resolution which has provoked criticism up to this time, and which will provoke a great deal more; therefore I am glad of the opportunity of stating at the outset that I accept it in its fulness without the slightest hesitation. (Cheers.) We are taunted, you know, by criticism about such expressions as “danger to the preservation of Christian truth.” Of course we know what that means. There is no danger to the truth itself—that we are all perfectly satisfied about—but the danger will be to those, whether persons or churches, who, having the truth distinctly and clearly set before them, perversely refuse to accept it. Now, let me speak on two points that have been already referred to, with reference to

the Creed itself. We are told by our opponents in this matter that the language of the Creed is obscure. Good people, is this what they really mean? Is it indeed the case that they object to the Athanasian Creed because its language is too obscure? Why those clergy of us who labour in large towns know perfectly well how rampant Arianism is on every side of us. We know that when we hold this Creed up to opponents of that description, and place it before them, we are tempted to ask this question—

“Can you not read it? Is it not fair wit?”

and we almost seem to hear a sort of whisper in return, which dares not quite be outspoken,

“Too fairly, Hubert, for so foul effect.”

It is the doctrine, my lords and gentlemen, it is the doctrine that forms the real ground of objection, and this miserable plea of obscurity is but stalking-horse No. 1, which is put in the forefront to be knocked down. Now to go on, suppose the Creed were, as no doubt considering it on one side it must be admitted to be, an obscure document—that is, that it expresses as strongly and clearly as human language may dare to do, the deepest of mysteries—suppose it to be obscure, then, as it cannot help being, is that a reason for not reciting it in public? It is not the only obscure document in the world. There is an epistle written by St. Paul, called the Epistle to the Colossians. Suppose you read that, and try to face the doctrinal part of it thoroughly from end to end, I believe you will find it is rather a difficult document. Is it, therefore, not to be read in the church? What does God the Holy Ghost say to that? “When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea.” I need not now go into the question of what is meant by the epistle from Laodicea, but, if the generally received idea be the true one, that is not a very easy document to make out either. Then, take the epistle to the Hebrews. Every one, I suppose, will admit that there are great, and deep, and abstruse difficulties there. Is it, then, to be left alone, and not studied by Christians and not read in churches? What says the epistle itself? “Therefore ye ought to take the more earnest heed to the things which ye have heard.” One other instance of this sort, and I leave this part of the question. There is a book which comes to us written by the beloved disciple, and called “The Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine.” No

one will deny that whether that book is to be interpreted chiefly with reference to things that have been, or with reference to things that are, or with reference to things that shall be—take it which way you will, it teems with difficulties of interpretation. Is it, therefore, not to be read in public? “Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.” What can be plainer? But the Marquess of Salisbury hinted at another point which I should like to take up. We profess in this age, do we not, that we are the Church of the Reformation. I for one glory in belonging to the Church of the Reformation; and what does that mean? It means that for the last 300 years we have been boasting of an open Bible; we have been boasting of a free religion; and now we are told—and in some degree by those who feel these things very strongly indeed—to read all that backwards, and put this Creed among some archives, where it can only be reached by the clergy or by the learned who have leisure to go into these questions. What does that say for the Church of the Reformation? Now, we come to this other point, the question of what are called the damnatory clauses. Really, those of us who have studied the question at all must be tired of hearing of the anathemas of the Athanasian Creed. Why, we know perfectly well that there is not a single anathema in the Athanasian Creed from beginning to end; and I do not know whether it would ever have been thought so, but that the word seems to alliterate somehow with Athanasian. (Laughter.) I can go further and say, not only are there no anathemas in the Athanasian Creed, but there are no curses in the Communion Service. There is not a single curse that I remember in the whole Prayer Book, except only in certain of the Psalms and some other passages which are taken directly verbatim from the Word of God. The very essence of an anathema, the very essence of a curse, is this, that it be in the imperative mood. Do you want to hear a real Scriptural anathema? This is one, “If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema. Maran-atha.” If you want to hear the form of a Scriptural curse, here it is, “Though we or an angel from heaven preach unto you any other gospel than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed;” and that, you know, is reiterated with very considerable force in the next verse. Now, let me give you what I think is a fair parallel, and it is proper to say that the idea is not my own, but that it is slightly altered from a very valuable pamphlet that was sent to me last week on this subject, by its author, Canon Espin, of Wallasey.

Suppose that one of us clergy in this room were to stand up in his pulpit, and to preach a sermon from this text—"No murderer hath eternal life;" and suppose the preacher were then to say, "Now, look fairly at this text, and think what it means—'No murderer hath eternal life'; remember, that forbids duelling; remember, you who are of a melancholy temperament, that forbids suicide; remember, you who are statesmen, that God regards the authors of causeless wars as murderers; and remember a little more than this, that you must search the depths of your own hearts, and bear in mind that the very highest authority has told us that he who hates his brother is a murderer. Now take that home, and bring the thing face to face with yourselves; and, once again, think of those words, 'No murderer hath eternal life.'" Which of us could say that a preacher who had spoken so, had been cursing anybody? (Loud cheers.) Is not the parallel clear with respect to the Athanasian Creed? Does not that Creed set out at its very beginning—"Whosoever wishes to be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith." Very well, then it goes on to say, "And the Catholic Faith is this,"—then it shows those doctrines which cluster round the wonderful fact of the existence of the glorious Trinity in Unity, and the Incarnation of the Son of God. It sets these facts out in detail. It then says, "Now, you must believe this, and remember, further, that your belief must lead to action; for, 'they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.' Put all that together and then once again I state it—this is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved." Has the Creed been cursing us, then? (Cheers.) Very well, just let me put together, before I sit down, those points on which I have laid some emphasis; the danger which is called danger to the preservation of truth is really danger to those who perversely reject the truth of God when it is fairly set before them; the question of the Creed's obscurity, allow it in what sense we may, is no reason whatever for refusing to admit of its recitation in public worship; and, lastly, the damnatory clauses, as they are called, are in no sense whatever anathemas or curses at all. Well, it does us, who come from the far end of the country, good to see in London a meeting like this. It makes us think that after all the truth of God is not likely to perish from the hearts of our own countrymen yet. It makes us believe ever more and more distinctly, that the Church is the ark of God, and that, however the winds which

blow round her may bluster, however the waves which surge under her may roll, she really carries with Christ her Lord on board her own calm, her own safety with her, and is strong, even against all appearances, to make the peace she does not find. (Great cheering.)

The resolution was carried with much enthusiasm.

SIR T. PERCIVAL HEYWOOD, BART.—The resolution which I am privileged to propose to you this evening is framed in these words—

“That this Meeting pledges itself to employ all lawful means for the maintenance, in its integrity, of the Athanasian Creed, and of its prescribed use in the Church of England.” If I had the command of persuasive language, as those who have preceded me this evening have had, I should have gladly welcomed this occasion as one upon which I could tell you how intensely I sympathize with the objects of this meeting. But I have no facility of language, and I have asked the Committee not to request me to speak, but only to give me a little work to do—that I am willing and anxious to do. If we are to work there are a few things on which we must be entirely agreed; and one, I take it, is that if we are, in the words of the resolution, to maintain our Creed in its integrity, it will only be by establishing it in the affections of the people. (Cheers.) Angry controversy, therefore, must be entirely excluded. Of that there must be none, either in this meeting or in any of the proceedings that may follow it. Then, I hope that we are all agreed that it will never do for our Church to lower her standard of faith to meet the wishes of anyone. It is for us to struggle and to pray up to a high standard, not for the standard to be brought down to us who use no effort and no prayer. We censure, and we justly censure, a Church that teaches us dogmatic truth more than Scripture warrants; should not we equally censure a Church that teaches less than Scripture truth? Each Churchman is a trustee for the faith which he has received, and he must hand it on in its integrity to his children. You will all have your own especial ways of helping to carry out the object of this resolution. For myself, I confess my firm conviction is, that one way only will avail, and that is for the Church to take back into her own hands the absolute and entire education and religious training of her people. (Loud cheers.) It is to this work that, in the presence of this great meeting, I humbly pledge myself to devote what efforts I can, and

in that work I earnestly invite you to join. But whatever method you adopt, let us all go hand in hand; let us work with heart and soul, and, although the time may be far distant when we shall have regained what we want, it surely will come. (Cheers.)

THE REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON.—I have great satisfaction in seconding this resolution, and the more so, because I feel it is one that will not require many words from me to commend it to your acceptance, for in fact it necessarily follows from those you have already so enthusiastically carried. You have already affirmed—it is strange that it should need affirmation—your acceptance of that Article of the Church of England which declares that the three Creeds are to be thoroughly received and believed, because they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, and in so doing you have set your acceptance to the whole of the Athanasian Creed. I say to the whole of it, because, as we all know, it contains at least two distinct parts: it sets forth in the first place the necessity of a sound faith for salvation, and it next declares what that sound faith consists in; and it is well known to us all that those things in which the sound faith consists are the essential articles of the Christian Creed. But while we admit that, we cannot forget that the Church of England applies to the whole document the name of the Creed of St. Athanasius, and that it applies, therefore, to the whole document that declaration of the Eighth Article, that it can be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. We have heard many arguments used against the public recitation of the Athanasian Creed in church. The greater part of them have always appeared to me extraordinarily weak and futile. We have been told that we ought to give up the Creed because we are not certain who wrote it, and again, because it has not had the acceptance of any General Council; two arguments which, if they were true, would involve giving up the Apostles' Creed also. We have been asked also to give it up, because it is hard of comprehension; because some parts of it are exceedingly painful to those who read or hear them; because some parts of it touch upon such subjects expressed in human language that there is great danger lest ignorant men hearing it, so far from being brought to the truth, might actually fall into dangerous heresies—three arguments, no doubt, of some weight, but every one of them has been applied against the public reading of the Holy Scriptures in the church. Lastly, I have actually heard it

argued that we ought to withdraw this Creed from public use, because in the Church of Rome it is not commonly known to the laity. (Laughter.) I have heard this argument adduced by men who were proud of the name of Protestants, and who seem to forget that it has been the boast of our Church that she has not buried any portion of God's truth in a dead language or in hidden places such as they wish us to put this Creed into—(loud cheers)—but that she has placed it freely and openly before the people. But I have heard one argument against the Creed, which certainly is a weighty one if true. No one this evening has referred to it. I have heard from the lips of clergy that the Creed was false. ("No, no.") I cannot say that I have heard it from the lips of the laity—(loud cheers)—but I have heard that said in Convocation and elsewhere, and I must say I heard it with very great pain. I felt that if the Creed were false, then no doubt those who wished to silence it would be justified; though not those who wished to alter it. I cannot see that the Church of England has any right to alter that which is the common heritage of the greater part of Christendom; but we have power over our own formularies and services, and the Church of England would be bound to alter her Eighth Article, and to cut this Creed out of her Common Prayer if that argument were sound. But I have never yet heard that argument proved. I have hardly heard an attempt to prove it. I have heard a certain amount of popular talk about charity—I hardly like to say popular talk about charity, because it is far too sacred a thing for having popular talk about; but I have heard no successful attempt to prove that this Creed is false by the one test which Churchmen can admit, that it is not according to the Word of God. We who defend this Creed are entitled to say—"The Church of England has declared that this Creed is to be believed, because it can be proved by the true word of Scripture. You say it is false. Prove your assertion by that word of Scripture. It is not for us to prove its truth; it is for you to prove its falsity if you can;" and I have never seen that attempted. Holding then, as we have all held to-day, that the Creed is true, and that it can be proved to be so by Scripture, we have next resolved that that truth is not a truth of light or unimportant character—not a truth that may be put aside, but that it is essential to the maintenance of Christian truth throughout the world; that any mutilation or suppression of this Creed would be exceedingly dangerous to the faith. That resolution you have carried already, and if you are

convinced of those two facts, that it is true and that it is necessary to maintain that truth publicly, I need hardly impress upon you that it is your duty as lovers of truth and lovers of mankind to take every legal step in your power to retain that Creed in its integrity in the Book of Common Prayer. But I should like to say a very few words as to the terms of this resolution, because I have found that in the country some persons have misunderstood it. It has been supposed that the intention is to pledge this great meeting generally and individually to take legal proceedings to bring punishment upon such of the clergy as do not use the Creed in their services. If such were the meaning of the resolution, I for one could not support it. I assume, as a matter of course, that all the clergy are bound to obey the law of the Book of Common Prayer, and that those who are set over us in the Church are bound to see that we do it. As a general rule that is perfectly clear. At the same time, I do believe that those who are set in authority do possess and ought to use some discretion as to how they enforce the laws of the Church. I think that discretion may well be used in this case, for I am perfectly convinced that the great mass of the clergy who are in the habit of passing over this particular part of their duties do so not from any unsoundness in the faith—not from any doubt of the truth they have over and over again declared of the Eighth Article, but from motives of policy or expediency, from a real feeling for weak consciences, from remembering that “mercy is better than sacrifice,” though it may be they are mistaken in their application of that text. I should be sorry to punish them for what is, after all, an error of judgment. This is not my only reason for saying that such a course would be foolish. It is not easy under present circumstances for the authorities of the Church of England to enforce her laws; and the only result of trying to do so has been this (it is not my own remark)—to mark out to those who are disloyal within her communion how near they may go towards breaking the law without subjecting themselves to its penalties. The great majority of clergy who do not use this Creed are loyal to the truth; but there may be some who are disloyal, and I feel confident, therefore, that no greater mistake could be made than to use legal means to enforce the use of this Creed; vexing and harassing the faithful, and strengthening the hands of the unfaithful. But that is not what you are asked to do. You are asked to pledge yourselves to use all lawful means in your power for the maintenance in

its integrity of the Athanasian Creed, and of its prescribed use in the Church of England; that is, to use all lawful means in your power that the Creed shall not be mutilated, that the rubric shall not be so altered as to silence it. What the lawful means in our power are, may be a question. There are certainly two: one is, public meeting and public speech, which we are now using; and the other is, the right of petition, which, I believe, we shall shortly exercise. But I would remark this, that in order to make any alteration in the integrity or the *status* of the Creed, only two courses appear to be possible—the one course, which is the proper and constitutional course, would be for the Church itself to take action on the subject, and then for the State to back up that action. Now, as Lord Salisbury has told you, we are safe from that. The Convocations of the Church can take no action, unless it is agreed to by the Bishops on the one hand and by the clergy on the other. I can only speak of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, of which I am a humble member; and I can assure you there is not the slightest chance of our consenting to any such alteration as you are to-day met to protest against. In the regular course, then, there is no fear of this Creed being interfered with. The irregular course would be for Parliament to act for and by itself, to forbid the use of the Creed, and forbid all exercise of Church discipline on the subject. I cannot believe that the members of Parliament, your representatives, have learned what is now called the great lesson of toleration in such a sense as to believe it consists in this—that every body of Christians, except one, may manage its own affairs; but that the one body which is established is to be legislated for not merely without consulting its wishes, but against the known wishes of a great majority of its members. I have no fear of such a result. The wishes of the clergy are well known on the subject, as has been shown by the votes of both Convocations, and the petitions that have been presented, and I am glad to see before me now no slight proof of what the wishes of the laity are. I will not go into the question of whether you form the majority of the laity in the Church; but if you are not, you are at least a very powerful minority, and I trust you will make your voice heard by your representatives. It may be said we are rather inconsistent in maintaining a law, and in the same breath saying we do not mean to enforce it. It is a plausible argument, but I think it is not a sound one. Let me put this to you—Supposing a hundred

years ago we had had an agitation, not on the Athanasian Creed, but on the daily service; and suppose the rulers in Church and State had met together and said, "What is the use of your rubrics about daily prayer? There are a few cathedrals, no doubt, where it is kept up; there are a few churches in London, one or two in other great cities, where daily prayers exist; but what is the use of keeping in your Prayer Book such rules as these—one ordering the clergy to use the Matins and Evensong daily, either privately or openly, and the other that the curate that ministereth in every parish church, shall say the same in the parish church—when no one obeys them?" The argument would have been a very plausible one in those days, but it is not a plausible one now. (Cheers.) We have now learnt that the laws of the Church, at least those which are enshrined in the Prayer Book, have a power of executing and enforcing themselves, for I need not tell you whom I address that in the present day daily prayers are common in numberless churches in London, in many great towns, and they are not unknown even in many country parishes. That is the consequence of these rubrics being in the Book of Common Prayer, without an attempt to enforce them; and I venture to think, if we stand firmly to our purpose, and retain the Athanasian Creed in its existing position, a similar result will follow. At the present moment we see increasing signs of religious feeling, and increasing religious knowledge, the revival of the queen of sciences—theology—and with that a revival of almost every form of error and false doctrine that has ever been known in the Christian Church. I think these circumstances taken together will teach the faithful sons of the Church more and more the value of the Athanasian Creed, and that when, fifty years hence, some new question arises to agitate the Church—some point of the Church's law which men want to get rid of—they will be able to point back and say, "See how men cried out against the Athanasian Creed, and see how popular it is now!" I am certain that our wisdom is not to break up the old ways of the Church, because men do not tread in them, but rather to keep them in sound and good repair, certain that sooner or later men will turn back into those old paths, and find that they are the paths of safety. (Loud cheers.)

MR. HOPKINS (a working man).—When the Covenanters of Scotland met in all sorts of places amidst the deep ravines of their native mountains to worship God under the blue canopy of heaven,

they met in silence and with compressed lips, for they did so at the peril of their lives. They knew not what might happen before they separated, and every man stood, knelt, and prayed, with his hands on the hilt of his sword, or on his matchlock, ready at the slightest sound of warning to raise his hand in defence of his faith. The Covenanters have gone; two hundred years have passed over the world; still there is warfare in the Christian Church; and now, as then, the working classes form no inconsiderable item on the defensive side of the contest. (Cheers.) I stand here as the representative of the working classes in a large metropolitan parish at the West-end, in which parish I am proud to say the communicants of both sexes of that class may be numbered by hundreds. I know that many of those are here, and if I am saying anything wrong let them contradict me. It has been said that the working classes, as a body, are indifferent on matters of religion. It may be that, perhaps, the majority are, but whose fault is it? The first forty-five years of my own life were passed in the cold shade of neglect; and it is neglect that has made so many of the working classes careless about religion. My own personal knowledge of what has taken place amongst the working classes during the five years I have been following the blessed privileges of a Christian, makes me most unhesitatingly assert that, if properly taught, there are no men in all England more faithful to the Creeds—(cheers)—and I may say that of the three Creeds there is not one they are more determined to stand by and maintain in its full integrity than the Creed of St. Athanasius. (Loud cheers.) I will conclude by saying that the resolution which has been moved and seconded has my earnest support, and I believe it has the most earnest support of all those working men who are really and sincerely good Churchmen. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then carried as enthusiastically as the preceding two.

MR. ALDERMAN BENNETT (of Manchester).—The resolution which I have the honour to move is this:—"That petitions embodying the foregoing resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and respectfully transmitted to their Graces the Presidents and to the Revs. the Prolocutors of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, for presentation to the respective Houses." If these two Convocations were united and sat together at Westminster, as the English and Irish Parliaments were united years ago, if the

bishops of the Church sat in the Upper House of Convocation as bishops, and included everyone in episcopal orders in this country, whether diocesan, suffragan, colonial, or retired; and if the Lower House of Convocation was composed of the representatives of all the 20,000 clergy in priest's orders, whether beneficed or unbeneficed, then, Sir, after this great meeting to-night I think we might sit down with folded hands and calmly await the result. (Cheers.) But we must take Convocation as we find it, and although Lord Alwyne Compton, one of its members, said he believed Convocation intended to do nothing with respect to the Athanasian Creed, let the laity take care that they don't. We are so accustomed in the active and busy North to a little agitation when we want to do anything, that perhaps I may not be considered impertinent if I venture to suggest that in the slow and sluggish South you should also, if need be, in defence of this Creed, bring a little pressure to bear upon the members of Convocation. I do not want you to bring anything but the most gentle pressure possible, but I think if it were to go forth from this meeting, or from the Athanasian Creed Defence Committee, that it was desirable that a little pressure should be put upon the Proctors of Convocation by their constituents, the respective clergy, then, perhaps, the Lower House of Convocation would not even be disposed to listen to any suggestion for altering the Creed. I may just refer to what was done in the Archdeaconry of Manchester a year ago. The proctors were invited to meet the clergy, and consider *inter alia* the question of the use of the Athanasian Creed. After a protracted discussion, they came to a resolution, by a very large majority, that it was desirable the Creed should be preserved in its integrity; and the proctors of course taking this as an instruction from their constituents, voted accordingly. There is no very great pressure in that. It is at all events a measure that might be imitated by every archdeaconry in the country. Perhaps I may be told that there is no fear whatever of the Lower House of Convocation, that they have always been sound upon the Creed; that if there be any fear at all, it is from the Upper House of Convocation. (Cheers.) I may be asked what sort of pressure I should be disposed to bring to bear upon the bishops. I will tell you. You know, Sir, that the bishops being "the creatures of the State"—(laughter)—always look to the State for advice and assistance in any doubtful question. We all know that when a bishop is preparing his episcopal charge, he turns to the laity, ascertains which way the wind blows, and

charges the clergy accordingly. (Cheers, and some expressions of dissent.) Now, you have nothing to do but to instruct the laity a little better than they have been instructed with respect to the Athanasian Creed, and you bring all the pressure to bear that is necessary to influence the bishops. But in what way would you do this? I remember in former times it was said that when the government of the day wanted to carry any measure, they began by tuning the pulpits. Now, Sir, I want to see the pulpits tuned, and the key-note to be the Athanasian Creed. In short, I want a series of sermons preached by the parochial clergy all over the country, taking for their text the Athanasian Creed. (Cheers.) But I should like to see something else done in addition. It is astonishing when we come to talk with working men in the country—perhaps not the working men in London represented by the last speaker—what little interest they take in the Athanasian Creed. Why is this? They say: “We so very seldom hear it in the church; in fact we never hear it at that service we attend in the largest numbers”—that is, Evensong. Therefore it cannot be wondered at that working men generally take so little interest in the Athanasian Creed. I want to recommend a course whereby the laity shall take a little more part in the Athanasian Creed than they have done hitherto; but before I do that I want to remind you what the use of the Athanasian Creed was in our early English Church. From the 7th to the 16th century the Athanasian Creed was used daily in the Church of England. (Cheers.) It was so used in Anglo-Saxon times, and when the great S. Osmund, of Sarum, remodelled the Liturgy in his day, and gave to his diocese the great Liturgy which we now know by the name of the Sarum use—(cheers)—finding that the Athanasian Creed had been used for centuries before his time, and used daily, he ordered the daily use of it to be continued in the church of Sarum, although the Roman use was to have it weekly only, namely, on the Sunday. He ordered it to be sung at that particular service, the service of prime, when historians tell us that the greater number of the people, of the laity, attended. It was essentially the people’s Creed. (Cheers.) He ordered the Apostles’ Creed to be used at the same service; but it was said in a different manner. It was the priest’s Creed. It was said privately by the priest, who did not raise his voice above a whisper till he came to the last clause, “the resurrection of the flesh,” and then the people responded in the concluding words—“and the life eternal.” That was all the use that in our early English Church at this particular service, when

the people most attended, was made of the Apostles' Creed. The great Creed in those early days was the Athanasian Creed, which was always ordered to be sung publicly and openly by both priest and people. So it continued down to the time of the Reformation to be used daily in our Church. Then when the seven services of the old Church had to be condensed into the two services, the Matins and Evensong of the new, of course some portion of the old services had to be left out. The Athanasian Creed then ceased to be used daily, and the Apostles' Creed was brought in in its place; but still a prominent and honourable place was assigned to the Athanasian Creed. It was ordered to be sung or said on the four great festivals of the Church,—Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost, with the addition of the two lesser feasts of Epiphany and Trinity. So this great and glorious Creed, which had been used 365 times a year up to 1549, was after that time to be used only six times in the year; and that state of things continued till the next revision of the Prayer Book, when seven saints' days were added, and from that time down to the present the Athanasian Creed has been used only thirteen times a year in the church, many of those being saints' days, when the great majority of the people do not now attend church, so that it is only used in our Sunday Services, perhaps four or five times in the year. Can it be wondered at then that the people, the working classes, who mostly go to Evensong, do not take the interest in it which we should like to see them take? There is no reason, in my opinion, why the Athanasian Creed, simultaneously with the sermons which I have just said I should like to hear preached, should not be sung as a hymn, at Evensong. (Cheers.) I heard it last year, with very great effect, in several churches, not only in London, but in the country, sung as a processional hymn by the clergy and choir, as they marched round the church, and the effect upon the people was electrical. They took it up, and such a singing of the Athanasian Creed I never heard before. There may be some churches where processional hymns are not used. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, if they are not, why should they not sing the Athanasian Creed after the third Collect as an Anthem? Nay, if there be any old-fashioned Churchmen of the last-century type (and I dare say there are a great many still who would object to its being sung at Evensong at all), why should it not be sung when Evensong is over, in the same manner as we now frequently hear the *Te Deum* sung after a Harvest Festival, or on a Thanksgiving Day? If it be good to

sing the *Te Deum* in the evening, why should not it be also right to sing the Athanasian Creed in the evening? If you want the prayer of your petition to be granted, that petition which you, Sir, are about to sign to-night, you must adopt some such means as those I have indicated, and if the Houses of Convocation only see that your prayer is fervent, you may depend upon it it will be effectual. (Loud cheers.)

Rev. Dr. LIDDON, upon rising to address the meeting, was received with great enthusiasm. The assembly rose up *en masse*, and for more than a minute indulged in cheers, waving of hats, and other demonstrations of approval. He said—So much has been already said to-night, and (if it be not impertinent in me to add) so well said, that I might content myself with giving expression to the congratulations, or rather, let me say, to the thankfulness which is natural at the sight of a meeting, so numerous, so unanimous, and governed by such a tone of reverence and earnestness as the meeting of to-night. You have come together, gentlemen, I apprehend, many of you at great inconvenience and great cost to yourselves, to affirm what is in your judgment a great and vital principle. That principle is that, so far as in you lies, there shall be no organic change whatever in the formularies of the Church. I say, no organic change; because, of course, it is reasonable to allow that there may be changes of a subordinate description, most useful and desirable, which it would be our first anxiety to promote. But I submit that a change which affects any one of the three Creeds is in the nature of an organic change. (Cheers.) It touches the life of the Church of England at its centre. The three Creeds, among those formularies of devotion which the Church puts into our hands, are second only in their authority to the very words of our Lord Himself; to the words of that prayer which He taught us to pray, to those words, through using which, at His command, we rightly administer the Sacraments. They stand upon a different level to other compositions which we find in our Prayer Book; and to touch them is to touch its heart. Now, I take it that this is not merely a scholastic or theological prejudice. It is, when we come to look at it, a fact of experience; for in the case of any one Christian now present—what is the master-thought, or conviction, that forms the centre and the core of his life? It is this—a feeling of unutterable thankfulness bursting up again and again from his heart, even if it never finds expression in words, that he, sinner as he is, should have

been redeemed to freedom from sin and from death. Then comes the question, redeemed by whom? There is no avoiding that question if the conviction is to be a reality. You cannot possibly—if you would—you cannot put it aside. Certainly here a modern school using language which was unheard in the early days of the Church comes in, and says that it can answer that question in its own way. I recollect seeing some time ago in a French writer the remark that if you wanted to get up a revolution you had first of all to find out a telling phrase, and then to “work” it. That advice applies to Church matters just as much as to political matters; and accordingly there has been obtruded on us in all sorts of forms again and again during the progress of the Athanasian controversy this particular phrase—“We do not believe in a collection of dogmas; we believe in a person.” Very well; let us try to see what that is worth. Is there in reality any distinction between believing in a person and believing in a set of dogmas? What do you do, when you believe in a person? You cannot believe in any person without believing in something about him. You cannot believe in a simple term. You can only believe in a proposition; in a something which is affirmed about the simple term. Try to do the other if you can. (Cheers.) When you say you believe in a friend, what do you mean? You mean that you believe in his justice, in his generosity, in his personal affection for yourself. And when you say you believe in God, what do you mean? You mean, first of all, that you believe that He exists (*that* is something about Him); that He exists of Himself (*that* is peculiar to Himself); that He is powerful, wise, good, benevolent, holy; that all those attributes, in point of fact, are to be predicated of Him which make up in a Christian mind the idea of God. You cannot believe in God without believing in a large number of propositions, or, if you prefer it, a large number of dogmas. (Cheers.) The phrase which is obtruded upon us about believing in a person and not believing in a set of dogmas offers us only an unsubstantial makeshift, which fades away from the mental vision as soon as it is examined. No; if you would answer the question by whom you are redeemed, it must be answered in this way;—by the Eternal Son of God, Who took my nature upon Him, and Who died for me. That is how St. Paul answered it. “God spared not His own Son, but freely gave Him up for us all.” That is what Hooker means by saying that “the infinite worth of the Son of God is the very ground of all things believed concerning health and salvation.” Put aside that doctrine, and what sort of

explanation can you give of the infinite value of His Blood, of the boundless power of His intercession? These things depend upon it. They are unrealities without it. And thus you see how the very depths of the necessities of the spiritual life demand a clear statement of Christ's Eternal Godhead. Now here, if a man thinks at all, two questions at once meet him—How are you to reconcile the doctrine thus reached, on the one hand with what we read about His true human nature in the Gospels, and on the other hand with what conscience tells us, and Christianity repeats to us, about the unity of God? You cannot answer those two questions without the assistance which you get from such a Creed as the Athanasian Creed; and if there were time for it this evening, I should not despair of convincing you between now and twelve o'clock that the answer which the Athanasian Creed gives is the only answer that can be given to those vital questions. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) This is felt to be the truth by the mass of simple believing Christians. Only the other day I received a letter, couched in most touching terms, from a recently converted New Zealander, who, in trying to master the Christian faith, had experienced the greatest possible assistance from this very Creed. He urged me in sentences which I can only say were painful to me—it was painful that a Christian convert should ever have to write such a letter to a clergyman,—entreating me to do what I could to prevent the withdrawal of a document which he had found so precious to his own soul from our public services. (Cheers.) Moreover, the influence of this Creed is not by any means confined to those who are members of the Church. Some time ago an honoured friend of mine, a clergyman in Essex, who may possibly be in this room to verify it, mentioned to me the case of a Dissenter who sent to him upon his deathbed, and said, among a great many other things, that he wished to give him a particular message. "Tell those gentlemen," said that Baptist to this clergyman, "who are standing up in your Church for the Athanasian Creed, that I entreat them to persevere, and that I wish them God-speed, for though I don't attend your services I have your Prayer Book, and I have found, in consulting your Prayer Book, the greatest possible assistance to my own mind and soul in making out to myself what the Bible really does mean about God and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by the help of that Creed." (Cheers.) There are two proposals especially which have been under the consideration of this meeting for dealing with this Creed. One of them is to disuse it. I am not at all prepared

to deny abstractedly that it would be possible for a Christian Church to omit this Creed, or rather to have omitted it from its morning service. It is impossible to deny that through the exercise of the *ius liturgicum*, as it is called, that inherent right of directing the lesser accessories of public worship which is inherent in the Episcopate, such an order as this might have been made; but we have not to deal with a technical question of ecclesiastical right, but with a great practical fact. We know perfectly well that if this Creed were to be withdrawn, it would be withdrawn in deference to a challenge which is addressed to us from those who, as we cannot refuse to see, deny truths which are taught in the Creed. I know it is said by way of consolation that the Creed would still be placed in an extremely honourable position among the Thirty-nine Articles—(laughter)—but I take it that those persons who use that language can never have considered the immense difference of value between a document which belongs to the universal Church and documents which, however valuable—and I have no sort of wish to depreciate them—do not belong to the universal Church, but are strictly documents of our own Church. We made them 300 years ago. We might modify them to-morrow. We might do away with them to-morrow, and no sort of effect would be produced on our relations with the rest of Christendom. But the Athanasian Creed is a document which we did not make. It came down to us at the Reformation along with other treasures of the faith from the old unreformed Church. It was one of those portions of the old inheritance of the Church which the reformers deliberately adhered to and with much earnestness of purpose. For, as has been already pointed out by Mr. Alderman Bennett, one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the reconstruction of the formularies at the Reformation is this;—that in the revision of 1552—when almost all the other changes that were made in the Prayer Book were made in a negative direction—the rubric affecting the Athanasian Creed was altered in a positive direction. While in the First Book of Edward VI., of 1549, the Creed was ordered to be said only six times a year, it was by the deliberate act of Archbishop Cranmer, who knew the large advance of Arian and Anabaptist opinions in the interval, advisedly increased in 1552 to thirteen times a year. It would, I maintain, be nothing less than an organic change to disuse this Creed. Let us see how the change would be spoken of some ten or twenty years after the resolution had been taken. How would the thing look in the distance?

Would it not be said that for 300 years the Church of England had asserted that faith in the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation was essential to the salvation of those who could have it; and that in 1873 she had changed her mind; that she had from that date refused to say that these truths were thus essential? Even supposing that the spirit of innovation could be arrested at this point,—certainly an improbable supposition,—whatever statements of those doctrines might still be found in other parts of the formularies, it would be true that the Church of England had shrunk from the most merciful duty of affirming the necessity of faith in these doctrines for all Christian souls. (Loud cheers.) And this leads me to that other proposal for dealing with the Creed, upon which I must really make the confession that I feel it difficult to speak with patience—the proposal for mutilating it. Can the men who have dared to advise us to do this have thought how, on the morrow of the act, we should stand in the face of Christendom? Did we make the Creed? Can we conceive that it is competent for us to mangle a document of œcumenical authority? An old friend and colleague of mine, who is now a Bishop, and of whom I must speak—and I am sure Mr. Alderman Bennett will bear me out—with much personal affection and respect—the Bishop of Manchester, has called me publicly to task for elsewhere applying that expression “œcumenical” to the Athanasian Creed. But in spite of his lordship’s remarks, I must take the liberty of deliberately repeating the epithet. (Laughter and cheers.) From reading his Charge, I presume that the Bishop of Manchester is under the impression that a document can only become œcumenical by one process, and that is, by being pronounced to be of universal authority by an Œcumenical Council. That, I take leave to say, is a mistake. (Cheers.) The œcumenical character of a document may be secured to it by the silent instinctive action of the Church, which, without assembling in synod, and without thus giving formal utterance to its deep conviction, quietly decides that a given document has a place in its heart and mind which must be universally acknowledged. That was, in point of fact, the case with the Holy Scriptures themselves. (Cheers.) Does anybody, who knows anything whatever of the history of the canon of the New Testament, suppose that before the fathers of the second and third centuries began to quote those books as books from the authority of which no appeal whatever could be permitted, a great Œcumenical Council had assembled and said—“All these books together are infallible, and they form the New Testament”? You will find nothing of the kind in Church history.

And what happened to the books of the New Testament is really what happened—I grant, in a more distant age—I grant, by a more graduated process—to the Athanasian Creed itself. It has been received throughout the West. It is also received in the Eastern Church—I have been told so by a Greek Bishop; I see it appealed to in a Greek catechism of the highest authority, as a document of first-class importance on dogmatic questions. (Cheers.) But I must not detain you longer with discussions of this kind. (Shouts of “Go on,” and great cheering.) Before I have done, it is necessary to turn to some personal and, in some respects, more painful matters. Gentlemen, the best men I have ever known in the Church of England have regarded this maintenance of the Athanasian Creed as a vital question. One, whom I can never name without the deepest reverence and affection, the late Bishop of Salisbury—(loud cheers)—had this question which now agitates the Church before his mind in all its bearings. Some circumstances occurred which obliged him to consider it, and indeed led him to form the opinion so early as the spring of the year 1868, that before long it would be forced on the Church of England for decision; and after telling me that that was his opinion, he said to me one day, after an interval, some words which I can never forget to my dying day, and I do not think I am violating his precious confidence in repeating them to you. He said to me—“I have been thinking over that question of the Athanasian Creed, and if they tamper with it (the particular form of tampering with it which he had before his mind was the project of disusing it), I have made up my mind—I will resign my see.” (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, any one who knew him,—a man of few words, of simple integrity and directness of purpose,—must know that he would have done it; the words never could have passed his lips unless his resolution had been equal to carrying them into effect in case the sad necessity should have occurred. He was taken in mercy to another world ere the storm broke upon the Church of England, from which we may trust we are now escaping. And so another most dear and most honoured friend, the late Mr. Keble—(renewed cheering)—the author of those lines about the

“Calm breathed warning of the kindest love
That ever heaved a wakeful mother’s breast,”

which describe his value for the warning clauses of this great Creed, and which have been so often quoted of late, would, I am certain, had he been spared to help us, have made any sacrifice in order to

preserve to the Church this Creed in its integrity. There is one more name I would mention—the name of one who is still with us, but who has been, as probably many of you know, within the last ten days as near death as it is possible for a man to be without dying—one of whom I do not think it is rash to say that, if in another century the history of the Church of England in this century should be written, his name will stand out as a name of the highest eminence when those of almost all his contemporaries are forgotten—I mean Dr. Pusey. [At the mention of this name the assembly rose and cheered most enthusiastically.] Gentlemen, I thank you from my heart for that manifestation of feeling. I thank you for it because I am able, through rare good fortune, to read to you some words of his which three days ago he dictated, in a whisper, from his bed of sickness, to his son, Mr. Philip Pusey. His mind was full of this great meeting, at which, had it been possible, he would have been present. This is his letter :—

“GENOA, PIAZZA GALEAZZO ALESSI,

“Monday, January 27, 1873.

“MY DEAREST LIDDON,—Words dictated from a very sick bed must be very true. Yes. I wish to express, through you, to the meeting, how unchanging, through sickness or health, is my sense of the intensity of the crisis with which we were threatened all last year, and out of which the Church of England has, by God’s mercy, been brought. However men might disguise the question themselves, I could not conceal from myself that the real issue was, whether the Church of England should virtually deny that the faith in the Holy Trinity, and in the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, was essential to salvation in those who could have it. As to the remarks of some in authority, as to the line to which our convictions independently led us, they cannot have understood the strength of our convictions. It was no ‘threat,’ to give up, in my case, the cherished aspirations of a past sixty years to serve God in the ministry of the Church of England, the home and the centre of one’s deepest interests—(cheers)—to go forth not knowing whither one went. It was like a moral death; but with my convictions of the issue of that question, I dared no more hesitate than about being guilty of parricide. God be thanked for all His mercies. Your most affectionate, for the Rev. Dr. Pusey,—P. E. PUSEY.”

There is nothing that I can possibly add to such a letter as that. Only, I think, if he had been here, he would, perhaps, have used some words of caution, some words of exculpation, for anything that may have seemed to us to have been harshly or inconsiderately said or done by those in authority. For he has constantly dwelt

upon this;—how difficult is the position of our rulers in the Church of England; how many are the divergent influences which they have to control, or between which they have to mediate; how often it may happen that they are acting from the highest, purest, best intentions, when they seem to us to be acting inconsistently, only from the sheer difficulties of their situation. Gentlemen, I believe that we have before us, amid all our anxieties, a great future for the Church of England. (Cheers.) The hearts of young clergymen and of young laymen are being stirred, by the Holy Spirit of God, as they have not been moved for many a generation. The great middle classes of our towns, too long alienated from our churches, not through their fault, but through ours, are being again drawn within the embrace of their true mother—(cheers)—and I cannot believe that He who has done, and is doing, of His mercy so much for us, will leave us now. I cannot doubt that He will lead us through this dark valley of controversy and struggle, into a bright future of confirmed faith and unimpaired charity beyond it. (Great cheering.)

THE EARL OF DEVON.—I beg your attention while I seek to give expression to what I am sure is the sentiment of you all, that we should give our hearty thanks to the honourable gentleman who has presided over this meeting; and in moving that resolution I will take the liberty of asking Lord Salisbury to consider himself as in the chair. Gentlemen, it has been with great regret that we have found ourselves deprived of the presidency of the Duke of Marlborough. We know that in him we should have had a chairman who, from the earliest period of his life, has devoted himself to the extension and the good of the Church; but we feel that deprived as we have necessarily been of his presence, we have had, in the honourable gentleman who has presided to-day, one whose exertions have been no less uninterrupted, one whose desire to support the Church has been manifested by the building of churches, and by promoting the cause of education. (Cheers.) It is with the greatest confidence that I shall invite you to offer the tribute of our thanks to Mr. Hubbard. One word only I wish to add, after the addresses which you have heard to-day, culminating in that most magnanimous and touching address of the last speaker, it would ill become me to add one word further than to say, that standing here as a country delegate I feel that I am representing the views of the 120 places which

have sent representatives, when I say that with one heart and mind, and in the fulness of our strength, we shall combine with you in endeavouring to maintain intact the Creed in whose defence we are assembled to-day. We shall do so because we believe it contains a statement of dogmatic truth, essentially founded on Scripture, and proved by its warrant. We shall do so because we believe that the retention in our formularies of dogmatic truth is essential no less to the spiritual life than it is to the well-being of the Church. I will add no more than to invite you to offer our best thanks to Mr. Hubbard. (Cheers.)

THE WARDEN OF KEBLE COLLEGE.—In seconding the vote of thanks, I can best express my thanks by saying that I recognize that coming from a place where we have perhaps great difficulties in perceiving the practical bearing of movements in the Church, where we are not acquainted with the masses of the people, and where we are acquainted with a number of persons who, in an intellectual atmosphere singularly charged, are to be ranked amongst the “scrupulous consciences” of which mention has been made to-night—coming from a place where we find it difficult not to sympathize unduly with those scrupulous consciences, and to neglect the masses of the faithful—I do recognize that you, Sir, have been privileged to preside to-night at a meeting which is the expression of a voice that has grown clearer and louder on this matter, as the controversy has gone on, a voice which pronounces that compromise with the attack upon the Athanasian Creed is compromise with the forces of infidelity; that mutilation of the Creed is impossible, and that a modification of its use would not only be useless as a concession to its assailants, but would inflict a wound upon the hearts of those who are most fervent and most devout in the service of the Church; and would therefore be a paralysis of the efforts of the Church of England in her attack upon sin and unbelief. (Cheers.)

The resolution having been put to the meeting by Lord Salisbury, and unanimously carried,

MR. HUBBARD said: Every one here is here to do his duty to his country and his God. You have conferred upon me a great honour, and I heartily thank you for the kindness with which you have acknowledged my services.

Bishop Jenner then pronounced the benediction.

A supplementary meeting was simultaneously held at the Hanover Square Rooms, and the same resolutions were proposed and unanimously adopted.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH, in taking the chair, said : My Lords and Gentlemen,—Although it is with very great regret that I see so many excluded from the other meeting, I am sure you will at all events agree with me in feeling satisfaction that so large a number, after St. James's Hall had been completely filled, should have assembled here for the purpose of joining in the protest against the suppression of the Athanasian Creed. (Cheers.) I am glad to see so many determined to the utmost of their power to preserve unmutilated and inviolate that great Confession of the Faith of the Church in its Maker and its Redeemer, as He has declared Himself to us. I will not weary you with any of those arguments which will be laid before you by persons more competent than myself—I will only ask you to consider who those are who demand an alteration of the Creed, and what the authority is on which we ourselves rely. On the one hand, we have the authority of the Western Church for twelve hundred years ; and not only that, but the authority of our own reformers. The Calvinist and the Lutheran leaders at the time of the Reformation all accepted this Creed ; and the Greek Church, although it does not use it in its public worship, equally authorizes, sanctions, and accepts it. And who have you on the other side ? You have those who are hostile to Christianity, and who wish to deny to the Almighty any powers which are beyond those of man—who would, as it were, subject to human reason, founded upon human experience, the justice of His decisions and the wisdom of His counsels. You have those who tell you that they hope soon to see the “Syrian superstition,” as they call it, swept from the face of the earth. (Cheers.) You have those, again, who signed the memorial which was presented to the two Archbishops last year. Of these last I wish to speak with the greatest respect, for I have no doubt that their motives were most excellent and most worthy ; but what do they say about the Creed ? They do not deny the truth of a single proposition which it contains. They profess to have no difficulty in accepting its statements ; but they think it is a stumbling-block, and gives offence to others, and therefore they suggest its removal. Now, I should like to ask these gentlemen one question—Do they suppose that, if this difficulty were out of the way, those on whose

behalf they speak would be one bit nearer the Church than they are at present? (Cheers.) Are there no other doctrines?—is there no other practice of the Church of England that gives them offence? Well, then, if you were to go on eliminating everything to which those outside the pale object, the Church would soon be reduced to a nonentity. (Cheers.) Nay, Christianity itself would eventually—I do not say immediately—but it would eventually perish. (Renewed cheers.) Various suggestions have been made for the alteration of the Creed, or for its relegation to some obscure part of the Prayer Book—to the end or to the beginning—but to some place which would not be considered a part of our Liturgy. If the Creed is true, and contains the truth, it is the bounden duty of the Church to teach it; but if it is untrue, and contains heresy, it is equally the bounden duty of the Church to forbid it altogether. The Church cannot remain neutral. It is bound to teach “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;” it is equally bound to prohibit every kind of error. We must bear in mind that in religion all truth is necessary. If we do not believe it to be necessary to salvation we do not believe it at all. We cannot in religious matters separate between truth and necessary truth. Religion is not what seems to be good to every man in his own eyes. It is clearly, therefore, the duty of the Church to teach all truth to its people, and it is just as clearly its duty to forbid all error. There is no middle term which it can adopt between the two courses. (Cheers.) It is said that the Athanasian Creed trenches on metaphysics; but it is impossible when you have to deal with such questions as religious truth to avoid metaphysics. As a humble layman, I wish as strongly as possible to protest against any change in that Church, which we have inherited from our fathers, and which has remained the pride and strength of this country for so many years. (Loud cheers.) I wish in no way to restrict any liberty that our Church allows, but I wish to preserve inviolate the limits which the wisdom of our reformers has set upon that liberty, for I feel that unless those limits are maintained liberty will soon degenerate into licence. (Loud cheers.)

EARL BEAUCHAMP, in moving the first resolution, said—My lords and gentlemen, having had a responsible share in those counsels which have evoked our great meeting to-night, I wish in the first instance to say a few words upon the policy of holding it, because I am aware that many persons who entertain a deep affection for

the Athanasian Creed think that the topic is so deep and so holy that it ought not to be handled at a public meeting, but ought to be reserved for a graver occasion and a more fitting assembly. They think, in fact, that we run some risk of profaning holy things if we submit them to such a gathering as the present. In answer to those who consider that meetings of this description are unauthorized, are irregular, and set a precedent full of danger, I am constrained to say that the precedent full of danger is not in the holding of these meetings, but in the circumstances which have rendered these meetings imperatively necessary. (Cheers.) It is true that a meeting of this description may be without precedent in the history of the Church; but the circumstances are equally so. There were times—there were happy times—when we could look upon the Bishops and rulers of the Church as defenders of the faith; but though I wish to speak of our Bishops with all respect, I do not think that anyone will in these days regard them in that light. (Cheers.) Then, what are we to do? Are we to let the Catholic faith which we have inherited from our ancestors be frittered away out of deference to the factious clamour of seditious men? The precedent full of danger has been set by those in authority, and it is their vacillation, their trimming, and their inability to appreciate the circumstances of the Church of England, which have rendered it necessary for her faithful lay members to give an unmistakeable and undeniable expression to their determination. (Loud cheers.) It is said that meetings of this kind are unauthorized. Well, those who know anything of the history of the Church of England during the last forty years will know that many unauthorized things have been done. Forty years ago the most ordinary choral service in a parish church was unauthorized, and persons in high positions denounced in the strongest terms so daring an innovation. Yet what do we see now? Why, it is admitted on all hands that it is impossible to sustain any popular, or, to use the cant phrase of the day, any “heartly” worship, except by the frequent use of the choral service. (Cheers.) I do not wish to raise any controversial question, for the movement in defence of the Creed is not promoted by any one party in the Church, but has received extensive and hearty support from all the schools of thought amongst us. I will, therefore, only say that it does not lie in the mouths of those in authority who gladly accept the results of the great Church revival which they resisted to the uttermost whilst it

was struggling to win a footing amongst us,—it does not lie in their mouths to tell us that meetings of this kind are unauthorized. (Cheers.) So long as a question remains in obscurity, and until it has fought its way to success, they may tell us that; but I don't think that after the day which has witnessed our great meeting the question before us will be considered as wanting in authority, for we shall have vindicated to ourselves that which in these days is considered the great test of authority,—we shall have vindicated to ourselves success. (Loud cheers.) But, then, it is said that all this is irregular. I cheerfully admit that. It is wholly irregular for laymen to come forward in defence of the Church against Bishops and Priests; but the fault of that irregularity lies not with the laymen who meet, but with the Bishops and Priests, whose conduct has rendered their meeting necessary. (Cheers.) When you have absorbed into your system some deadly poison, you will find that if you pursue the even tenour of your ordinary life, and do not resort to extraordinary measures and extraordinary precautions, you will soon be in a fever, which will be followed by the chill torpor of death. The present struggle, I am happy to think, and the results of the efforts now made, will settle for many years to come the attempt which has been made to poison the theology of the Church of England. (Cheers.) It may also be observed that meetings of this kind have had one great advantage. They have shown that those who differ in other respects are yet determined to maintain the great verities of the Christian religion, and for that purpose are ready to sink all party prepossessions and interests. In proof of this, I may point to the support which the movement has received from the Dean of Ripon (Dr. McNeile), Mr. Kingsley, Bishop Ryan, Dr. Liddon, and others, who have cheerfully come forward to defend the "faith once delivered to the saints," and to preserve for those who may come after us the inestimable blessing which we have ourselves inherited from our fathers. (Cheers.)

I wish now to say a few words with respect to a matter upon which I may profess to have some personal knowledge. The Dean of Westminster, whose picturesque ingenuity can hardly be excelled, has published a pamphlet in which he has invested the proceedings of the Ritual Commissioners with such wonderful glamour that he has succeeded in completely bewildering the mind of the Archbishop of Canterbury, so that the most reverend prelate has adopted some of the most remarkable misrepresentations

of the very reverend gentleman. It is true that the course which was ultimately adopted by Her Majesty's Commissioners was the recommendation of an explanatory note. It is also true that subsequently to the adoption of its report many individual members of the Commission, who were animated by various crotchets, and by a wonderful distaste for the Athanasian Creed, published their separate opinions. The result is this. Hostile as a large number of the Commissioners were to the Athanasian Creed, by the good providence of God one party of them was led to confute the other in detail, so that whilst a large number wished to see some change, they could never agree as to what that change should be. The consequence was, that a resolution was adopted in favour of an explanatory note—which necessarily implied the retention of the Creed in all its present authority—a note not explanatory of the Athanasian Creed, but to the effect "that the condemnations in that Confession of Faith were to be no otherwise understood than as a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully reject the Catholic faith." I am, therefore, entitled to say that if any conclusion is to be drawn from the Babel of separate opinions with respect to the Athanasian Creed, it is, that however hostile to that confession of our Christian faith persons may be, they are not agreed as to what change should be made, and therefore we may legitimately conclude that the formal decision of the Commissioners, recorded in their minutes, gives accurate expression to their deliberate judgment that the Creed should be retained as now, but with the addition of one explanatory note. (Cheers.) Attention has been called to the limited number by which the decision of the Commissioners respecting the Athanasian Creed was carried, but the majority on that occasion was infinitely larger than the majority which carried other rubrics that have been paraded as decisions of the Ritual Commissioners. You must therefore do one of two things—you must accept the decision of the Ritual Commissioners or you must not. If you are not to take its decision as a full explanation of the opinion arrived at on the question of the Athanasian Creed, then you are not entitled to draw any conclusion respecting the opinion arrived at on the other subjects which have disturbed the mind of the Church. (Cheers.) I am ashamed to have taken up so much of your time with these preliminary matters; but having had a share in them, it is, perhaps, not unfitting that I should make some reference to them. (Cheers.)

With regard to the abstract merits of the resolution which I

have to move, I do not think that any attached member of the Church of England will have a word to say against it; but it may be necessary to make an observation in answer to those who tell us that so long as the opening clauses of the Litany are retained, and so long as we have the Nicene Creed, it is not worth while to insist on what has caused so much diversity of opinion as the Athanasian Creed and its damnatory clauses have done. But what does the Athanasian Creed contain? It contains what is of course equally implied in the Apostles' Creed and the Creed of Nicæa, but contains it in an explicit form—namely, a declaration of the necessity of a right faith to salvation. (Cheers.) We are entitled to ask those who are opposed to it, What is it that you object to? Do you object to the assertion that a right faith is necessary? Do you object to the definitions contained in the Creed? If you do not object to the statement in the Athanasian Creed as to the necessity of a right faith, be good enough to tell what is the definition of that right faith which you will accept. Do you consider that it is necessary to believe anything? Because if you do, the question becomes one only of degree, and the principle of the damnatory clauses is entirely conceded; for if you will only consider the question so ably and intelligibly put by Mr. Woodgate in his recent pamphlet, you will find yourself obliged to admit that the position assumed in the Creed is unanswerably right. (Cheers.) But there is another reason why we should not listen to proposals for altering the Athanasian Creed. These are days when the Creeds and formularies of the Church are subjected to narrow scrutiny, and when astute lawyers and subtle Privy Councillors will scatter to the winds any practice of the Catholic Church, or any tradition of universal Christendom, however venerable, unless you can find it within the four corners of the Book of Common Prayer. When, therefore, we do find within the four corners of the Prayer Book an explicit declaration as to the necessity of a right faith to salvation, we ought not lightly to part with it. (Cheers.) Those who object to the Athanasian Creed must also insist, as you will see if you press home their arguments, on the abolition, or mutilation, or improvement—if you prefer that word—of the other two. The point which has been dealt upon with most rhetorical force is that the Athanasian Creed contains philosophical and metaphysical terms, such as “person” and “substance.” Well, but if that is any reason for giving up the Athanasian Creed, it is equally a reason for surrendering the Nicene Creed, which

contains the word "substance," the opening clauses of the Litany which contains the word "person," and the proper preface for Trinity Sunday, which contains both. (Loud cheers.) I venture to think that if you tamper with the Creed of St. Athanasius, with the Nicene Creed, and with the Litany, it would be very difficult indeed to frame a successful argument for the maintenance in its unimpaired integrity of the Creed of the Apostles. (Cheers.)

But then it is said—

" For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right;

—what is the use of all this dogma about which Christians disagree? let us find some common ground; let us amalgamate our opinions in works of benevolence; and let us all set to work and love our neighbours." But we have learned that there is an indissoluble connection between faith and morals. (Cheers.) We are too apt in this nineteenth century to forget that public opinion and Society are based upon and have profited by eighteen centuries of Christianity; we are apt to overlook the harsh and cruel and sensual state of things which prevailed before the preaching of the Gospel. Morality and Society of the present day are based upon the Christian religion, and I believe it is utterly impossible by mere abstract resolutions of benevolence to sustain the framework of Society, and to maintain those bonds which hold us all together. (Cheers.) Without definite belief Society has no guide for this life, much less have its members a guide for that which is to come. Our duty to our neighbour flows from our duty to God. If we turn to the pages of the Bible we shall find that in one of the earliest cases of conversion on record, that of the gaoler at Philippi, the man said—"What must I do to be saved?" And what was St. Paul's answer? Did St. Paul say—"Cease to do evil, learn to do well"? Did he say—"Above all things put on charity"? Did he say—"Let your moderation be known unto all men"? All these, indeed, formed a subsequent part of the Apostolic teaching; but the answer he gave to the question, "What must I do to be saved?" was—"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ." (Cheers.) And what was that but the answer which the Church gives in the Athanasian Creed to the same question—"Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith." And what is the Catholic faith but belief in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

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both God and man? (Cheers.) There remains one outcome of the present controversy to which I wish for a moment to refer,—I mean the ludicrous result of the controversies raised by Mr. Ffoulkes, Dr. Swainson, and the Dean of Westminster. Says one, "The Creed was written by Paulinus in the 9th century." Says another, "Oh, no, it is a combination of floating atoms of various date." While the third says both of these statements are true, and flits from one theory to another at pleasure. Well, we have had science applied in a most remarkable manner to settle the question. It is well known that there is a very ancient MS. of the Creed that once belonged to the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, which has since been absorbed into the British Museum. By some accident, or conveyance—(a laugh)—this MS. disappeared from Sir Robert Cotton's collection, and it ultimately found its way into the University Library at Utrecht. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, than whom it is impossible that there can be a more competent authority, has been instructed to examine the MS. as a pure matter of science, and give his opinion as to its date. Sir Thomas Hardy says that he has no prepossession in favour of the Creed—that, in fact, so far as he has any feeling on the subject it is against it; but the conclusion he has come to as a scientific man applying the principles of palæography to the MS. (which is in the Latin tongue, and precisely in the same form as that in which we now have it), is that it cannot have been written later than the end of the sixth century, and that it may be of an age considerably anterior to that. (Cheers.) Whatever difficulties there may be with regard to the age of the Creed itself, it is clear that it cannot have been composed by Paulinus, or forged by Alcuin, or imposed on Christendom by Charlemagne, but that it must have been written at some period before the schism between the East and West. It therefore represents the belief of undivided Christendom, and answers exactly to the description, "*quod semper, quod ubique, et quod ab omnibus.*" (Loud cheers.) When I think of this Creed I am irresistibly reminded of an illustration which is furnished by the north-western part of the continent of Europe; where barriers, constructed of feeble materials and by human hands, have for centuries rolled back the stormy waves of ocean and defied the raging sea. Within the protection of those magnificent dykes, a large community pursue their peaceful arts, and enjoy a tranquil life in all prosperity and security. In the same way for more than twelve hundred and fifty years we have found shelter from the waves

of infidelity behind the august barrier of the Athanasian Creed. If the stormy waves beat more fiercely than heretofore against this barrier of the Christian Faith, it is for us to take care that this possession, which has been such an inestimable blessing to ourselves, shall not be destroyed by the open assaults of avowed Socinianism, or weakened by the more insidious plots of more insidious men. It is for us to watch jealously and to hand it down to our posterity, that it may be to all future ages a solid and enduring barrier against the cruel waves of dismal unbelief. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

CANON GREGORY, in seconding the resolution, said—I have heard with very great pleasure what my noble friend Lord Beauchamp said in vindication of gatherings such as these; for if we may at all anticipate the future, we must foresee that meetings of this description may have to be held very much more frequently than they have been hitherto. We cannot but feel that though the wave of one difficulty may be rolled back by the present successful resistance to the efforts which have been made to tamper with the Athanasian Creed, yet that there are forces at work throughout the length and breadth of the country which must be resisted not by a few of our leading people, but by great masses of Churchmen showing that they are determined to stand by that which they have received from their fathers, and are resolved to hand down the faith which they have inherited unimpaired to their children. We all know that in the early days of Christianity men had to contend for the faith which our blessed Lord came down from heaven to teach us—to suffer, and if necessary to die for it; and it would seem that in these our days there are deliberate efforts made on all sides to deprive us of the blessings of the Gospel which have been our heritage; and that if we would preserve them we must be as active in their defence as were our forefathers for their propagation, and be as ready to suffer, if necessary, in order to accomplish the task entrusted to us, as they were to fulfil their task. The manner of the attack upon the Athanasian Creed is worthy of our special consideration; it is a sample of what is being done in other cases. We have first open opponents; and I rejoice that we have some open ones, because they are far less dangerous to the cause of truth than another class of which I will speak presently. These open opponents tell us that the Athanasian Creed “savours of heresy”; and the men who tell us so are men who have subscribed to the 8th

Article, affirming that "the three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasias' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." One of these, a divine in Convocation, told us that the Athanasian Creed "savoured of heresy," and another said that "the more we dived into the language of the damnatory clauses, the more we should be convinced that they were not true, but that they contained falsehood of a most misleading and dangerous kind." It would be difficult to find more outspoken hostility; and yet these were the words of men who had deliberately, and on solemn occasions, subscribed the 8th Article, and because of their subscription held considerable preferment in the Church of England. (Cheers.) If there is still such a thing as straightforward honour or honesty amongst men, it seems to me that when persons do not agree with the formularies which they have subscribed, they ought either to abstain from reviling that to which they have declared their unfeigned assent and consent, or to resign their preferments. (Loud cheers.) There is, however, a second class of persons who are much more dangerous. There are ever those who hover on the wings of a great movement, and try to belong to both sides; and on this occasion we have many such. There are those who tell us that the Athanasian Creed contains everything that is noble, and grand, and beautiful, and true; that there is no part of the whole service which they value so much; and yet, notwithstanding the very great value which they place upon it, they would relegate it to the Articles, where it would never be seen or heard of, or they would strip it of its most distinctive features! If you will consider for a moment what all this really amounts to, you will at once see its utter folly, hollowness, and untruth. It is as if you had a friend whom you professed to love so dearly that you dared not trust yourself to hold converse with him in the flesh, but wished to see him in his grave, that there might be a more real and living sympathy than was possible whilst both were in this world. It is as though you professed to fear that frequent intercourse with your friend might so pall upon your taste, and cause his conversation to lose its influence, that the sooner an end was put to it the more you would honour and love him. (Cheers.) The Athanasian Creed is either true or it is not. If it is true, it contains the very truth which God Himself has revealed, and which unless we believe we cannot hope to be saved. In saying this we are not sentencing the heathen

to condemnation. So far from levelling the monitory clauses against those who have never heard the truth, we regard those clauses chiefly as a warning to ourselves—as a solemn admonition to us of the consequences which must necessarily fall upon us if we are not faithful to the truths God has placed in our hands. (Cheers.) The most dangerous of opponents is he who goes a long way with you, and accepts a great deal of what you believe; who professes to value what you value, and then tries to induce you to betray what you feel to be all-important, to persuade you to abandon what you know you ought to defend. Above all things, let us rather have an open enemy than one that tells you he loves the Creed, and yet longs to get rid of it. (Loud cheers.) As to the proposal for making the use of the Creed optional, I can scarcely conceive anything more fatal; because the moment a clergyman may or may not use it, that moment the Creed ceases to be part of the belief of the Church of which he is a minister. Its words become merely his own words; and when it is left to his discretion whether he may employ them or not, their whole force and weight are at once necessarily lowered. We have lost the Creed unless it speaks the voice of the Church—unless it is accepted as the solemn declaration of truth which Christ has revealed, and which the Church has accepted, and authoritatively placed before us. (Cheers.) The other day the Bishop of a very important diocese spoke in the presence of a number of persons of the faith of the present day and of the past. He said that in the past we saw how earnestly men felt on the subject of the faith, and how that numbers were ready to die rather than that it should be slighted or dishonoured; whereas, he said, that at the present time no such thing could be found at all. And why? If there is one thing more than another necessary to make faith real, and true, and deep, it is that it should be definite. It must be so placed before us, so adapted to the mind, that it can feel its force and reality as far as it is possible for abstract truth to be made definite and real to man. Thus it will possess a living force, an actuating influence upon the actions and conduct, and not remain something on the surface that can only influence opinion. Now, is there one amongst us who does not feel that in the employment of the Athanasian Creed he finds something of this character; something that makes what he believes more real and true to him, and therefore something upon which he can rest; something to which he can turn in every doubt and in every time of distress—something

which brings before him the personality of our Divine Lord, the reality of His Presence, and the true union of His two Natures, in a manner which no other Creed does? It seems to explain and enforce Divine truth in a way which deeply affects the heart of man, and it is to him as a sure and certain basis upon which he feels he may rest. It is a teaching, an explanation, an exposition of the other Creeds; it adds to them a value and a reality which make them something more than they would be without such an authoritative explanation. And yet this same prelate, who lamented the great diminution of faith in modern times, who felt that our diminished faith made our religion so much less real and deep than was that of our forefathers, whom he held up to us for admiration and imitation, is one of those who are perfectly willing to give up the Athanasian Creed, to mutilate it, to lay it aside, or to allow its use to be optional. (Cheers.) We may easily see the reason why faith has become so weak. Persons have lost their faith in the Athanasian Creed, and so have naturally lost the reality of their faith altogether. It is quite certain that faith, to be a principle of action, and to give a moral foundation for a man's life, must be very definite indeed; and it is because it has lost definiteness that faith has become so obscure and nebulous as it is in so many instances. Let us, then, accept this Creed, which has been so mercifully preserved to us through the manifold dangers through which the Church has passed during the last twelve centuries; it is a trust committed to our faithful keeping; let us strive to be faithful to our trust and to preserve it for the future. (Cheers.) For this purpose there is need of active assistance from the laity; and I trust that they will always be determined to uphold in its integrity that faith which we have received, to resist all rash and dangerous changes that may threaten that Church of which we are all members. I trust they have shown to-night that we have no reason to fear the power of any adversaries, and that the mustering of their forces will dissipate some of the clouds which threaten our tranquillity and well-being. (Cheers.) Rely upon it, the strength of the Church will not be consulted by framing vast comprehensive schemes to include the largest possible number of persons, whatever their belief or want of it may be; for the strength of the Church is not in numbers, but in the faith and holiness of her members. She has to rely for succour and protection upon her great Head, and that is secured to her, not by her ranks being swelled by a crowd of lukewarm, half-believing, nominal members,

but by her conformity to the image of her Lord. Moreover, it must be evident to us that it is the earnest depth of piety and the reality of the religion of the few, which penetrates the mass, and makes the influence of the Church felt throughout the world. If then, for the purpose of seeking strength by an addition to her numbers, you throw down her bulwarks, you will find that you have included not an army of combatants who will fight in her defence, but a mob who will flee at the first assault. Let us therefore boldly rally under the banner of the Church of England, the banner of the Church Catholic, the banner which Christ Himself has unfurled and placed in our hands; let us earnestly contend for all that has been committed to our keeping, and which I trust we shall keep whole and undefiled until the great day of account. (Loud cheers.)

EARL NELSON, in moving the second and third resolutions, said—There are two great duties which every Christian is bound to perform. One is to carry on our Lord's work upon this earth. He went about doing good, and seeking everywhere opportunities of curing sickness, disease, and suffering of every kind; and we ought, in like manner, to turn to account everything that can enable us more truly in our day and generation to carry on the great work which He has given us to do. There is another great work which, as Christians, we have also had committed to us, and if we neglect it we shall lose the foundation upon which alone all other works can be based. It is to transmit unimpaired to succeeding generations the great deposit which, by God's mercy, has been entrusted to the Church. (Cheers.) It is with reference to this work that we are here to-night. I am not one of those who would wish to curtail the liberty of Christian men: there are great truths which many of us hold to be essential—truths indeed which our finite minds cannot fathom, and upon which, therefore, different minds may be permitted to take different views, but we feel that in the Athanasian Creed the whole germ of Christianity is at stake. We find the three Creeds placed together in our Articles, and we may truly call them the title-deeds of our Church. We must never forget that the Church of England resolutely and purposely reformed herself upon the model of the undivided Church. The Reformers never forgot that, and they appealed to a General Council, when such General Council could be had, to ratify what they had done. They consistently accepted these three Creeds as

embodying the teaching of the undivided Church, and placed them on the same footing, without any distinction of one from another, as all equally provable by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. At this time, when we find infidelity again rampant amongst us, it would be most unwise if we were carelessly, or without very serious reason, to consent in any manner to tamper with the outworks of the faith. (Cheers.) There are two ways in which this attack is made upon the faith. We have in the background the determined opposition of the infidel, and more prominently before us the insidious attack which comes from people professing, and perchance believing themselves, to be friends of the faith; and it is curious to observe, that as soon as this attack begins upon one Creed, it is very apt to develope into an attack upon the others, showing how truly the three Creeds together constitute the deposit of the Christian faith. (Cheers.) There is another thing on which I wish to insist:—We must be on our guard against doing things in matters of religion because they are popular. You may be pretty certain that popularity of this kind will cost us dearly. We have seen from the attacks upon the Athanasian Creed, and upon particular parts of it, both what is the real evil which is to be feared at the present day, and the necessity—a necessity far greater than we had ever thought—of those very parts of the Creed which are assailed. I, for one, think it is most essential that we should maintain the damnatory, as they are called, but really the admonitory clauses of the Creed, because they show that true belief is as much a part of religion as purity of life; and we may depend upon it that he who allows his mind to be undisciplined will very soon go wrong in the purity of his daily life also. I have seen a great deal written on the subject, but we need not go very far to prove that those clauses have the sanction of Holy Scripture. We need not go further than modern infidelity itself; for I think we shall find in the writings of infidels of the present day accusations against our Blessed Lord Himself, that if He had had the power He would have been a persecutor. They attempt to prove their case by the warnings which he uttered for the benefit of the soul of man; and surely we, His followers, need not be ashamed to bear the reproach of our Master. (Loud cheers.) The Church never has used these clauses in an unchristian sense; she has never used them for any other purpose than that for which similar clauses are used in Holy Scripture itself, namely, as guides and securities to prevent men from falling into error. We do not curse individual men; we only warn all men for their own good.

(Cheers.) If, however, we would really show the world, as our blessed Lord showed it, the truth of this assertion, we have only to follow His example, and all of us, in our several spheres, to go about striving to do good, as He did. But do not let us think that we can do this—do not let us think that the civilization in which we glory, and which has arisen from the love of Christ, will continue—if the foundations of Christianity be overthrown. If, therefore, we would seek to extend our civilization, if we would seek those objects which all men say they desire, it is most essential that we should maintain inviolate the Christian faith. (Loud cheering.)

The Rev. N. Pocock, in seconding the resolutions, said—After the luminous speeches which have been delivered by the noble lords and by Canon Gregory it will be unnecessary for me to traverse the same ground which they have so ably gone over; and, indeed, there is only one point upon which I feel that I am qualified to address you with any authority—I mean the manner in which the Athanasian Creed was dealt with by the Reformers during the reigns of Edward VI. and of Queen Elizabeth. But before I go into that matter, will you allow me to say one word upon an aspect of the case which is suggested by the terms of the resolutions? These resolutions will, I believe, commit the meeting to two very different things. One thing to which we shall commit ourselves, is a protest against any mutilation of the Creed; the other thing to which we shall commit ourselves is a protest against any change in its place and *status* in the Church of England. Now, I say that these two things are of very different significance indeed. One is a matter of life and death—a matter that involves the very existence of the Church of England; whereas the other is merely a question of expediency. We may protest against displacing the Creed from a position which it has occupied for 320 years; but the Church of England can clearly undo what she has done. She made the Thirty-nine Articles, and if you want to see these Articles abrogated or altered, you have only to appeal to the authorities by which they were sanctioned, namely, to the Convocations and to the Parliament of England. I give no opinion as to the wisdom or propriety of such a step; but she has it in her power to alter the place which this Creed now occupies in her offices. And now I will tell you what the Church of England *cannot* do. It is, I believe, an axiomatic principle of law that

every inferior court is bound by the decision of its superior; and the Church of England, therefore, has no power to touch or alter in any way whatever the Athanasian Creed. (Cheers.) It came to her from a higher authority than her own. I have not the slightest doubt whatever—I believe no theologian could possibly doubt—that it was composed as early as the fifth century. There is not the slightest shadow of a doubt that it was written some time between A.D. 375 and 451. I fix these dates—which give a very wide margin—on these grounds. In the year 375 Apollinarius was condemned by Pope Damasus, and I infer that the Creed must have been written after then, because it contains a very pointed allusion to the Apollinarian heresy in the words, “Of a Reasonable Soul and Human Flesh subsisting.” On the other hand, it could not possibly have been written after the condemnation of the Monophysite heresy by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, otherwise it would have been more definite with respect to the Two Natures in Christ. I must say that there are no terms which sufficiently express my indignation at the manner in which the name of S. Paulinus of Aquileia has been treated in this controversy. We are told that one of the greatest saints of his day consented to forge a lie for the purpose of pleasing the emperor! There is no blot whatever on the character of St. Paulinus, and yet he is charged with this wickedness for the sake of helping Charlemagne, forsooth, to separate the East and West by asserting the doctrine of the Double Procession, which is scarcely if at all visible in the Creed! Was there ever such an incredible piece of folly and wickedness? (Loud cheers.) The Creed, then, comes down to us with the authority of the West for 1450 years; it has been accepted by the East; and it has been used in the Church of England for more than a thousand years. This can be proved, for we have the very words of this Creed in the profession of Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, to Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 798; and how, then, could it have been composed in the ninth century? (Cheers.) There have been various attempts to disparage the Athanasian Creed, but we protest altogether against any attempt to deprive us of the inheritance which we have received from our fathers, and which we are resolved to transmit unmutated to our children. (Cheers.) You remember those who said, “*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*,” and it is for you as members of the English Church to protest, “*Nolumus fidem ecclesiæ mutari*.” (Loud cheers.) It would be a sacrifice of the faith to consent to

the mutilation of the damnatory, or minatory, or warning clauses; for to omit them would simply be to say that a man is not responsible for his faith. You cannot take them out. They are at the beginning, the middle, and the end, and they cannot be removed without destroying the whole fabric. It is moreover of the very nature of a Creed that it should imply warning clauses; though it does not matter whether they are expressed or not. They are not expressed, for instance, in the Apostles' Creed, but they are implied by the very nature of a Creed. The sanction of a Creed is our blessed Lord's own statement, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved;" the sanction of an anathema is contained in the solemn words—"He that believeth not shall be condemned." (Cheers.) But now I come to the question of expediency; and I can tell you about the history of the Creed at the time of the Reformation, and how it came to be placed where it is. Previous to that time it used to be recited in the office of Prime on Sundays; and when the Reformers thought that instead of the old hours, they would have a form of daily prayer—which they formed by bundling the old services perhaps rather awkwardly together—they appointed the Creed to be said on Christmas Day, on the Epiphany, on the Feast of the Ascension, and on the three Sundays on which it is still said. In 1552 it was directed to be used, not six but thirteen times a year. Certain Cambridge professors say that it was meant to be added to the Apostles' Creed, but I think they are wrong, for it is matter of record that it never has been so said. However, that question does not matter a straw. The fact remains that in 1552 the Reformers ordered the Creed to be said thirteen times a year instead of six. All this is an old story; but what is new is the reason why they did so. The reason was that at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., foreign Anabaptists came over here in shoals, and their teaching soon developed into Arianism and into a form which did not differ much from the heresy of Apollinaris. These persons, who were tried and some of them burned, were in the habit of throwing in Archbishop Cranmer's teeth that he could not prove his own faith from Holy Scripture, but that he got it out of the Athanasian Creed. What, then, did the Reformers do? In the first place, they drew up the Eighth Article, which stated that the Athanasian Creed could be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, and they ordered the Creed itself to be said thirteen times—on three Sundays and ten festivals. The reason why the latter were chosen was because

at that time the services on holy days were more frequented than now, and that, in point of fact, it was thought the churches would probably be better attended on those days than on Sundays. (Cheers.) And now let me say one word on the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church throughout the world. I suppose we all look forward to the time when the Church of England may be the means of restoring unity amongst the scattered branches of the Western Church. (Cheers.) Let us hope that the time is not far distant when friendly relations between the Church of England and the Western Church may be restored. But that before that time comes she must have gathered within her bosom many of those who are now Non-conformists. But let us not hope that we can gain Nonconformists by any scheme of comprehension, alteration, or mutilation of the Creed. (Cheers.) Schemes of comprehension have never answered, and they never will. The only way to gain Nonconformists is by teaching in their integrity all the doctrines of the Church. (Cheers.) If Nonconformists are to be won only by the sacrifice of the Creed, you will agree with me that the purchase will be too costly. (Loud cheers.) If such are to be the conditions of union, I will express my views in the words of the heathen poet—

“*Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.*”

I will add one word more. It has been said before now that such a meeting as this is useless because the battle is already won. I admit that the battle is very nearly won, and I hope that after this meeting it will be won altogether. (Cheers.) But there are two dangers ahead yet. There is Convocation, and there is Parliament. We are told that the former will probably agree to accept some form of synodical declaration that the Church of England takes the condemnations in the Athanasian Creed in exactly the same sense as the solemn warnings of Holy Scripture. I will only say in reference to that proposal that I trust Convocation will never commit itself to such an absurdity. I have always thought it was for the Church to interpret the language of Holy Scripture, not for Holy Scripture to interpret the language of the Church. (Loud cheers.) But then it is said that the authority of Parliament may be brought to bear for the purpose of preventing any punishment from being inflicted upon such clergymen as may disobey the Church. I trust that we may be able to prevent such an anomalous state of things as that would be. People now talk a great deal of the separation of Church and

State; and I confess, I should regard that as a very great calamity. But what is suggested would be the beginning of that separation; for if the State is to interfere to protect disobedient clergymen, it would certainly be impossible for the connection to go on much longer. (Loud cheers.)

ADMIRAL RYDER having moved the last resolution,—

The Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, in seconding it, said—There is one objection to the Athanasian Creed which, if well founded, would come home with peculiar force to my mind, namely, that it interposes a barrier to the reunion of the East and West. We have been told upon high authority—upon that of a gentleman who styles himself “the First Presbyter of the Church of England,” that the Creed anathematizes the whole Eastern Church. I should be exceedingly sorry to believe that that was the case; and if I thought it was, I should feel very differently towards the Athanasian Creed from what I do at the present time. In fact, the statement is altogether a mistake—altogether an error. The Greek Church accepts the Creed, and regards it as a most precious document. She not only appends it in her *Horologion* or Book of Common Prayer, but she has taken it out of that large collection of prayers and documents, and inserted it in a little volume, which I have here, called the *Synopsis*; which consists of the cream of the larger Service Book. On the title-page it is stated to be “profitable to all Christian people;” and I find imbedded in it the Athanasian Creed, as a document of singular value. I remember the first time I visited Palestine being very much struck at finding it suspended in the Divan of the Greek Archbishop of Bethlehem, near the Church which was erected by St. Helena, over what is supposed to be the place of our Lord’s Nativity. What is more, the copy which I saw there actually contained the Double Procession. That fact seems to show that there is no such dislike for that expression, save in the Nicene Creed, as is commonly thought to exist in the East. I suppose it would have been impossible for any copy of the Nicene Creed with the *Filioque* to have been suspended in the Divan of a Greek prelate. The real objection to the *Filioque* is that it is an insertion introduced into a Catholic Creed without the consent of the whole Church; and it is an objection which is largely sympathized in by many who entirely admit the Double Procession from eternity. (Cheers.) As for the various proposals which have been made for the mutilation or the “muffling” of the Athanasian

Creed, as the Dean of Norwich has so admirably expressed it, there is a passage of Scripture which has been very strongly in my mind. I think that this meeting and the great meeting at St. James's Hall may well adopt the words of Naboth to Ahab, when that King desired to have his plot of ground which lay so convenient to the palace, and which Naboth was so unreasonable as to refuse—"God forbid that we should give you the inheritance of our fathers!" (Loud cheers.) Those who wish to remove this Creed from the Prayer Book will hardly say—"We will give you a better;" and if they offer to buy it at a price, we will reply that it contains that which "cannot be gotten for gold, neither can silver be weighed for the price thereof," which "is far above rubies." (Cheers.) The Athanasian Creed was probably used in the Church in England even before the Creed of Nicæa. You have heard of that admirable paper of Sir T. Duffus Hardy, which I hope will be published for the edification of the Church. Sir Thomas's theory is that the Utrecht Psalter was brought to England by the ecclesiastics in the suite of Queen Bertha for use in her chapel; and it is a remarkable fact, that the copy of the Athanasian Creed which it contains is identical with the form which we now use. The Apostles' Creed also contains the article respecting the Descent into Hell, which was not found in the Roman and Italian MSS., but which was in the Gallican. So again the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which those who know anything about liturgical matters are aware varies in different Churches, so that there are scarcely two which have it in exactly the same form as it stands in the Utrecht MS., is in that Psalter identical with the form in which we still possess it. The English Church prior to the Conquest seems to have been a vast deal more English than it was after that event; and since the Reformation it has been more in sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon Church than with the Anglo-Norman. It is, at all events, a very interesting fact, that from the time of St. Augustine's mission to the Conquest, this Creed was in use in the English Church; and that at a period when Mr. Ffoulkes says it had not yet been composed. (Cheers.) It was the practice at that time for English Bishops before their consecration to make a *Profession* of allegiance to their Metropolitan. The practice in question was probably introduced by Archbishop Theodore—that learned Theodore of Tarsus to whom the Church of England owes so much, and who, in fact, may be said to have formed the English Church as an organized body, for before his time it was little more than an aggregate of

mission stations. We find a singular resemblance between these acts of profession and those which are made by Bishops in the Orthodox Church at the present day ; a circumstance which points to a common origin, and suggests that the practice was probably brought in by Theodore. Several of these early English *professions* embody regular confessions of faith, all with the Double Procession, and some of them in the very words of the Athanasian Creed ; so that we see that the Creed must have been in existence in this country at that time, and was probably here in the Gallican Psalter of Queen Bertha when Augustine set foot on our shores. It is therefore an "inheritance of our fathers" in a very emphatic sense of the words. (Cheers.) Whatever temptation may threaten us,—whatever inducement may be held out to us to alienate it, I hope we shall resist it, remembering that the one sole object of the Christian Church is the maintenance of the Truth. It stands for that purpose alone. It is to be the "Pillar and Ground of the Truth," and if it comes to be a question between surrendering the truth and surrendering life itself, I hope we may be prepared to say in the words of the Pagan poet—

Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

(Loud cheers).

The Hon. C. L. WOOD in proposing a very cordial vote of thanks to the noble chairman, said he thought that what had taken place that night would teach the most timid that there was no need of fear or misgiving as to the future of the Church of England. (Loud cheers.)

The motion was seconded by the Rev. BRYMER BELCHER, and unanimously agreed to.

The MARQUESS OF BATH, in acknowledging the compliment, hoped that what had taken place that evening would settle, at all events for a time, all questions of dealing with the Athanasian Creed. If, however, that hope should not be realized, and their opponents should persevere in their endeavours, he thought that what they had seen and heard that night would justify them in urging upon their friends both in London and in the country to agitate wherever they could, and to persevere in the defence of this great bulwark of the Church of England. (Loud cheers).

The meeting then broke up.

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THE CHURCHMAN'S CREED:

A FEW

REMARKS AND QUESTIONS

ADDRESSED TO

CHURCH-GOERS.



BY ONE OF THEM.

LIVERPOOL:

HENRY YOUNG, 12, SOUTH CASTLE STREET.

1872.

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THE CHURCHMAN'S CREED.

VIEWING our religious profession as a subject which ought to receive the earnest regard and consideration of all men, and upon which it is the prior duty of every one to be thoroughly convinced, it is a melancholy thought that, even in our age which boasts so freely of its progress in civilization and learning, there is amongst us but a small percentage of Christian people who understand at all clearly what they profess to believe.

This assertion may seem harsh and illiberal, but can it be shown to be untrue?

The lack of knowledge of the reason for believing this or that tenet of religious faith, even amongst those whom we call "good people," is positively shocking, whilst the mass seem to look upon their deplorable ignorance as an appointed condition of their existence, and something almost to be proud of.

The object of this short paper is to try to rouse such as may be living in lethargy or indifference on matters of religious faith to consider whether the position which they occupy as professed Christians is tenable or not tenable, with the hope that their deliberations may lead to a result satisfactory at once to their conscience and their reason.

Are you a church-goer? If so you are most likely in the habit of repeating the words:

“Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he worship one God in trinity, and trinity in unity, which except every one do without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.”

Do you believe this? If you do, upon what authority? “Upon the authority of the Bible?”

Surely neither those nor any synonymous words are anywhere to be found therein?

Have you never realized the fact that all who consent thereto earnestly resign to damnation a large majority of the people who have inhabited, or who do inhabit this world, who did not or who do not believe it?

Put to you as a Christian, Do you think your Maker approves your standing before Him and saying, “Oh! Father, I believe that Thou art one and three, and that I ought to worship Thee as such, and whosoever does not so believe and worship, he will, and let him, perish everlastingly?”

Do you think such a procedure as this can be agreeable to Him who is love, and whose servants are known by their demonstration of love?

You may reply, “But I do not say anything so awfully wicked.”

Is not the fact of your repeating the words quoted and subscribing to them “Amen,” a transferring of all who differ from you in this dogma to everlasting death?

From what you know of God, do you think He

wishes you to speak to Him of His creatures in such terms of pharisaical denunciation, even assuming that you are right in your ideas of what He is, and others wrong?

If you do *not* believe it, why do you persist in going to God's house to offend Him by saying to Him what you do not believe?

Do you imagine that He will accept for so flagrant an insult such a paltry and senseless excuse as that you did not mean what you said?

If you do not mean what you say in that part of your service, do you mean what you say in any part of it, and do you make a distinction in your mind between those things you do mean and those you do not?

Are not the words in question (taken from our prayer book) a disgrace to us as men, an insult to reason and the Bible, and whilst they remain there do they not convert our professions of Charity and Christianity into an awful burlesque?

In this article of faith, coming after what has been quoted, are the words:

"The Father is uncreate, the Son uncreate. The Father eternal, the Son eternal."

In what sense do you understand the *Son* to be uncreated and eternal? The *Son*, of course, refers to our Lord Jesus Christ, called "the Son of God;" in which case was God his Father? for if God were his Father, he was created by God, and could not be eternal, because being called into existence by God he had a beginning. But if Jesus Christ is eternal,

then God was not his Father and He is not the Son of God, he must have been self existent, and we could only believe on him as a God at least equal to, or possibly greater, than the Father.

Would not this, however, necessitate our belief in at least two self-existent eternal Gods?

Would such a belief accord with the teachings of Jesus Christ, the expressed opinions of the sacred writers, or the promptings of your own reason?

In saying "there is one person of the Father, and another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost," and, "we are compelled to acknowledge every person by Himself to be God and Lord," and also "are forbidden to say that there be three Gods or three Lords," have you a clear comprehension of what you mean, and are you satisfied that you say this voluntarily and from a conviction of its accurate translation from the Scriptures?

Do you know *where* we are taught by our Lord or his disciples to say, "in this trinity none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another, but the whole three persons are co-eternal together and co-equal?"

Do you really suppose it necessary to a man's salvation to think of the trinity as you do? If he *cannot* so think, do you in your heart or soul, or reason, believe that he will not be "saved?" If you do, is the thought a painful one, and does it urge you to go to those whom you know cannot think as you do, and reason with them and persuade them until you have won them to the true faith, and

so opened to them a way of escape from eternal damnation?

After having said that the Son (Jesus Christ) is "uncreate," and "eternal," you proceed to say that he is "God, of the substance of the Father *begotten*, before the worlds."

This, to an ordinary comprehension, simply amounts to a contradiction of the statement that the "*Son* is uncreate," which is also a contradiction of itself.

Does it not appear so to you?

In concluding, you say, "This is the Catholic faith, which, except a man believe faithfully, he *cannot* be saved."

Is not this a perfectly gratuitous assertion? Are men to be saved or damned upon your or any one's simple *ipse dixit*? Does not the endeavour to show that authority is given in Scripture for such an assertion seems to you to be disingenuous, and an insult to the memory of the founder of our faith, and to the sacred writers?

Other men equally honest with yourself, after careful study of the Scriptures, have been led to convictions materially different from those you profess, do you consider it your province to condemn them wholesale to everlasting death because they confess what they are led, by careful study and thought, to believe?

Pray commit this shameful and sinful act no more, lest the names of Christian and Englishman

cease to carry with them reverence and respect, and fall to mere bywords or terms of contempt.

Have you ever read the 18th Article of your religion?

"They also are to be held accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved."

Do you at this moment feel that you clearly comprehend what in the Creed under our notice you profess to believe? Do you feel that you are master of your profession? If you do not, at once undertake the work of placing yourself in that position, or rather of proving for yourself what is *right*.

Ere you begin, try to throw off every vestige of prejudice which may have imperceptibly grown around your heart during years of unintentional neglect. Lay bare your mind to receive fresh impressions, then carefully peruse in a liberal and comprehensive spirit the writings of those men who have recorded in simple style the sayings and teachings of our common Master, and their own belief.

In doing so remember that what they wrote, as the Master's words, was written, not at the moment of being spoken, but after the lapse of many years, and that the writers were men subject to error and

bias, even as the best and noblest men of our day are. Weigh carefully the evidence as a whole; seek the assistance, if necessary, of anyone who can and will aid you in your deliberations, and form your own conclusions. If they should be such as to lead you to think that what you have hitherto accepted as your belief is in strict accordance with scripture teaching, how satisfactory it will be to you to know that you have fulfilled one of the first and highest duties of man—proved your faith. Urge your friends to go and do likewise, that in course of time there may not be a man amongst us who is unable to answer, satisfactorily to his own conscience, the question, “Are you persuaded that what you believe is right?”

If, on the contrary, you are led to a different belief from that you formerly held, there will be opened to you a new field of high moral duty. First be fully persuaded in your own mind, then be not ashamed to confess your convictions, but when necessary boldly affirm them; as a duty due to your Father which is in Heaven, your fellow Christians and yourself.

That it is the duty of every man to prove his faith is a question scarcely allowing discussion. We cannot shirk this duty if we wish to preserve the dignity of our status as “men,” and no man whose reason is intact has a right to delegate it to his fellow. Why should we endeavour to shift a responsibility we all incur as beings endowed with reason on to the shoulders of another?

If we would do it, we confess ourselves incapable of ruling our own minds, or acknowledge ourselves too cowardly or too lazy to meet the responsibility of our position.

In conclusion, understand that the object of this paper is not to influence the reader to any specific belief, but it is to try to persuade him, by personal research and reasoning, to become *master* of his profession.

"If I am right, Thy grace impart, still in the right to stay,
If I am wrong, oh, guide my heart, to find the better way."

AMEN.



DAUGHTER CHURCHES
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

*THEIR RELATIONS TOWARDS THE MOTHER
CHURCH AND THEIR WORK*

A Paper

READ AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS AT LEEDS

On Thursday, October 10, 1872

BY

EDWARD BICKERSTETH, D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF BUCKINGHAM
AND PROLOCUTOR OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF THE CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY



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DAUGHTER CHURCHES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, ETC. ETC.

THE general subject upon which I am invited to address you is that of the "Daughter Churches of the Church of England, their relations towards the Mother Church, and their work." As I shall be followed by those who are far more competent than I am to speak of the actual work of the Daughter Churches, I shall confine myself altogether to the first part of my subject, namely, the relations of these Churches to the Mother Church. In considering these relations, it is essential that we should first of all turn our eyes to ancient principles and precedents, and then see how far they can be applied in the present day to a great branch of the Church Catholic, such as the Anglican Communion.

We find then that from the first, each Church was settled apart under its own Bishop. Each Bishop acted freely, according to his own will and discretion, with the advice of his Presbyters, and the consent of the people, his duty being to feed the flock committed to him, to maintain the unity of the faith, and to promote brotherly intercourse with neighbouring Churches.

With reference, indeed, to the defence and confirmation of the faith, each Bishop was regarded as

a Bishop of the whole Church; and in this respect there was but one Bishopric throughout Christendom.* Thus confederacy and independency were principles of the Church from the beginning.

But as the Church grew and multiplied, it became necessary for the due advancement of the one faith, for the maintenance of its integrity, and more especially for dealing with unfaithful Chief Pastors, that the relations of these elementary centres, the one to the other, should be more clearly defined; and that, while still preserving their independence, they should be held together by some bonds of discipline. It was natural that neighbouring Bishops should meet together for conference and counsel, and no less natural and necessary, for the sake of order, that when they so met, some one amongst them should preside over the rest. Such an arrangement grew out of the necessities of the case. Traces of it may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Apostolic Constitutions. The Churches of a country or district formed groups, their Bishops meeting together for counsel, with one of their number as President.† And as the Church was

* "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."—Cyprian de unit. Ecclesiæ.

"Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unam tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsitivit, colligere et fovere debemus."—Cyprian, Ep. 68.

† Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης.—Can. Apost. xxxiii. (xxxv.) Bruns. p. 5.

further developed, it was an obvious thing that these Ecclesiastical divisions should follow the Civil divisions of the Roman Empire. Each Province had its Metropolis; and since the Metropolis was generally of convenient access, the Bishop residing there became naturally the presiding Bishop, or Metropolitan over the Bishops of that Province. Not indeed that this was a universal rule. In Africa the custom was for the Senior Bishop to preside as Metropolitan.* Sometimes Civil changes led to corresponding Ecclesiastical changes. But, as a rule, the Bishop residing in the Metropolis was a kind of head or chief amongst his brethren; and it became the custom, confirmed afterwards by a Canon of the Nicene Council, that no Bishop was to be elected or ordained without the consent and ratification (*κῦρος*) of the Metropolitan.†

It was thus that the single elementary Dioceses came to be grouped together in Provinces; the Metropolitans in their turn becoming independent (*αὐτοκέφαλοι*), though holding brotherly intercourse with the Metropolitans of other Provinces.

It may be noticed that while the Dioceses were thus associated together in Provinces, and while the substance of Christian worship throughout

* It should be observed, however, that at Carthage the Bishop was a fixed and standing Metropolitan for the province of Africa, properly so called.—See Bingham.

† Τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων διδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῇ μητροπολίτῃ.—Concil. Nic. can. iv.

remained the same, every Bishop was at liberty to frame his own Liturgy. By degrees, some of the Liturgies thus composed took precedence, and were generally adopted; and these form the basis and material of the Liturgies of Catholic Christendom down to the present day. The early Creeds were the same. There was but one rule of faith.* Still even the Creeds were sometimes expanded so as to meet some heresies of the time or country. There is a difference, for example, between the Roman or Apostles' Creed, and the Creed of Aquileia, the words "invisible and impassible" having been introduced into the latter Creed to oppose the Patripassian, or Sabellian heresy.

Such were the conditions of the development of the Church, and such the relations of its various branches, at the time when the Nicene Council was summoned; and at that Council these Metropolitan arrangements were confirmed.†

Soon afterwards, when the Emperor Constantine introduced a new division of the Empire, by which divers Civil Provinces were thrown together, and combined in one large territory, or Diocese, as it was called, the Ecclesiastical divisions followed this new Civil arrangement; and so, there sprang up a new order of spiritual heads, called Exarchs

* "Regula fidei una omnium est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis."—Tertullian.

† Τὸ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω . . . καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκείνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.—Concil. Nic. can. vi.

or Patriarchs. Thus the Ecclesiastical Provinces with their Metropolitans were gathered up into Patriarchates, the Patriarchs having the same headship over the Metropolitans that the Metropolitans had over the Bishops. It was their privilege, for example, to ordain all the Metropolitans of the Diocese or Patriarchate, to call their Metropolitans and the Bishops of their Provinces to a Synod of the Patriarchate, and to receive appeals from the Metropolitans and the Provincial Synods.*

This larger arrangement of Patriarchates was not established at the Council of Nicæa, for it was only about that time that Constantine created the new Civil divisions out of which they grew. But the custom was abundantly recognized and confirmed by later Councils, as that of Constantinople, and of Ephesus, and particularly that of Chalcedon.†

These Patriarchates were originally of co-ordinate and independent authority; although some

* The Metropolitans, indeed, were then to be ordained by the Patriarch, though before this they were ordained by their own Provincial Synod. But still the right of ordaining their own Suffragans was always reserved to the Metropolitans.—Concil. Chalcedon.

† The General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, fixes the limits of the several Patriarchates or Dioceses, and restrains the Patriarchs from interference with other Patriarchs, Canon II. In the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, the Bishop or Patriarch of Antioch claimed to include the province of Cyprus in his Patriarchate. But the claim was disallowed, although his other claims as Patriarch were readily conceded to him.—See Bingham, Book II., chap. xvii., § 9. For further evidence, see Canons IX. and XVII. of the Council of Chalcedon.

order of rank and precedence seems to have been granted or conceded to some of them.*

It should further be noted that some Ecclesiastical Provinces were by ancient custom exempted from any dependency of this kind upon any Primacy or Patriarchate. Amongst these may be mentioned the Cyprian Church, and particularly the ancient British Church before the arrival of Augustine.

It may also be mentioned that while the Patriarchates of the East were developed freely, preserving at the same time their independence as co-ordinate branches of the Universal Church, the growing influence and claim to supremacy of the Patriarchate of Rome restrained and crippled this extension in the West, as indeed it has hindered its natural development down to the present day.

I now proceed to apply these principles to our National Church, the Church of England.

The sixteenth century found in this island an ancient Church which had been intimately connected from the earliest times with the State. But it also found this Church oppressed by a foreign usurpation, not independent as of old, not

* *Hæc antiquitus et divisio et regimen id Ecclesiis instituta. Nec certe vel ad pacem in Ecclesiâ conservandam, vel ad jurisdictionem cuique Episcopo suam sartam tectam tuendam, aut facilius aut commodius ulla Paræciarum (Dioceses), Provinciarum (Provinces), et Diocesium (Patriarchates), distributio fieri potuit aut inveniri.*—‘*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,’ Dr. R. Crakenthorpe, London, 1625.

in healthy union with a Patriarchate, not in the enjoyment of the freedom of self-government; but in bondage to the Bishop of Rome, himself claiming an irresponsible power over the whole country, by means of which he had succeeded in introducing great corruptions of doctrine, and in seriously compromising the liberties both of Sovereign and of people. From all this we were liberated by the Reformation; and our National Church again reappeared, holding a close union with the State, made yet closer than ever (almost to the abatement of some of her inherent privileges), in order to protect us from any similar future attempts of any foreign Power upon our liberties. At all events, this great event of the Reformation replaced the English Church in her ancient position of independence of other branches of the Catholic Church; our casting off of the Papal supremacy, and with that supremacy the peculiar errors of the Church of Rome, separating us from that Communion, and our retention of Episcopacy isolating us, at least in some measure, from the Reformed Continental Churches. I mean this, that the Reformation left us separate, in a manner, from the whole of the rest of Christendom. It restored our independence, but it left us without any confederation. Since that time, and more especially within the last 200 years, the British dominions have extended on every side. Our Colonies now occupy a large portion of the earth's

surface, and commercial enterprise has given us the means of intercourse with almost every part of the world; and with this wide extension of the British Empire and British interests, efforts have been made, we all know with what signal success, to develop and extend our National Church. I might mention the names of illustrious labourers in this cause, still alive and present with us this day. But I cannot refrain from recalling that of PATTESON, whom we can hardly fail to think of when we say, "The noble army of martyrs, praise Thee;" and that of GRAY, the noble-hearted, devoted Gray, whose loss the whole Anglican Communion at this moment deplores; and around whose grave the people of South Africa, of whatever creed, have so lately been meeting with one deep expression of respect and regret. The result is, that in every part of the world, under widely different conditions of race, of climate, and of civil government, offshoots from our own Church have sprung up, many of them flourishing with great vigour,—Christian communities, including a vast number of people, under more than 150 Bishops, deriving their orders from the Church of this country.

Now it was natural that in the first efforts of the Reformed English Church to extend her faith and discipline, she should try to reproduce the very counterpart of the Church at home. The Colonist, sincerely attached to the Church of his

forefathers, wished to see himself surrounded with all the imagery of that to which he had been accustomed here, and consequently with all the disadvantages as well as the advantages of the State connection.

Nor, it must be admitted, did our legislators of the last century adequately perceive, as we now understand, that the Church is one thing, and the Established Church another thing. They did not mark the difference between the essence of the Church as a Divine Institution and its accidents as an Establishment.

Sometimes the Parliament of England interfered to establish the Church abroad; sometimes the local Legislature assisted; sometimes the Royal Prerogative was invoked for the purpose. But further knowledge of the subject, forced upon us by the difficulties and complications that have arisen in various Colonies, has shown how impossible it is, whether by these or other means, to secure for the various branches of the Anglican Communion the same relative Civil status as that of the Mother Church, amid all the varieties of law, custom, mode of government, and the like, which exist in our various Colonies.

The creation of Missionary Bishoprics beyond the limits of British rule, and the disestablishment of some of the Colonial Churches, alike teach us that we must dismiss altogether the notion of Establishment as a means by which to secure

satisfactory relations between the Mother and her Daughter Churches. Such a mode can only hamper their action, and impede their natural and legitimate development.

Where then are we to look for the grounds of secure and satisfactory relations between a Church like our own, intimately connected with the State, and the Daughter Churches, with all their variety of condition, some unestablished, some disestablished, some acknowledging the same Sovereign, some under independent Civil government?

I. There must be, as in the Primitive Church, "one rule of faith." The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer—these must be our first great bond of union. The standards of faith and doctrine must be maintained without alteration. The circumstances of different dioceses in different parts of the world may require new adaptations of the principles of the Prayer Book. But the principles themselves must remain unaltered; and any changes that may be required must be consistent with those principles. It would be easy to mention necessary adaptations, such as prayers for the Civil government of the Colony, or the ruling power of the country, whatever that country might be, or forms for the admission of Catechumens, and the like. But they should be *bonâ fide* adaptations, not modifications, of the standard of doctrine. It might be competent, for example, to any branch of our Communion to make new regulations with

regard to the public use of the Athanasian Creed, or the frequency of the public use, but it does not appear to me that it is competent to any single branch to alter the text of the Creed, which is the common inheritance of Christendom. This, if done at all, would be more properly the work of a Synod of the whole Anglican Communion.

II. Another most important condition of union, founded, like the former, upon Primitive and Catholic usage, is that of the due and canonical subordination of the inferior Synods to the higher. In the development of the Anglican Communion the necessities of the case have already led to the establishment of Provinces with their presiding Metropolitans, as in Canada, the East Indies, New Zealand, South Africa, and Australia. The existence of these Provinces implies, as its necessary correlative, that the ancient precedents should be followed, and that the Bishops of the various Provinces should owe allegiance respectively each to his own Metropolitan, the Metropolitan on his part being subordinate to any higher authority that by voluntary agreement may be established.

And then arises the important question whether the Provinces of the Anglican Communion can be linked together in some wider and more comprehensive combination. It is evident that if we are to be held together in years to come in the unity of faith and doctrine, of ritual and discipline, there must be some ligature which shall bind the

Provinces in one, otherwise, in the course of time, one and another may cease to revolve harmoniously in the same system, and stray away, like a melancholy planet which has lost its centre of attraction, into the realms of indefinite theological space. Questions are continually arising in the Colonial Church, some of them of an intricate and difficult nature, for the final solution of which Churchmen are wont to look earnestly to the Mother Church. In some of the Colonial Dioceses the plan has been tried of submitting the Acts and Resolutions of their Synods to the Archbishop of Canterbury for confirmation. But one obvious objection to this arrangement is that it throws too much responsibility upon a single person, to say nothing of its traversing the rights of the Metropolitan. Moreover the questions thus submitted often require a practical knowledge of Colonial life and habits, and circumstances. But that which would be objectionable as an appeal to the Archbishop in his individual character, would be most desirable as an appeal to him in the capacity of head or president of a large Synod, in which the Provinces of the Anglican Communion are duly represented.* The evil would thus be avoided of leaving the decision of questions entirely in the breast of a single Judge. And our Church would become, as

* If it shall so happen that the Bishops of any Province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge of a Bishop, they shall then go to a greater Synod of the Bishops of that Diocese (Patriarchate) met together for this purpose.—Concil. Constant., Canon VI.

indeed in the Providence of God it seems destined to be, a great Patriarchate of the West, with its Metropolitans and its Bishops, and representatives of its Clergy and Laity meeting together in Synod, as occasion may require, under the presidency of its natural head, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

III. There is one other bond of union growing out of this, and having, like the others, its foundation in the ancient Canons of the Church. I mean the establishment of a Voluntary Spiritual Tribunal, to which questions of doctrine may be carried by the various Provincial Tribunals of the Colonial Church. The constitution of such a Tribunal is not without its difficulties, as has been well shown in the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the subject. But with the safeguards there suggested, these difficulties are not insurmountable, and a Tribunal so constituted would be one of the most important instruments for preserving unity in the Faith and in Doctrine.

I cannot dismiss this subject without saying that I include in it the interests of our Sister Churches, the unestablished Church in Scotland, and the disestablished Church in Ireland. These Churches, more especially the latter, greatly need the help of the counsel and moral support which they would gain by the collective wisdom (guided, as we feel sure it would be, by the Holy Spirit) of a Synod of the whole Anglican Communion. And I think I express the desire and longing of

this wide-spread Communion, when I give utterance to the hope that his Grace the Primate of all England, in brotherly co-operation with his Grace the Primate of England, and Metropolitan of this Province in which we are now assembled, may soon see fit to convene such a Synod, in which the work so auspiciously begun under the presidency of Archbishop Longley in 1867, may be advanced yet farther, and the relations of which I have been speaking may be placed upon a firm and permanent basis.

The principles thus briefly shadowed forth are principles entirely independent of Acts of Parliament and Statute Law, and can of course be only applied so far as they are voluntarily accepted. They belong to that Kingdom which is not of this world. They rest, not upon the shifting sands of human opinion, or the mutable foundations of earthly governments, but upon the customs and canons of the Primitive Church. And certainly the view thus presented to us is one which is worthy of this great country and of this ancient Church, which was once a Patriarchate, with York as its centre. The Anglican Communion has proved itself capable of assimilation with all countries to which it has reached, however diverse in manners, laws, and institutions. And it only needs, God helping us, more recognized relations to the Church at home, in accordance with ancient principles, in order that it may become a powerful

instrument for preserving the integrity of the British Empire. But it may become far more than this. It may do much to promote the unity of Christendom. It may help onwards the Redeemer's Advent. Who shall assign limits to the influence which may be exercised by a great Patriarchate like this, following strictly the ancient footsteps, and bound together in the unity of the Spirit? The eye kindles as it ranges over the ever widening, ever brightening prospect. It sees in the Eastern horizon the glow in the sky which betokens the speedy coming of the Everlasting King.

I will conclude what I have to say in the words of St. Augustine, "Let those who think I have said too little, or those who think I have said too much, forgive me; and let those who think I have said just enough, join me in giving thanks to God." AMEN.

**"HINDRANCES TO THE WORK OF THE CHURCH
ARISING FROM IMMORALITY, AND PRACTICAL
SUGGESTIONS FOR OVERCOMING THEM,"**

*Being a Paper read at the Scarborough Church Conference,
at the Evening Session, (to which men only were
admitted,) November 16th, 1871,*

BY

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MY LORD ARCHBISHOP, MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

THE subject on which I have been requested to address you is "The hindrances to the work of the Church arising from vice, and practical suggestions for overcoming them," and the special phase of vice on which I am to speak is that of which we hear too little—the unchastity, not of women, but of men. I am painfully conscious of the delicacy of the task. I can but trust to your forbearance and sympathy to bear with me as I endeavour to discuss a subject which is peculiarly difficult to handle even in a conference of Churchmen. But if this conference is intended to result, not in mere discussion or exhortation, but in practical action, you will feel with me that we ought to face boldly the great practical hindrances which oppose the church of Christ, and not to shrink in any false delicacy from plain speaking upon that which is eating out the very vitals of thousands of baptised Christians. There is also another consideration which makes my task easier. In such a conference as this I cannot challenge opposition on the main issue. Here, on this question of morality, we all stand in close array against the foe: in debating this question we may realise fellowship not only with every school of Churchmen, but with all who profess and call themselves Christians. Let us then freely exchange confidences and experiences, and suggest and discuss remedies, and then let every man in this hall go forth from the conference solemnly resolved in God's strength wisely, boldly, and in his Master's name, to contend wherever he may meet it against this lust of the flesh.

The evil of unchastity is appalling, both in itself and in its consequences, both in its frequency and in its magnitude. Perhaps it has always been so; but it is well that each generation should feel the evil keenly and not be hardened to that evil because past generations have known it and felt it as keenly. But to remind you how appalling the evil is, I would ask for an honest answer to this question, "What is public opinion on the subject of *unchastity in men* among the upper, middle, and lower classes of society?" In order to

answer this question I will say a word on amusements, on books, on conversation. Take amusements. Every one knows that the attraction of some places of amusement in our large towns, deliberately recognised by many who frequent them, is the opportunity offered in the company they met there for the suggestions and the gratification of sinful lust. Or take the Drama. What are the most popular plays? Are they not often those which, by their allusions, hidden beneath a thin veil of spurious decency, gratify the initiated and stimulate the curiosity of those who else might be innocent? Which are the most popular novels? Are they not frequently those whose heroes are just loathsome sensualists, but dressed up so as to fascinate by their gay glitter those who would shrink from them if they met them in their drawing room? Yes, and are not the plots of many of these execrable tales so adroitly conceived that their very attraction often consists in vice so sensationally portrayed that deadly sins are made to look lovely, to which there is sometimes added that which is almost worse—a dash of sickly religious sentiment that pretends to weep over the very vices it has been gloating over, until in the *dénouement* the very climax of profaneness and hypocrisy is reached and all qualms about vice and licentiousness are safely disposed of for the sinner is at last converted into a saint?

Now, I ask, my Lord, whether in a society which loves these amusements, plays, and books there can be any horror of immorality. Must it not be, *as it is*, that, although we have not gone back to the open licentiousness of other days, and the flagrantly ribald conversation which then marked society, yet there are many men (and also, are there not sometimes women also?) who speak lightly of the unchastity of the loose and the profligate, if not of the adulterer and the seducer? Yes, the fact is, unchastity is not regarded by the world as a deadly sin: it is tolerated; it is called by gentle names; it is defended as common, as natural, as necessary; in society where the fraudulent and the notoriously intemperate would be excluded, men known to be unchaste are received, courted, feted; if they have rank or wealth, there are fathers, and even mothers, who will welcome them as husbands for their daughters, and alas! there are daughters who, although they know that these men are not what they ought to be, do not seem to think that this sin (from which one should have imagined they in their innocence would shrink the most) is any impediment to being united to them. This is the tone of society; this is the verdict of the world; this is public opinion, and yet—“*we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things.*”

Now this is one of the greatest hindrances to the work of the Church. It is so to an extent we hardly realise. Unchastity is a sin more or less secretly committed, and more or less secret in its blasting effects on the soul. It is in very truth, as we confess in our Litany, "a deadly sin." *How deadly*—many a man might tell us who has become a penitent. For consider this—a man may be honest, upright, kind, generous, loving; he may be interested in the work of the church, and may attend divine service regularly, *and yet he may be unchaste*. What must be the effect of this hypocrisy and profaneness but to drive the man into a deeper contempt,—to stiffen him into the utmost hardness of heart, and, in time, to quench every spark of Divine Life?

And now what are the remedies? Do not complain if the remedies I venture to suggest are not of that tangible material form, which to some persons seem the only practical remedies. You may cleanse cesspools, and carry off by effective drainage what else would poison men's bodies. That would be a practical remedy for escaping typhus or cholera, and an Act of Parliament could do *that*. But spiritual wickedness and corruption, which poison and will slay the very men themselves, these can only be cleansed by spiritual remedies, and, believe me, they are not less practical or less real, because they are spiritual.

Let me observe then, first, that we are all of us responsible not merely for sin, but, so far as we choose them for ourselves, for the occasions of sin, the steps that lead to sin, the incitements to sin. The man who looking over a precipice grows giddy, staggers, falls, and is dashed to pieces, may not perhaps be responsible for the final catastrophe, but he is responsible for wantonly venturing to the edge and deliberately gazing into the abyss. We must then utter our warnings against all occasions for and temptations to unchastity. We must tell men plainly where their responsibility begins. All provocations of lust must be conscientiously avoided—the very risings of lust must be curbed.

Now there are *indirect* means of attacking this evil because there are indirect means of lessening the temptations to it, and so long as these means be lawful and right they are of God and must be used for God, not as carnal but as spiritual weapons.

In a Christian State then we may be successful in promoting such legislation as may remove incentives to vice and lessen opportunities for its indulgence. Houses of ill-fame must still be illegal. Harlotry must never be licensed in this land: on the statute books of the Commonwealth, as on those of the Christianity on

which that Commonwealth rests, prostitution must ever be stigmatised as contrary to law. Temptresses must not be suffered to seduce men to their ruin in our public thoroughfares, and procuresses and seducers must be punished with the utmost rigour of a law, which is no respecter of persons.

Again, we must seek indirectly to attack this vice by plain speaking on the kindred evils which lead to it, and by occasionally showing how fatally intimate is the connexion. I will mention three.

1. *Idleness*. It is *physically* true that healthy exercise and manly amusements, by giving free scope and outlet to bodily energy, will prevent the pent-up passions from generating uncontrolled lust; and it is *morally* true that it is especially in respect of this sin we are considering that Dr. Watts's adage holds good,

"Satan finds some mischief still
For *idle* hands to do."

2. *Intemperance*. I do not only mean drunkenness and debauchery, but any excess in drink which in any degree inflames and fires a man's passions. If a man would be really chaste in thought as well as in deed, he must be always and everywhere temperate in meat and drink.

3. *Bad company*—either of books or of people. Of books—let us remember books are as companions that talk to us, and therefore let us promote the love of healthy, noble, refined literature,—encourage the study of art and science, of music and drawing,—establish penny readings from really excellent books, and found Parish Libraries. In other words, let us drive out the love of bad and trashy and sensational books by imparting a taste to which these will be simply disgusting. And so with bad company. Tell a young man plainly that he should make a solemn vow to himself never to speak to a harlot,—never to call this sin or those that commit it by any name which implies that it is matter for jest or for palliation,—never to tolerate filthy conversation, but to rebuke it or leave the room. Speak too of the sanctity of marriage, and say a word of warning lest that sanctity should be dishonoured by anything approaching to what is unchaste at a time which of all others should be pure and blessed.

I have spoken of indirect means, but by themselves they will fail. This hydra-headed monster must be directly assailed. How? There is but one way. It is not by urging considerations of respectability or by improving the tone of public opinion. These will but drive men to sin prudently and secretly. Nor is it by preaching grand notions about humanity and its destiny. This will not keep a man

chaste when his passions goad him to indulgence, though it may make him repent before he sins again.

No. S. Paul will best tell us how to conquer the vice: "This I say then walk in the Spirit and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh." "They that are Christ's crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." It must indeed be hard, I had almost said impossible, for a man with naturally strong passions to be chaste in thought and in deed without "living in the Spirit and walking in the Spirit." Now it must be our solemn duty boldly and unwearingly to address to men S. Paul's two-fold argument. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God,"—and also "They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

1. We clergymen are, I think, to preach directly against the vice in terms which shall be intelligible to sinners and yet shall not offend the innocent. We must always connect *immediately* morality and religion. We must take care never so to magnify the guilt of *original* sin as to lessen the guilt of *actual* sin and thus weaken the responsibility laid upon the individual conscience. We must never tolerate any system, however plausible, which tends either to that specious religionism, which, distorting Christian faith, disparages Christian morality, or to that emotional, that sensational, religionism, which, falsely estimating both the spiritual and the moral, cultivates the spiritual at the expense of the moral.

2. We must address ourselves to individuals to warn them. Suffer me to suggest to fathers to speak to their sons, as they grow older, words of grave and kindly warning. Let not your children go to public schools or to college or out into the world without that spiritual advice and prayerful entreaty by which a wise father may save his boy from this sin which when once committed will forfeit all the purity of innocence and ever after stain the memory and imagination. Suffer me also to suggest to my brethren of the clergy to take a class in their day and Sunday schools of older boys and speak to them frankly and seriously of this sin, and of the bad companionship, loose rioting and lewd jesting which may lead to it. Above all, the time for enforcing this warning is in those private interviews which are among the highest privileges of the blessed season which precedes Confirmation. Then we should speak kindly and solemnly without any flinching of unchastity and its kindred vices—should make this sin a subject of our private prayer with each candidate—should urge him to add that simple Litany petition to his devotions—"From fornication and all other deadly sin, and from all deceits of the world, the flesh and the devil, Good Lord deliver us."

Lastly, we ought to do something to raise up those that have fallen. When we have an opportunity of talking seriously to young men, above all when we visit them in sickness, we should never omit an opportunity to call their attention to this sin and even to invite their confidence. Often the sick man will be awakened and may repent, and thus a sinner will be reclaimed. Who can tell whether there may not be some in our congregations whom the memory of this sin against their own bodies, although long repented of, yet still deters from the communion of Christ's Body and Blood? O might we not from time to time in our sermons speak some word of earnest invitation and fervent entreaty to bring back these timid and sorrowing ones to those sacred feet where the penitent wept hot tears of anguish, and, being assured of pardon, offered her oblation of love!

I will but add one word to this sadly imperfect and sketchy paper. If we are really seeking to know the mind which was in Christ Jesus and to reveal it to others, we shall bear witness of His mind, not only by our own lives, our own example, our own conversation, though most persistently and pre-eminently by these, but by a relentless unwavering purpose to miss no opportunity to warn, to strengthen, to reclaim, "The mind of Christ Jesus!" Think of the intense unsullied purity of Him whose healing touch cleansed the foulest, whose holiness won the most depraved, whose compassion melted the hardest. Think of the mind which knew, as none else can ever know, what must be the condition of communion with God both here and hereafter, and whose word of promise may therefore become alike our warning and our hope, "BLESSED ARE THE PURE IN HEART FOR THEY SHALL SEE GOD."

NO-WORSHIP, HERO-WORSHIP,

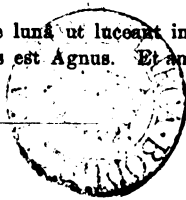
AND

CHRISTIANITY.

BY

R. BRAITHWAITE, B.A.

“ Et civitas non eget sole, neque luna, ut luceant in ea. Nam claritas
Dei illuminavit eam, et lucerna ejus est Agnus. Et ambulabunt gentes in
luminibus. —Apoc. xxi., 23, 24.



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NO-WORSHIP, HERO-WORSHIP,
AND
CHRISTIANITY.

"ALL religion," says Carlyle, "issues in due practical hero-worship," and Professor Goldwin Smith pronounced the "History of the French Revolution" to be the best of Carlyle's works, because in it he had no hero.

Advanced intellectual Liberalism is contemptuous of hero-worship, even as materialism and mammon-worship are its foes—yet the heart of man, and all former ages give testimony to its worth. Where the cries of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," have not deafened men's ears to all voices from the true heart of man, or that other battle-cry, "The greatest amount of individual freedom, the *summum bonum*," there that unlimited reverence and homage, we call worship, for a greater than ourselves, or the greatest we can find, will, under some disguise or other, betray itself.

Our advanced Liberals may condemn it as fit for a state of semi-barbarism, our Comtist friends may assign it to some theological transition period, both may triumph over its extinction, but most that is good in man will be still found to be allied to it. Nay, even

bad things are often corruptions of what springs from the best soil of the human heart. Horrors of tyranny, theories of "Divine Right of Kings," absurdities of Toryism, arose from a true and genuine instinct of man's nature, nay, from one of the noblest, for most evil is but a perversion of good, through his aid who "out of good still finds means of evil." Even old Hesiod found out that the greatest is he who stands in the forefront of men, who has wisdom to lead, to guide them; that the second wisest, second greatest, is he who knows the hero when he sees him,—that all else are wholly worthless. As Carlyle would say, it needs something of a hero to recognize the hero. And, in truth, what is Homer's religion, purified from the element of myth in which it is necessarily clothed, but worship of the great, the noble, as personified in some hero-god or divine-man—a "Jupiter, best and greatest," or an "Agamemnon king of men"?

But alas! for the triumphs of civilization! Man is too great now to worship heroes, nay, for the most part, to worship at all, save the golden calves. At Dan and Bethel are our temples, not at Jerusalem. The shrine of liberty is not deserted, but profaned only, as was once the material altar at Notre Dame.

Liberty we worship, but what? The liberty to make money and be respectable; to boast that in England we can write and print what we choose, call monster-meetings, and say what we choose—and for

heroes! Even Mr. Odger must scarcely be a hero! As in the old story, it is invidious to take the chair at the meeting for equal rights. Mr. Gladstone is too heroic for Oxford; Mr. Mill for Westminster. For not only is mammon our god, and respectability our high priest, but even our very thinking must be done according to rule. If one speaks, we ask not if he have an eye for the deep inner facts of nature and of life, whether he is sincere, and can see more than we can for us, as in the old days among the Hebrews people enquired for the "seer," whether indeed his soul be heroic, but if his speech be in accord with established opinions, long fixed tradition, what party he serves, to what set of opinions he has pledged himself. Whatever good we do, it must be by machinery. No longer "blessed is he who considereth the poor and needy," but he is blessed who subscribes to societies, and gives his name to benevolent associations. Our very dialect is insincere and forced. It must savour of our party, be regulated by *it*.

But "the oracles" are not yet "dumb." We are not without men to point out these things. We have been warned to let our intelligence play freely upon each object as it arises, to get ourselves out of the rut of hearsays and party-views, and endeavour to see things as in themselves they really are. Most wise counsel truly—not unneeded at present, but somewhat unsatisfactory after all, as most of us feel. All honour

to Mr. Carlyle! Due honour to Mr. Arnold! Perhaps the English have few wiser teachers, so far as they go. Why do the most read them with a sardonic smile, and pass on? Is it because they *are* wise, or because a sort of stolid English sense perceives them to be unpractical?

But to look at this of hero-worship a little more closely. Let us gauge it to the bottom. Man scorns to be weak. All intelligent beings dread it. From the arch-enemy downwards this feeling is universal.

“To be weak is miserable, doing or suffering.”

Yet has man in most ages recognized the fact. This nobleness has been generally given to man to admit that he is weak, ignorant, and to seek for some hero or god greater, wiser than himself, to guide him. Yes, in a true and genuine instinct, in no unworthy feeling, even in man's consciousness of his own weakness and ignorance, is the foundation of hero-worship. Not by strength of arm only do Agamemnon and Ulysses rule the warlike Achæans; not from coward fear alone do these chiefs themselves supplicate Minerva, or have recourse to the priest of Apollo. All controversy apart, human nature is dignified in the inspired Hebrew psalmist, when he nobly breathed, “Lead me to the rock that is higher than I.” Only in this nineteenth century is man too great to acknowledge his weakness. With his vote for Parliament and his *Daily Telegraph*, each man is great enough for

himself. He needs no hero to guide him, no Government to govern him, only a man to express his wishes, and a House of Parliament or public meeting for him to express them in. Time was when the trees called on the bramble to rule over them, nay, when men said, "We have no king but Cæsar." Now each tree can govern itself. No Cæsar is now needed, not even a Cæsar Napoleon. Perhaps even an Emperor of a United Germany and a Herr von Bismarck may soon quake in their shoes. Yes, of all symptoms of the present day, as we said, this contempt of hero-worship is perhaps the saddest.

But across the channel has arisen a new voice, not without its echoes here, for Mr. Congreve and Mr. Harrison graduated at a once Catholic University, from a College built, as some say, for the Catholic Reaction. A philosophy theirs to supersede all so-named philosophies; an universal science rising superior to theology, and smiling contemptuously at metaphysics. To the Catholic religion the light of the Middle Ages exclusively, as this philosophy would count it, M. Comte gives all praise. With beneficent patronage he claims for it a position sole, and unapproached by any order of thought yet known among men. As a moral, religious, social, political phenomenon, there is not its equal, nay nothing to approach it is yet known to men,—only in the future dimly can we foresee such. This grand discovery, however, of the Christian or Catholic

religion is to these philosophers based upon a chimera, an impossibility, for it rests upon a professed revelation. With all its virtues, with all it has done for man, it must away. Positive science and revelation may compliment each other—to coalesce is impossible. The new philosophy can teach—those who will listen to it, but for worship! Ah! friend Auguste, to thee as to ourselves the necessities of man's nature, however they came there, call for worship. Yes, poor human soul, thou shalt worship—but what? Behold! not a golden calf but humanity is thy god. But M. Comte too has recognized this fact, too much forgotten indeed in these days of free-thinking and Broad-churchism, that man cannot worship an abstraction. M. Comte, too, must have his heroes—for the vulgar at least—men in whom the soul of humanity in some form or other has expressed itself. For him, indeed, the light of heaven has gone out: “neither sun, moon, nor stars in many days appeared”—only farthing rush-lights to penetrate the more than Stygian darkness. Egyptian darkness! The Egyptians mourned over their darkness—cried for light; but our French philosopher glories in it, renders thanks that the heavens can afford him light no longer. Not even the old Greek prayer is his, “*ἐν δὲ Φάει καὶ ὀλέσσειν.*” The great Goëthe died asking, “More light; more light.” The French philosopher boasts to have eclipsed it all. On the last flicker he proudly places his extin-

guisher, surmounted by a standard, a triumphant Eureka!

Positivism then, too, has found that hero-worship or demon-worship is possible, nay, in some form or other is necessary to man; even Comte himself shall witness for us, in his own way, to these two things—man's instinct for hero-worship, and his need of a revelation. But of Goëthe. His death-cry was the cry of his whole life. To his eyes ever the greatness of man consisted, not in ignoring light from heaven, quite otherwise—in believing that thence light for ever shines for man, through whatever media. For him Nature is the garment through which, as his English representative puts it, "the glory of a present God still beams." If Malebranche saw all things in God, Goëthe saw God in all things. "But," adds Carlyle, "most in every living soul." To this great thinker and observer, Mr. Carlyle, let us return for a few moments. For him the light of heaven shines in and through great men, heroes; the light of each star is fitful, comes in transient gleams. There is nothing certain. Our very star may guide us wrong; but find your star, only take heed it be a star, not an *ignis fatuus*, and follow its guidance. It will lead you not exactly to the threshold of a god, but at least thitherward, and if you fall into a ditch on the way, be not disconcerted. If you had had no star, you might have walked on a smooth path, clear of pitfalls, but you

would have walked the wrong way. And truly there is something in this. Man had better follow one greater, wiser than himself,—and all men are fallible—than follow his own nose. Hero-worship, in any circumstances, is not a thing to be despised; he who trusteth in himself is a fool. Most men in their inmost soul respond to this. It is a maxim worth sticking to, that man is ignorant and fallible, and cannot lean on himself. If he cannot find a saviour, he is ennobled if he follow one only somewhat less weak and ignorant than himself, if he be only brave, a real hero.

“ And grant a leader bold and brave,
If not a Conqueror born to save.”

If his spiritual astronomy be not yet discovered or discoverable, or if it be clouded for him, if the drapery of night have hidden it, still some constellation may yet exist for him. Let him follow its guidance; only when all faith is gone, when the sun has fallen from heaven, and the moon and stars give no light, when man believes in nothing to guide him but his own farthing rushlight, is he utterly hopeless.

But of all things which we are slowest to believe in this day, which to Mr. Carlyle and this school of thinkers seems incredible is this, that something real, unchangeable, and certain exists for man; that something divinely true has been given to him. So far as this, indeed, we may heartily agree with those

teachers, that whatever light your constellations ever gave was derived from the light inaccessible, and was therefore fit to be followed by all. But no clearer light than this will they admit to have been given to man. No solar system has been discovered for him. They say that truth and guidance for us is limited to the reflection of each star, and each star like each dog has only its little day, and when its light has gone out, we must up with our rushlights to examine it, to take the measure of it. But alas! what is the result of all the light which these uncertain stars have yielded? To what knowledge of the unseen has it guided us? Alas, vague is it at the best, and for synonyms!—Reader, take a specimen: “Destiny,” says Mr. Carlyle, “for so in our ignorance we must speak.” “God,” says Mr. Arnold,—“the universal order!”

But what answer can be made to these writers by this Catholic Christian religion, which the new philosophy finds superior, morally, socially, and politically to anything which has yet existed. Of this, one thing Mr. Carlyle admits with frankness, the divine idea of Christianity is new! Not, he assures us, is its light better than the light of Zeno or Plato, Aristotle or Seneca, of Fetichism, Buddhism, or other isms, but it is *new*. “The worship of Sorrow,” he calls it, and in this worship of sorrow, of humility, of self-sacrifice, he discovers—truly, as most men think—a light from heaven;

and this has given us a *cultus*, a religion, not indeed without heroes, as we gather from such expressions as the following, "our highest Orpheus," "a greater than Zeno," and the like. But to these writers all divine ideas come to us embodied in some mythus, in some human ritual, creed, formularies and mechanism, which are transitory, ever changing. It being postulated that all mechanism and systems, all that is concrete, is but transitory, changing from era to era, fit for one time, unfit for another, such mechanism, however, creeds and rituals, as clothe the Divine light, are admitted by them to be good in their time. Not *life-holding* only, but *life-giving* are they for a while, needful, but in their nature human, not divine; of time, not of eternity. Soon the spirit passes out of them, and they become corrupt. Woe to him who shall cling to the form when the substance is gone, or worse, who shall mistake the form for the substance. In parenthesis let us express our agreement with this in the general. All history teaches this lesson. Not in Judaism or Paganism alone do we read it. Cavaliers of Charles the First's time—the *Ancien Régime*, Church of Englandism of the Eighteenth century, are enough for us. Not altogether is this of some wisest to be despised—that Toryism and the "Divine Rights of Kings" were the husks of an eternal truth, and expressed, in their earliest beginnings, government by the best, the highest, the most worthy: Not despicable

at any time—the sequel some tell us of Democracy, Democracy in its complete development. Joy be with this and other unsolved problems! To our eyes, without a magic glass, it is not easy to discern through the clouds of Democracy any true hero-worship, any Divine government by the best. Let them discover it across the Atlantic, and teach us the lesson.

But to continue—all this being admitted—if there can be found anywhere some system, some mechanism, with its ritual and dogmas unchanged, which the life-giving power has not yet deserted, encircling, manifesting, supporting some divine reality, imparting some ray of light, all will recognize as Divine—adhering to, and co-existing unchangeably with, the Divine element, adhering, to use our logical phraseology, as a “*Proprium*,” at least not as an *Accidens separabile* or otherwise of that they recognize as Divine; then has man surely, if he will look with open eyes, discovered the answer to his enquiry, found a phenomenon that stands alone, above the destroying sword of a *Positive Philosophy*, out of the calculations of Mr. Carlyle; something to arouse even Materialism itself, if its sleep be not altogether the sleep of death.

That such a phenomenon as Catholic Christianity exists at this day, and nowise in a state of decay—in a state quite otherwise—a phenomenon embodying an especial spirit of its own, recognized as unknown before in the world, a spirit acknowledged by Mr. Carlyle

himself as Divine, as that which has produced all good existing among men for nineteen centuries, manifesting a polity, a liturgy, a creed, a system admitted by the opposite school of thought to be the best for man, and the most perfect which has yet been realized—exists unchanged, unmodified by all the corruptions in the world, by all perversions, imitations, secessions, displaying its vitality still in the same forms and dogmas, nay, its life-giving power in this age, as in previous ages, is something to make social philosophers pause and think.

Imagine not, reader, that this line of thought is futile at this day. Of arguments for the Catholic Religion from history, from Biblical study, we have had indeed many. Controversies upon detailed portions with many-headed English and German Protestantism—of these we are well-nigh tired, necessary as they are. But not for those who think the most, and see the deepest, of educated cultivated men, have these now much force, nay, for the most part of mankind something broader, at the same time deeper, is needed. Puzzled, wearied, and unsatisfied with these latter, man, whose inmost soul, as we said, yearns for heavenly light and guidance, who has heretofore asked for some hero to lead him, or some guiding system, the product originally of some hero's mind, *now*, proud in his increase of knowledge of material nature, and his triumphs over it, partially or wholly declines to believe

the old solar systems, or to recognize the old heroes, and betakes himself to trim his puny lamps, to dissect his heroes' brains by their light; and to estimate the value of the ancient mechanisms.

Still, however, the wisest and most hopeful cry for some form, for some mechanism or system—rightly discerning that man needs such, if ever so much to be changed from era to era.

Oh! strange perversity of the human mind! To believe in something higher as necessary for man than sensuality and mammon-worship, nay, to believe that this higher exists for man, that, in a word, religion is needful for him; nay, more, to recognize that man, as he finds himself here—and as such, surely, will the higher powers deal with him—cannot come into contact with the invisible Spiritual truth without a mechanism, without doctrines, rituals, formularies. Yes, my Quaker friends, all broadbrims and phraseologies apart, what are your *Barclay's Apologies*, your excellent biographies, but in a true sense formularies by which you rule yourselves for better or worse?—to recognize all this, and yet to deny that the Divine Being can, nay, most likely *has*, superseded all humanly contrived formularies and mechanisms, and given to us some that are Divine—in actual contact with the Eternal Truth itself, and therefore for ever unchangeable, infallible. If this be so, reader, no longer fitful shall our light be, uncertain, tending to idolatry, as

in all hero-worship however good, yet cultivated by man ; but certain, all-luminous, all-healthy shall our light be. Strange it is that this distinguishing feature of the Catholic Religion should have been so little understood ; that in it what even Carlyle recognizes as the most purely Divine Spirit beams forth, not through passing, changing media, through doctrines and an organism, varying from age to age, as all organisms must needs vary if they be less than Divine ; but is for ever inseparable from these doctrines, this organism, which themselves cease not in our age, more than in any other, to be *life-giving, life-sustaining*, whereby they evidence themselves, by absolute contrast to all others, to be themselves Divine.

Enough have we heard in this generation of the *subjectivity* of all truth, as some express it ; that truth is to be recognized by each only through such disturbed media as man in each age can manufacture for himself, whereby to body forth the things unseen. For ourselves we assert boldly, that if there were no objective realities knowable by man, man would in no wise be ever seeking the objective ; and be compelled to invent for himself objectivities to render the light from heaven tolerable to his eyes. If hero-worship be indispensable for him, and idolatry everywhere prohibited, the Divine Being has given to us the answer to our questions, the satisfaction of our cravings. If God is not mocked, we say it reverently, neither has

He mocked His creatures. If Catholicism in its dogma, worship and organism be less than Divine and infallible, those doctrines, that worship, that organization, would have become outworn, a lifeless form, would have passed into a sphere totally unvital, no longer life-giving, life-sustaining, no longer capable of creating and preserving that worship of sorrow, that practical heroism and self-sacrifice which it has never lost. Here, therefore, let us ask, have we not found coming to us in a very flood of light the solution of all our difficulties, the answer to all our enquiries. A religion embodying what all noblest souls recognize as the most Divine Spirit in a creed, in formularies, in a mechanism, proved by its immutable vitality and life-giving power, in contrast to all human systems, to be true and Divine.

To many indeed at this day the question, is Catholicism true or false, remains to be determined wholly by that other question, asked so long ago, "What think ye of Christ?" To such, suffer us, readers, one word in all solemnity. Does this of hero-worship shed no light for us here? One statement we will venture to clear the ground for such, and to this statement no thinking man, not even Herr Strauss and M. Renan will demur. The objective Christ, of whom alone we speak, coming before us in the four Christian gospels, is either God, or a being half mythical, half historical. Now, serious reader, to whom this question

is wholly one of life-and-death interest; such as this latter have all heroes been who have been revered and worshipped among men—the personification of some divine idea, some eternal truth—the personification of this to men, and nothing else, and for themselves—half mythical, half historical. It is a solemn question, but a needful one, for Mr. Carlyle himself, nay, for all our free-thinking Christians, Broad Church, or otherwise, is Christ any other than this? With Carlyle, the founder of Christianity, is the personification of the “Worship of Sorrow.” Yes, this indeed, Reader, and other heroes have men worshipped, half mythic, half historic, as personifying some noble or divine idea. But what is the history of all these? Was ever one such, whatever reverence he inspired, whatever belief in his principles he created, nay whatever influence his spirit possessed over his fellow-men, who has created and maintained through ages a deep practical, moral, or religious life in thousands, founded in nothing else than a love and adoration of his person, more intense than life, stronger than death? Well has this challenge been made by an eloquent tongue in this century of ours. Nay, Reader, the challenge remains unaccepted; the personal love and adoration to the founder of Christianity, and this alone, has created heroic lives and produced heroic deaths, ever since the cross was lifted on Mount Calvary. Let all to whom Jesus Christ is a half mythical, half historical personi-

fication of a worship of sorrow, or any other worship, and this alone, pause and consider this fact. If Christ be less than a God-man in all the dogmatic fulness of the word, the worship of him as nineteen centuries have witnessed it, is the greatest of miracles,—a miracle of sheer impossibility. Reader, is this not enough for thee. To him who ponders it it is unanswerable, and all-sufficient. To him all Paley's *Evidences* or Addison's, or better than these, are unneeded.

Truly, if it be so, that Catholic Christianity is not only *τι θεῖον*, but truth itself, not a human embodiment of a divine spirit, not a mere telescope for seeing the sun through, but the very orb of light and truth itself, its dogmas simply revealed facts, its creeds the expression of those facts, its organization indeed alone transitory, but this, too, after the pattern in the mount, and only to pass away with heaven and earth; and if all desires and aspirations of the human soul must find therein a response, what shall we say of hero-worship? Hero-worship is here, but without its attendant evils. Once more let us consider this of Carlyle, "All religion issues in due practical hero-worship." But ever as we said has hero-worship, how needful soever, been found wanting from causes chiefly these two. There is no perfect hero, and we worship imperfections too often with perfections, and how shall such worship escape idolatry? Paganism said with a thousand tongues,

"This or that deified man shall be our hero." God said, "Not a deified man, but God Himself; God shall *become* man." How shall the hitherto insoluble riddle be answered? Man asked, "My brother I have seen, God I have not seen." Worship is for the highest, and love ought to co-exist with it, but love is founded in the very weakness of my brother-man. I love him, because he is suffering, in trouble and sorrow like myself; I must adore the Highest, because He is exempt from these? For ever henceforth are these two the corner-stones of religion; on these two rocks is Christianity founded.

"The Word was made flesh." "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all things to myself."

Henceforth idolatry is impossible. Man shall descend in love to the lowest at the same time that he adores the Highest alone. His *Sanctus* shall ever stand between a *Gloria in Excelsis* and an *Agnus Dei*. And to return to our former figure, not yet exhausted of its meaning. Not the broken light of individual stars, without assignable place in the spiritual heavens, have we here, but a whole solar system, perfect in its arrangement, luminously real and certain. Not fragmentary mingled truths, but revelation in perfect harmony and completeness, and in Divine proportion. All that man's soul needs supplied—not by fictitious objectivities to embody a divine reality somewhere,

unapproachable by man, but through a divinely given mechanism and vesture does man discern facts, objective realities in themselves divinely true. Not hero-worship, in any sense, shall go unsatisfied. The "Man of Sorrows" is Himself "the truth," and the truth is Himself, "the Life." "In the Light" Himself, man "shall see light;" in "the Truth," Himself a God-man, man "shall know the truth," and thus be free. Spiritual heroes he shall have in abundance. Men and women become saints, in and by the Incarnation, shall claim his love and homage, and in worshipping them his soul shall infallibly soar upwards to the God Incarnate, without whom they are nothing. The most perfect ideal of womanhood shall not be wanting. This, too, "God will provide." No goddess or personification of womanhood, divinely gifted, shall man any longer invent; the God-man who is alone loved, alone adored, shall take a mother, and her out of the fulness of his love and grace he will make sinless and immaculate.

Let us glance now at this other great problem which Catholicism has solved for us. That which is for ever detestable, for ever inadmissible for us, is idolatry, and yet is this fact, too, to be admitted, that man is destined in this life to look up to his brother-man, and through human instrumentality to be guided and instructed. How shall this be, and yet the human voice be not mistaken for the divine, and so man in his weak-

ness and fallibility be worshipped by us? Not from man, but through his agency, is the God-revealed truth to come to us. One teacher only does the Catholic religion believe in, and He is a *Divine person*. God the Holy Ghost has delivered, "once for all," a revelation of supernatural truth sufficient for all our needs here below, but if this, once given, were left to man, or to any human system, to hand down to us, through the shortsightedness and imperfections of human agency that truth must soon lose its harmony and proportion, become dislocated and human. Even the light from heaven would burn as a lurid flame of earth, and the night of idolatry again set in upon us. But the same divine person, says Catholicism, who gave, perpetually preserves that truth, and speaks now, as once at Pentecost, in and through the "mystical body," the Church. Within that body, truth, light, and life must be perpetually preserved unsoiled, and for ever radiating from the centre to the circumference. Not man, but the Holy Ghost, still teaches, and when a spoken voice is needed through human lips to define, to declare truth, and stigmatize error, that voice with no uncertain sound, unconfused, unmixed with any human imperfections, is heard, through Councils and pontiffs, because not the combined wisdom of assembled bishops, or the personal insight of a supreme pontiff, guides that voice, but even the same Divine teacher, of whom these, in every age, are but the mouth-piece

and the organ. An *ecclesia docens*, a *vox Petri ex cathedrâ*, declare the unchanging truth, yet by no man or assemblage of men, or majority of bishops, are we really taught, but by Him alone who, in this supreme function, preserves their voice from error. Thus are these two words divinely true, "Obey your prelates;" "He that heareth you heareth me;" and "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things, and have no need that any man teach you." By these two is the difficulty answered, the problem solved, and idolatry for the faithful rendered wholly impossible.

But take again this thought. It is no new remark that Catholicism arrests attention by its world-wide adaptability to all needs of human nature, in every country and in every age, and that further this adaptability it possesses in contrast to all other religions, philosophies, or solutions of the problems of human life, in contrast to all fragmentary or perverted forms of Christianity itself. But though not new, it is worth attention here in connection with our enquiry. Is there then a need of the soul or intellect of man which Catholicism does not satisfy? Does he feel the necessity of dogma, of objective truth, once revealed, and handed on from age to age with no hesitating or uncertain sound. Jesus Christ Himself, "the Truth," sent the spirit of Truth to abide with His Church for ever, and on Peter, ever living on and speaking in his successors, the Church is built.

Does he yearn for a "worship of sorrow?" feel that

in trouble, humiliation, contempt, and suffering he needs his God most of all, and that in spite of all worship of success and respectability, and the mammon-god around him, he, too, can be blessed only in a *via crucis* of patient resignation and noble self-sacrifice?—the object of his *latria*, of his highest, deepest adoration, and, at the same time, of his tenderest love, is a “man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief”—a God crucified. Does he feel his need of formularies, of a Ritual, of Sacraments, as the great aids to a worship emphatically “in spirit and in truth.” These he has appointed and given by his God Himself, a mechanism not human, but divine—for Sacraments are not outward forms only to engrave hidden truths upon his soul, but themselves, the God-given channels of supernatural grace.

Does his inner consciousness, not yet hardened and stupefied by materialistic philosophies, tell him something of personal defilement and moral stain, of a distance from the source of life and spirit of holiness? The Faith can point him to a real “sacrifice for sin,” to cleansing life-giving Sacraments, uniting him through God with Himself. Does he need a religion personal *solus cum solo* between his soul and the source of good itself? Not every Sacrament only, but every sacred meditation penned by Catholic seers and saints, teach and confirm in him the lesson. Does he look forth in his loneliness for a “communion of saints,” a

home where he has a place among the sons of God? Go where he will, the unity of the Church enfolds him, encircles him with its magic charm, surrounds him with its solemn mysterious power. Friendless, with the faithful on earth and saints above he can hold converse; motherless, his God has given him a mother next the eternal throne. And whatsoever in other forms of religion or worship man feels to be true and divine, in Catholicism he has in its fulness, unadulterated by human error? Even Quakerism, in whatever it has really gained from a true source, can find here its perfection. That still silent worship, so heavenly in its influence, in which all good and holy thoughts, under a higher guidance, can rise in prayers and aspirations to the throne of God—where shall man find this in very truth but in that awful hush and soul-thrilling silence, when the faithful kneel, each in the stillness of his own heart offering, each according to his measure the incense of prayer and contrition, or the sacrifice of adoration and thanksgiving at the lifting up of the one alone worthy oblation which unites earth and heaven, man with his God?

Reader, take this last word in conclusion from Carlyle:—“ ‘The day will come,’ said Lichtenberg, in bitter irony, ‘when the belief in God will be like that in nursery-spectres,’ or, as Jean Paul has it, ‘of the world will be made a world-machine,’ of the ether, a gas, God a force, and of the second world, a

coffin.' We rather think such a day will *not* come. At all events while the battle is still waging, and that coffin-and-gas philosophy has not yet secured itself with tithes and penal statutes, let there be free scope for *mysticism*, or whatever else honestly opposes it. A fair field and no favour, and the right *will* prosper. 'Our present time,' says Jean Paul elsewhere, 'is indeed a criticizing and critical time, hovering betwixt the wish and the inability to believe, a chaos of conflicting times; but even a chaotic-world must have its centre, and revolution round that centre: there *is* no pure entire confusion, but all such presuppose its opposite before it can begin.' "

Yes, my friends, this after all is the battle. Materialism and sensuality, darkness and independence, under whatsoever imposing names, taught in never such philosophical phrases, how flattering soever to the pride of man, are the real enemies of truth. To man, as yet doubting and enquiring, whatever thoughts or speculations regard the invisible, acknowledge that there is light in heaven for man, that man, though incapable of discovering eternal truth by his unassisted reason, is yet God-created and so endowed that a revelation is possible for him, is indeed to be tolerated, even as once was the science of astrology to wise kings in the East.

Even mysticism and transcendentalism in any form will not make him shut his eyes, and close his heart

and glory in intellectual and spiritual darkness, or practical mammon or self-worship. To these last alone and that self-reliance which would make each man his own god—a god, without divinity, even hero-worship is impossible. Only let all in any such state of doubt as permits candid and rational enquiry, which permits even a reverent mysticism, founded in humble belief in and prayer for light, ask calmly, fairly, and rationally, not without due investigation, if all their questions are not answered, all their problems solved, all the needs of poor human nature met and satisfied in the Catholic Church, that temple “whose builder and maker is God,” whose High Priest is God Incarnate, whose indwelling teacher and guide is God the Holy Ghost, whose voice is the voice of Peter speaking still in his successor, alone certain in a world of uncertainty, alone unchanged through centuries of vicissitude.

THE FINGER OF GOD IN THE DISRUPTION

Being the Address

DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, MAY 1872.

By CHARLES J. BROWN, D.D.

MODERATOR.



EDINBURGH
EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS
1872.

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THE FINGER OF GOD IN THE DISRUPTION.

FATHERS AND BRETHREN,

YOUR time is much too precious to allow of my saying anything more about myself than simply that I thank you with all my heart for the honour of my election to this Chair; that, for the responsible duties of it, I desire to cast myself humbly on the grace of our Lord Jesus; and that I throw myself also confidently on your indulgence for whatever infirmities and imperfections may mark my discharge of them.

Let me pass at once to the single theme on which I would fain speak a little to you. A few years after the memorable events of 1843, I conceived the idea of writing a small volume under some such title as "The Providence of God about the Disruption," or "The Providential History of the Disruption;" that is to say, the history of it not considered in general—this had been written nobly by a distinguished minister whom we rejoice to see among us to-day in undiminished vigour—but the history of it considered simply in its more providential aspects, or the tokens of a Divine finger and hand which were visible, as in the Disruption itself, so in the whole train of extraordinary

circumstances which issued in it. It had fallen to me to exercise my ministry in Edinburgh from the early part of 1837, and to have been conversant intimately both with the whole affairs and with the men who took the chief share in them. And thus I possessed, or thought I possessed, some materials and some advantages for handling the high theme. But various things conspired to hinder my carrying the purpose out; and as I am very unlikely to execute it now, it has occurred to me that I might usefully, and to you not unacceptably, take the present occasion to mark a very rapid outline of what might have been the chief matters in such a volume. I think they would have ranged themselves under these heads:—Men divinely raised up and fitted for the crisis; Events wonderfully ordered and concatenated with reference to it; A Divine preparing for it of the hearts of the Scottish people; Extraordinary mistakes of statesmen precipitating it; and the Disruption itself, with its immediate results and issues.

I. With respect to *the men*, first of all, *who were raised up and fitted for the crisis*, I will not here attempt even to enumerate their names. But I may be allowed to single out two men, who will at once bring up, by a certain remarkable contrast, a third, the greatest undoubtedly of the three. Of the two, one has, alas, fallen asleep. The other, after all his vast labours, remains among us, though his strength has been so much “weakened in the way,” that, for the first time since the Disruption, he is disabled from being in the General Assembly. Now, I will not waste

time by talking of the mere talents of Principals Cunningham and Candlish—their rare powers of eloquence, and of informing and swaying the minds of men in public debate. But, assuming all that, I have long marvelled at the perfect harmony of thought and feeling and action which, during those arduous years, marked the whole intercourse and proceedings of two men very different indeed from each other in natural temperament, and which sprung largely, I am persuaded, out of the grace of a rare unselfishness, which all along and equally characterized them both. Oh how I used to admire the utter absence in those men of everything approaching to petty rivalry,—how the interests of a great common cause alone moved and led them,—how, for example, when friends judged one to be fitter on the whole than the other to take the lead in some critical debate, the latter at once, and far more than willingly, yielded the foremost place, while the former never shrunk back through any false modesty from occupying the more arduous and responsible position!

But there was another thing which marked these two men, and which at once brings up, by what I have called a certain remarkable contrast, the name of the illustrious third—of course I mean Dr. Chalmers. Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish held views on not a few matters of ecclesiastical policy which were considered by Dr. Chalmers, and by many others in the Church (certainly not by me), somewhat extreme and rigid. Thus, they held the whole system of Church Patronage to be unscriptural—not only inexpedient, but contrary to the word of God. Dr. Chalmers did

not sympathize with this opinion; and he even regarded with no small jealousy a band of men, including the late Mr. Murray Dunlop, whom, in the familiarity of private conversation, he used to style the jurists. In fact, Dr. Chalmers's opinions on most ecclesiastical matters were formed largely from a regard to what he was accustomed to call a high Christian expediency—not the low, tortuous policy which has so often marred affairs both civil and ecclesiastical, but a certain large Christian policy, which somehow conducted him, as by a kind of instinct, to the same conclusions substantially which others of us reached by a different route, regarding them as taught by express voices of Scripture. It was thus, for instance, that Dr. Chalmers strongly held, with respect to the communicants of our very humblest congregations, that they are perfectly competent to form a judgment, and inalienably entitled to exercise it,—to utter a potential voice, respecting the kind of ministry that is fitted to profit them, so that no pastor might lawfully be intruded on a congregation against its deliberate mind and will. And even as to the other great principle of the Church's spiritual freedom, independence within its whole purely spiritual province of the dictation of the civil power, I think it was very much in the same manner, and less from a regard to those texts of Scripture which were relied on by Dr. Cunningham, and let me humbly add by myself, that Dr. Chalmers held most tenaciously that the Church of Christ, whether established by the State or not, has an inalienable right to administer all its internal and spiritual affairs, uncontrolled by the autocratic power

of the State and its tribunals. Thus there was certainly a great deal of very important common ground between Dr. Chalmers and the jurists. And yet there was so much difference, also of opinion between the latter and not only Dr. Chalmers, but Dr. Gordon also, Dr. Patrick M'Farlan, and many other distinguished ministers of the Church, that it must have proved a thing all but impossible for them to occupy the same position when the crisis came, had it not been for the influence, now secondly, of certain *events, wonderfully ordered and concatenated events*, which came gradually to reduce the points of difference to a comparative insignificance in presence of the grand points of cordial and profoundly conscientious agreement.

II. Here a wide field might open. But I will content myself with touching it very rapidly at a few points. After the Court of Session had pronounced its first judgment in the Auchterarder case in March 1838, and after the General Assembly following, when the evangelical majority, in the view of very serious impending dangers, nailed their colours, as it were, to the mast in the famous Independence Resolution, it was in May of the following year, 1839, that the House of Lords pronounced the first of its two judgments in the same case, affirming the judgment of the Court below, and, like it, not deciding *in express terms* more than this (enough to begin with!), that the veto law of the Church, regulating the title to exercise the holy ministry in a congregation, was contrary to the law of the State regulating the title to the benefice or living. But the speeches of the three Chancel-

lors, giving the grounds of their judgment, like those of the majority of the judges in the Court below, went a very great deal further, declaring nothing less than this—first, the illegality of the Church's whole principle of non-intrusion,—that not the veto law only, but every possible shape in which the Church might give effect to her ancient constitutional principle of not intruding pastors on reclaiming congregations, was contrary to law; and second, that our whole doctrine of a distinct spiritual jurisdiction was a dream—that the whole doctrine (for which our forefathers had over and over again laid down their lives) of a distinct jurisdiction possessed by the Church, quite as independent, within its own province, of the civil courts as they, in things civil, were independent of it, was a thing unknown to the constitution of the realm. I do not stay to speak of the alarm which immediately spread among us all in Scotland. I remember that I took for my text on the following Sabbath the words, "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself, as it were, for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast." But at once the Court of Session, apparently emboldened by the judgment and speeches of the Chancellors, and listening to applications made by parties at their bar, proceeded now to invade, openly and directly, again and again, the purely spiritual domain, supporting the invasion by interdicts, and fines, and threatened imprisonment, and actions of damages—which produced this important effect upon the evangelical majority, that, pressed by manifold vexation and hardship, and deeply also attached to

the national Establishment, they were willing to accept at the hands of the Legislature any the smallest change on what had now been finally declared to be the law of the State, which should, however barely, enable Presbyteries to protect the people against forced settlements, and should even probably preserve the Church's spiritual freedom inviolate. One method for this purpose became the subject of much negotiation at the time—the *liberum arbitrium*, as it was called, whereby, if it had been granted, Presbyteries would have simply possessed the right or power, if they chose to use it, of rejecting presentees on the ground of the opposition of the people. Let me say that this would have been a concession as small for the State to grant as it would have been in the last degree perilous for the Church to receive and accept. Had it been granted, I am greatly mistaken if in a few years the Moderate party would not again have become the majority, and ministers been everywhere intruded on reclaiming congregations. But, strange to say, the statesmen refused to grant even this *minimum* of concession—for “the cause was from the Lord” (to allude to a great Scripture word), who had purposed to bring about a very different state of things from any we had ever dreamed of. The statesmen, I say, refused to grant even this *minimum* of concession. Lord Aberdeen was understood by our leading men to have pledged himself in favour of it. Lord Aberdeen, who, though not yet in office, carried great weight with Parliament in Scotch ecclesiastical affairs, was fully understood, by Dr. Chalmers in particular, to have offered to bring in a bill granting this *liberum arbi-*

trium. But, lo, when his bill appeared on 5th May 1840, it proved to be simply one giving to the people right to state all sorts of objections against the presentee, and to the Presbytery power to judge in the last resort of the *soundness, the merits, of the objections.* When the bill came down to Scotland Dr. Chalmers was living at Burntisland. My friends the jurists (for I suppose I was one of them) were not without some degree of apprehension lest Dr. Chalmers, from his strongly Conservative leanings, and the great confidence he at least *had* placed in Lord Aberdeen, might be deceived by the bill, and disposed to accept it. I recollect that they asked me to cross to Burntisland to ascertain his mind. It was a vast relief to me, and in a few hours after to them, that immediately on my entering his parlour, Dr. Chalmers said, "This bill will never do, Sir." Accordingly the approaching Assembly rejected it by a large majority. And Lord Aberdeen, in the month of July, after petitions had been presented against the bill from 265,000 of the Scottish people—4000 only petitioning in its favour—withdraw it, to re-introduce and carry it through without difficulty three years after, under mightily altered circumstances.

Then in Scotland the confusion became worse and worse confounded. The invasions of the Court of Session went on apace, with the interdicts, and fines, and other threatened penalties. The question was becoming, in God's Providence, more and more complicated and difficult of solution, when another opportunity offered itself to the statesmen in May 1841. The Duke of Argyll, who was of the Whigs then in

office, brought in a Bill to legalize the veto ; and the General Assembly which followed petitioned in its favour by an overwhelming majority. But the Moderate party in the Assembly refused to listen to a noble and touching appeal addressed to them by Dr. Candlish, on the ground that it was notoriously matter of conscience with us not to intrude pastors, and could be no matter of conscience with them to oppose the legalizing of that veto under which they had quietly acted for several years. They praised the tone of his appeal, but they entered their dissent against the Assembly's decision. And as the sympathies of the Conservative party in Parliament were with the Moderate minority in the Church, while the Whigs were partly indifferent, and partly weak, being just about to resign office, the Duke had to withdraw his Bill. In August, Sir Robert Peel came into power. And now, shall the Conservative party make no concession to preserve the Scottish Establishment unbroken ? It was understood that they were prepared to make a very considerable one. In May 1842 Mr. Campbell of Monzie, one of themselves, introduced the Duke of Argyll's Bill into the Commons, as it was understood, with the acquiescence of the Government, when suddenly (as God would have it, by holy permission at least), a manifesto came forth from forty timid ministers in the west of Scotland, intimating their willingness to accept Lord Aberdeen's bill, or one substantially similar. At once the statesmen drew the false inference that the evangelical majority was breaking up ; and Mr. Campbell's bill was simply jostled out upon a point of form—for, as I said, " the cause was from the

Lord," who had determined to bring about a new state of things altogether among us. There was nothing now for the approaching General Assembly, 1842, but to adopt the famous Claim of Rights. It was time for that Claim; for ministers, whom the Church had deposed in the name of the Lord Jesus, demanded to sit in the Assembly, backed by the power of the civil courts. It was time for the Claim of Rights, for the House of Lords was about to pronounce its second judgment in the Auchterarder case, and did pronounce it in the month of August, now dealing expressly with the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, and levelling it to the very ground! It only remained to summon the memorable convocation of ministers for November (November 1842), that it might be ascertained definitely how many men were prepared to surrender their livings rather than their principles. But, fathers and brethren, although 400 men—100 more than Gideon's chosen band—subscribed the resolutions of the Convocation to that effect, and in six months more were faithfully to redeem their pledges, yet the Disruption had never been the great *national* movement it proved, but for what I called, thirdly, a *Divine preparing for it of the hearts of the Scottish people*.

III. It began, this preparation, in the same year, 1839, when the first Auchterarder judgment of the House of Lords was pronounced; and it fundamentally lay in that mighty spiritual awakening and revival which, commencing at Kilsyth in July of that year, continued to spread over a large part of Scotland during the two or three years that followed. Some one

perhaps asks, What had the Disruption and its questions to do with spiritual awakening and revival? Much, I answer, very "much every way." In fact the Disruption of the Scottish Church was nursed in the bosom of a mighty spiritual movement. I spoke of men divinely raised up and fitted for the crisis. But there was another class of men raised up for it, and but for whom the results would have been widely different indeed. I refer to such men as the saintly Murray M'Cheyne, and John Milne of Perth, and William Burns, late of China—all now with Christ. Be it remembered that these men not only held the views of the evangelical majority on the questions in dispute, but held them as vital truths, worth suffering, and if needful, dying for. True, their peculiar work was the awakening of the dead in trespasses and sins, and stimulating of God's children to a higher spiritual life. But then they made no secret of their profound sympathy with the struggles of the Church. And they had the less occasion on this account, that there existed, for all thoughtful Scotchmen, a grand link of connexion between these struggles and the revival of spiritual religion, *in the historical fact*, that the times of Scotland's deepest religious life, two centuries before, were the times of her sufferings and persecutions *for the very same truths* of the Headship of Christ, and his Church's freedom to carry out *as a Church* his revealed will, which were the matters now again in controversy. It is a remarkable fact that in the sermon preached by William Burns after the Kilsyth July Communion, 1839, which was the beginning of the whole spiritual movement, it was a reference he made in it to John

Livingstone's famous sermon at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630, which *struck the flint*, as it were, and kindled the sacred fire that spread over half Scotland during 1839, 1840, and 1841, and is not extinguished, blessed be God, even at this day! Oh yes, I repeat that the Disruption was nursed in the very bosom of religious revival. I am quite well aware that the men of this world will think none the better of it for that. But we all think a great deal the better of it for that—some-what as John Brown of Priesthill's wife, when shown by Claverhouse the mangled bloody remains of her martyred husband, and asked, "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" answered, "I ever thought much good of him, and now more than ever." Englishmen, especially, find it difficult to comprehend how those 265,000 people should ever have been got to petition against Lord Aberdeen's Bill. Ah, there were petitions of another kind going up at that time to another quarter—petitions rising to the Lord God of Sabaoth from many a closet, from many a family hearth, from many a prayer meeting, from many a pulpit! Abundance of pamphlets there were, no doubt, but there were unspeakably more numerous prayers. I well remember that in the Assembly of 1841, of which I happened to be a member, when Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish were making their extraordinary speeches, it was deeply impressed on my mind that there was an unseen influence all the while at work, nerving and almost inspiring them, in the prayers of hundreds of devout persons seated in the galleries. And now, after the Convocation of November 1842, all was ready for the Disruption, except that there

was still required, fourthly, an *extraordinary mistake* or two more of the statesmen to precipitate it.

IV. Enough mistakes they had made already. But the most egregious one of all was now to be committed. It was this—irresistibly again reminding one of Rehoboam's listening to the counsel of the young men, "*for the cause was from the Lord*, that he might bring to pass his saying by the mouth of Ahijah the Shilonite." Four hundred ministers, headed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Welsh, Dr. Thomas Brown, Dr. Patrick M'Farlan, and Dr. Makellar, had subscribed the Convocation resolutions, pledging themselves to resign their livings if the law were not changed. And yet the Government persisted in listening to some very small information sent to them by certain *respectabilities* in this city, and to the last refused to believe that more than a very few extreme men would leave the Establishment. They found their mistake out too late, after the Church's claims had been contemptuously thrown aside by both Government and Legislature (in spite of an admirable presentation and defence of them in the Commons by Mr. Fox Maule, afterwards Earl of Dalhousie), when *the Disruption itself came*, in May 1843, bearing, now last of all, on its face and in its immediate results and issues, the tokens of a divine finger and hand.

V. Fathers and brethren, I have no wish to exaggerate the sacrifice which was made on that Friday in the vast hall at Canonmills that had been so providentially found for the first Free Church Assembly,

when five hundred men deliberately signed away for ever their legally secured livings. I wish we had always borne better in mind the words of Jesus, "So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do." And yet it *was* a remarkable sacrifice, as this world goes; and the rather because there were a few highly respectable ministers that had gone with us till near the end, who retraced their steps before it, and under whose wing plenty of others, had they been disposed, might have decently enough covered their retreat. Then came the great fact of the adherence of all the foreign missionaries without exception to the disestablished Church; and funds raised in the first year to the amount of £366,700; and soon the new churches all over the country; and the manses; and the schools—inso much that Lord Aberdeen, it is now well known, while confessing that his calculations had been utterly baffled, used to comfort himself with the immense increase that had taken place in the means of Scottish religious instruction. Ay, and I venture thus to think that even those who differ from the views of the Free Church might nevertheless see a signal Divine hand bringing the Disruption about. Surely it is no small gain won for all except the infidels, that it has been brought to the proof, and has been proved, to how large an extent, at least (for I will not from this Chair approach any ground debateable among us, I say to how large an extent, at least) the liberality of the Christian people can, if necessary, supply the lack of State endowments of the Church. But, *as for us*

all who believe in the principles on which we separated from the State, how precious and deeply solemn a light is for us cast over this Free Church of Scotland by the palpably *providential* character of its origin and history ! I say deeply *solemn* light, for one is reminded of those words of God to Moses, on the occasion from which our Scottish Church takes her motto—"God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither ; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Oh, what awe, what reverential caution and circumspection, what deep sense of responsibility, become us in the view of the *trust which has been committed to our care* ! The Lord help us to understand well, and to continue well to understand, the true principles of the Disruption, neither, on the one hand, confining them within, nor, on the other, stretching them unduly beyond, their fair and legitimate import. The Lord vouchsafe his blessed presence with us in this Assembly ! If we must differ more or less, may we differ Christianly and in charity. Oh to hear that voice, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption ;" and that voice, "Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward !" God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us, that thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. The Lord bless us and keep us ; the Lord make his face shine upon us, and be gracious unto us ; the Lord lift up his countenance upon us, and

give us peace ! Again I thank you, fathers and brethren, for the high honour of my election to fill the Chair, and once more I throw myself on your kind indulgence for my infirmities and imperfections in the discharge of its duties.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

Being the Address

DELIVERED AT THE CLOSING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, MAY 1872.

By CHARLES J. BROWN, D.D.

MODERATOR.

EDINBURGH
EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS
1872.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

FATHERS AND BRETHREN,—

I BEGAN and closed my opening address to you by throwing myself confidingly on your indulgence for infirmities and imperfections in discharging the duties of this chair. Truly my confidence was not misplaced. I can never forget the very great kindness which, from first to last, I have experienced at your hands ; for which I thank you with all my heart ; and which has largely contributed to render the honourable place you saw fit to call me to, one really of great pleasure, and of felt privilege, throughout. Passing away from myself, it is not my intention to pass in review, in any form, the various important matters which have engaged the attention of the Assembly. Only, I think I should fail of my duty, and disappoint your just expectations, if I did not give expression to what, I believe, must be the feeling of the whole House, that we have abundant cause of thanksgiving to God, among other things, because, first, notwithstanding the great pressure of business, so considerable a portion of the time has been given, and given so profitably for us all, to immediate intercourse with the Lord our God, and brotherly conference about the spiritual work of the Church ; and because, further, in answer to many prayers offered both in view of the Assembly and during its sittings, it

has been largely characterized by a spirit and tone befitting a Christian assembly. No doubt you have unhappily had to differ on several important questions, and you knew pretty well beforehand that that would be the case. But while the various opinions were expressed with perfect freedom, and with the earnestness of men who spoke what they believed to be at once true and deeply important, yet, bating human infirmity, the discussions have been throughout conducted in a manner becoming brethren in the same Lord,—the same Lord of peace and of love. As I said, however, I do not intend to pass in any kind of review the subjects which have occupied the attention of the Assembly. And I may further, perhaps, be kindly excused for not having followed a recent practice, in making mention successively of the too many lamented ministers and elders whom the Lord has removed from the midst of us during the past twelve-month. The number has been, alas, mournfully large—no less than twenty ministers, with a corresponding proportion of elders; and I shrunk really from any attempt at enumeration. Let me say only this concerning them, that we assuredly do not sorrow *on their own account* over the departure to be with Christ of such ministers as my very old friend, Dr. Lewis, of Rome; or Dr. Gibson, of Glasgow; or Dr. Davidson, of Aberdeen; or, most recently of all, my beloved cousin, Dr. Islay Burns: and such elders as the patriarchal Craufurd of Craufurdland, or the excellent Henry Tod, or the venerable Christie of Durie, or my own old fellow-apprentice, when I was a youth studying law in this city, Robert Mackay, W.S. “Blessed are

the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth." "Verily, verily I say unto you, if a man keep my saying he shall never see death." "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory."

But I have felt a kind of "necessity laid upon me" not to lose the opportunity I have this evening once for all, of giving utterance to what, amid all the imperfections of my own ministry, has been little short of a ruling passion with me these many years past—even to see a higher and higher standard among us of ministerial, and specifically of pulpit, power. It may be permitted to me from this place to say a few things to my younger brethren in the ministry, and to our probationers and students, in answer to this question—Wherein chiefly lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit? Then I will address a sentence, or little more, to my honoured brethren of the eldership. And lastly, I will try to say two or three earnest words to the membership, the Christian membership, of our congregations.

I. First, putting the question, Wherein chiefly lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit? I reply—

(1.) First, assuredly, in the *personal character* of the man who fills the pulpit. This cannot need to be proved; it is much too obvious. But it very greatly needs to be believed,—to be felt and realized. It will be acknowledged at once that that minister whose life is not in fair harmony with his pulpit teaching, had as well, for any good he is likely to do, cease to be a

teacher. And here I do not point merely to that solemn first principle respecting the ministry, that conversion to God lies necessarily at the bottom of it—that he who will be a servant of Christ officially must be his servant first personally—that he who would be an ambassador to negotiate peace between God and his rebel subjects must himself have ceased to be of their number. But, over and above, I point to the spirit of all such words, in him who fills the pulpit, as those—“Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon.” “My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God.” “Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm; for love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave.” “Oh that my ways were directed to keep thy statutes!” Alas for the power of that minister’s pulpit about whom even suspicions can get abroad of his worldly-mindedness, or his levity of deportment, or his want of scrupulous veracity, or temperance, or his indifference to the welfare of his people! But then I do not speak of the absence simply of everything of that kind, but of the positive manifest presence of at least earnest longings after that spirit, “To me to live is Christ;” “This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth to those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.” Will you allow me to read here a short passage from Bunyan’s Pilgrim, very humbling, indeed, to read, and fitted, I fear, to draw from too many of us the cry, “My leanness, my leanness!” yet very precious:—

“Then said the Interpreter, ‘Come in; I will show thee that which will be profitable to thee.’ So he commanded his man to light the candle, and bid Christian follow him. So he had him into a private room, and bid his man open a door; the which when he had done, Christian saw a picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall, and this was the fashion of it:—‘It had eyes lifted up to heaven; the best of books in its hand; the law of truth was written upon its lips; the world was behind his back; it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over its head.’

“Then said Christian, What means this?

“*Interp.* The man whose picture this is, is one of a thousand. He can beget children, travail in birth with children, and nurse them himself when they are born. And whereas thou seest him with eyes ‘lifted up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, and the law of truth writ on his lips,’ it is to show thee that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners, even as also thou seest him ‘stand as if he pleaded with men;’ and whereas thou seest the world as cast behind him, and that a crown hangs over his head, that is to show thee that, slighting and despising the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Master’s service, he is sure in the world that comes next, to have glory for his reward. Now, said the Interpreter, I have showed thee this picture first, because the man whose picture this is, is the only man whom the lord of the place whither thou art going hath authorized to be thy guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way; wherefore take good

heed to what I have showed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen, lest in thy journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death."—Search me, O God, and know my heart ; try me, and know my thoughts ! Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness !

(2.) But, second, to the question wherein chiefly lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit, I answer in *the kind of prayers* which are offered in it. Perhaps some one is ready to say, O then, if the power of the pulpit depends so much on the kind of prayers offered in it, why not secure their being always of the right kind by adopting a liturgy ? Now I cannot certainly content myself with replying, that, in point of fact, such is not our method in Scotland. I rejoice greatly that it is not our method. The use of a prescribed form for even part of our public service I should wholly deprecate. And had I my ministry to begin again, in place of having it soon to close, it would be a simple joy to me to think of possibly twenty or thirty years more of Sabbath ministration with our method of free and unread prayers. But then just the more that they are free and unread, I the more earnestly plead for this whole department of our public service receiving a great deal more attention and care than have, I fear, been usually bestowed on it. Why, just think of a minister's going to his pulpit to lead his entire congregation, in a sense, by his prayers to the divine throne,—the blood-sprinkled mercy-seat ! Never will things be among

us as they ought, until it shall be held simply unlawful before God to enter the pulpit (save in exceptional cases) without serious forethought as to the prayers which are to be offered in it. I speak of no composing of prayers—writing out of prayers to be committed to memory. Oh no. But I do speak of the premeditation, more or less, of some general line, at least, of devotional thought and utterance, whereby, first, the minister shall be no more as if at sea without compass or rudder, to wander over all sorts of things; and whereby, second, in place of being anywise cramped and confined, he shall be left just the more free to listen to the faintest breathings of the good Spirit of God, “the Spirit of grace and supplications.” I must be allowed from this place to declare myself (as I have done elsewhere) the enemy of *long prayers in public*. Oh, we shall not easily pray too long in secret. We shall not easily pray too long when we have entered into our closet and shut our door behind us. But, according to my humble judgment, we shall probably pray too long if we ordinarily pray in public more than eight or ten minutes. No doubt a good man might be longer in the spirit of public prayer himself. But he shall not easily carry his people longer with him in that spirit. I also venture humbly, but very firmly, to protest against all such prayers as are rather a kind of preachings, or at best devout meditations, in place of being, more or less, what the public prayers of Robert Bruce of Edinburgh are described as having been, like “bolts shot up to heaven.” And are we never to see an end of the “Presbyterian liturgy”—as it has been quietly called—those very poor traditionary, conventional

phrases, handed down somehow from generation to generation, and made up of mangled Scripture texts, torn from their connexion, and pieced together to do duty in the service of the sanctuary. Weakness in the pulpit! No wonder the whole service is weakened nearly to death, if the people are to be wearied out by the prayers before the sermon has even begun. I may be allowed respectfully to commend to attention my own "Address on Public Prayer," which unhappily has not become superfluous since 1862, when it was delivered to the students of the Edinburgh New College, and published afterwards by request of the Elders' Conference.

(3.) Third, to the question wherein chiefly lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit, I answer, in the minister's aiming consciously and deliberately *at the right ends*, both in his preparations for the pulpit and in his preaching from it. Aiming at the right ends. Neither can this possibly require to be proved, but only to be believed, realized, practised. For we are fishermen. "Come after me," said Jesus, "and I will make you fishers of men." But what fisherman ever thought of taking his lines, and preparing his hooks and baits, and going down to the water, and laboriously fishing, indifferent all the while about any result—about the taking of fish? And here I do not point, on the opposite side, to any such low and simply despicable ends as "entering the priest's office," and preaching, "for a bit of bread." Oh, the ministry, as one said, the most honourable of professions, is the most dishonourable of trades. But then, unhappily, there are intermediate

ends betwixt that and the true one of the saving of precious souls, very subtle and plausible for our poor hearts, and in which we are but too apt to settle down content. Especially there is the end of what is called "doing our duty"—"getting comfortably and acceptably through our work." Ah, doing our duty, getting comfortably through our work! But what of the souls, meanwhile, that are either saved or lost? I remember Luther says somewhere in his "Table-talk," "Though I am now an old man, and accustomed to preaching, I tremble as often as I enter the pulpit." Does any one say, Duty is ours, issues are God's,—the saving of souls lies not with us, but with the sovereign God? But I say that God's holy sovereignty is simply abused and prostituted, when it is made a cover for our sin in not aiming consciously and deliberately at the end of our whole work together, "I will make you fishers of men"—"I send thee to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified, by faith that is in me." And I said, aiming at the right ends in our preparations for the pulpit, as well as our preaching from it. In truth, the ends aimed at will determine largely the whole kind and character of the preparations. If the end be anything short of saving our people's souls, then plenty of room will be found for neat sentences, and well-rounded periods of mere words—with other things which, with that end steadily in view, would simply appear altogether out of place, while, *for* that end, other and far different things would irresistibly suggest themselves to be thrown in from time to time, such as, Are you saved,

my dear hearer?—Are you born again?—How is it with you and with me? etc., etc.

(4.) But fourth, and very intimately connected with aiming at the right ends—to the question, wherein chiefly lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit, I answer, in the minister's *apprehending the strength by which, and the kind of words by means of which*, the ends are to be attained. Apprehending the strength *by which*. No fears of this, if the ends themselves are but realized and aimed at. "Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest"—certainly, Lord, by no power less than Thine—"God, which quickeneth the dead, and calleth the things which be not as though they were"—"That ye may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power to usward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead . . . and (raised) you who were dead in trespasses and sins." But then, if God's omnipotency alone can accomplish the ends, may we not be at least somewhat less anxious about the *kind of words* by means of which they may be attained? Nay, not at all the less; for it is written—and I care nothing about the *quomodo* here, enough to know the *quod*—that Paul and Barnabas went into the synagogue of Iconium, "and so spake that" (*λαλῆσαι οὕτως ὥστε πιστεῦσαι*—in such a manner spake as that) "a great multitude, both of the Jews and also of the Greeks, believed." Three things here, in the very briefest manner, about the kind of words. That they be, first, words expressive of living thoughts—arousing,

searching, directing, comforting, as the case may be—gathered out of the storehouse of this blessed volume. In fact, in the first instance when preparations are entered on, the mere words may be left to shift very much for themselves. Thoughts chiefly are to be sought, materials of ample thought, together with a simple and natural outline, or plan, according to which to arrange them. But *now*, second, words have become of nearly as much moment as thoughts, because the hearer can know your thoughts only by your words. Style, which is just nothing for its own sake, is a very great deal as the vehicle of thought—for the lodging of it in the hearer's soul. Have you got thoughts? Then with all care seek words, clear, telling, burning, appropriate, and to be uttered audibly, pleasingly, articulately, by which to convey them. And, third, let both thoughts and words go *straight* from you to your congregation, without any intervening *media* to carry off the force—without, I take leave to say—without, if it be at all possible, a read manuscript intervening, to draw your eyes down, and off from the eyes of your hearers. “I was more helped in my preaching,” said John Livingstone once, “by the thirsty eyes of the people than by anything else.” On this somewhat delicate subject I will only say this. I venture to predict that after I am dead and gone, if the power of the pulpit in Scotland is to continue and to grow, read sermons, save in exceptional cases, will be discarded, even as reading from a manuscript is quite unknown both in the senate and at the bar. I think I have taken as much pains as most men with my pulpit preparations these forty-one years. Oh, they have been, and are at

this day as much as ever, a very enthusiasm, passion, with me—scarce one Sabbath's work over when I am into another. But I never read a sermon in my life ; and the recollection assuredly has no place among the things I look back on with regret.

(5.) Fifth, and very briefly, to the question, wherein chiefly lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit, I answer, in the offering of *much prayer about the weekly preparations* for it, and specifically, at the close of them of a Saturday evening. Oh blessed Saturday evenings, in which the minister, after his preparations have been pretty well completed, shall turn to such a chapter as Matthew fourteenth, and shall pray over those words (taken in their abiding principles), " He said unto them, They need not depart; give ye them to eat. And they say unto him, We have here but five loaves and two fishes. He said, **BRING THEM HITHER TO ME.** And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the grass ; and took the five loaves and the two fishes, and, looking up to heaven, he blessed, and brake ; and gave the loaves to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude." Or that blessed passage in Exodus, thirty-third, " Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people : and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight. Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, show me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight ; and consider that this nation is thy people. And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest. And he

said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence." Or that word in 1st Thessalonians, first chapter, "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." Or—one other example—that great word in the beginning of Acts, "He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me: for John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence." The offering of much prayer, I say, about our weekly preparations, and specifically, at the close of them of a Saturday evening.

(6.) Sixth, and last, to the question, wherein lie the elements of power, and correspondingly of weakness, in the pulpit, I answer in the minister's command (or want of command) of the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God—command of this grand weapon, instrument, of our whole ministry, the holy Scriptures. Manifestly such command of our sword, our weapon, must lie greatly in our own faith in it, unquestioning confidence in the Bible, as not the word of man, but in very truth the word of God, which effectually worketh also in them that believe. And this confidence is not to be attained by the reading of ever so many books on the evidences, half so much as by a blessed, ever-growing, experimental acquaintance with the Scriptures, in their exceeding glory, and divine suitableness to all the necessities of our own case. Ah, there it is—"I rejoice at thy word, as one that findeth great spoil." "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!" "Thy words were

found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart." And thus shall we acquire a greater and greater command of our weapon in this other way, that a large and ever increasing portion of the Scriptures shall come to be literally *gotten by heart*—fixed, I mean, in our memory by means of our heart,—by means of an acquaintance with it so intimate and loving that we shall be more than able to quote it accurately—scarcely able, in fact, to quote it otherwise. And the importance of this last who shall tell, if the fact be, as I am profoundly convinced it is, that the best of all materials of preaching, whether for explanation, or proof, or illustration, or application, are the very words of Scripture, selected with spiritual skill, carefully managed as to *the setting*, so to speak (for they are gems—the “feathering of the arrows,” as one called it by a different figure), and uttered forth from the preacher’s inmost heart? But enough. I might have spoken of many other things, such as the vast importance of *reading Scripture well*—reading it clearly, intelligently, naturally, solemnly, impressively. But I forbear. I have spoken only of the pulpit. I may be allowed to commend to my younger brethren, and to our probationers and students, some thoughts on communion-table addresses, and on pastoral visitation, which will be found in the appendix to my short tractate, “Preaching, its Properties, Place, and Power.” May I also commend to attention, as regards the subject of preaching, my friend Dr. Walter M’Gilvray’s most interesting and admirable life of “John of the Golden Mouth,—Chrysostom, that great preacher of the olden time?”

II. Now, a sentence will suffice for all I desire to say, second, to my honoured brethren of the eldership. It may be permitted to me simply to commend to them a model of their office, together with a small book. The model is my late venerated and beloved friend, Robert Paul, of this city, truly a man of a thousand, whose memoirs have just appeared from the pen of an esteemed medical man, a member of the same session of which Mr. Paul was for very many years the ornament. The small book is the charming one of Mr. David Dickson, "The Elder and his Work." True, the standard of work in it is high. But I happen to possess the best of all means of knowing that it is not at least impracticable, since it is *practised* by the excellent author, to whom no one can have to say, as regards his little work, "Physician, heal thyself."

III. Last of all, to the Christian membership of our congregations, I would fain say two or three earnest words on a single topic, *working for Christ*—the duty, joy, dignity, endless advantage to themselves, of the Church's whole Christian membership doing work for Christ. It were waste of time to go into any proof of the *duty*. That sacred work belongs to official persons only, is just a lie of the devil, and one which, when believed, serves his purpose the better that the same official persons are made themselves all but powerless for good when everything is left to them. I am quite clear that, if there were any difficulty—there really is none, but if there were any difficulty—as to proof here from Scripture, it were rather in proving the doctrine of a standing ministry, with its peculiar duties, than in

proving that it is the duty of all believers without exception to both witness and work for the Lord Jesus. Therefore I only "stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance" of the *joy*, the exalted joy, of all such work for Christ, as Sabbath-school or Bible-class teaching; and district visiting among the poor; and giving away of tracts and leaflets; and dropping words of instruction, counsel, sympathy, to the ignorant, perplexed, tried; and acting (a mighty work!) as "the Lord's remembrancers" by daily intercessory prayer; and, instead of wasting money on vain show (a pineapple, for example, on a man's table that cost him two guineas), giving it away liberally, wisely, gladly, systematically, for all objects of Christian and philanthropic usefulness. Joy! It is the very joy of Christ—joy in the fellowship of His, who, when he had sought and found the lost woman of Samaria, said, "I have meat to eat that ye know not of—my meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work." And who thus shall tell the *dignity* also of all such work—so Christlike, Royal, Godlike—or the endless *advantage*, reflex advantage, of it for the workers themselves, begun in this world, where "the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered himself," but to be fully known only when "the King shall say to them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me?"

Fathers and brethren, we are now to part, and go back again to our several homes, loved homes, and spheres of labour. It seems to me but as yesterday since last in this Hall were sung the old words—

“Pray that Jerusalem may have
Peace and felicity ;
Let them that love thee and thy peace
Have still prosperity.”

How very swift the flight of our few years ! Well, let them fly—I suppose they cannot fly too fast, if only they are redeemed, and our motto and our prayer are, Ready to depart, Lord, and useful meanwhile ! Sometimes I take comfort to myself, when reflecting on life far advanced, from thinking how much work, good work, can be done *in one twelvemonth*, with fair health, with business habits (which all ought to cultivate in early life), and with the presence and blessing of the Lord. Certain it is that a minister's usefulness depends much less on the number of his years than on the way he uses them. John Calvin died at fifty-five. James Durham of Glasgow began his divinity studies (if I remember right) at five-and-twenty, and, after writing his numerous works, besides his preaching and pastoral labours, died at thirty-six. The flight of years is solemnizing, but it is animating too. Deeply solemnizing—“I must work the works of him that sent me while it is day ; the night cometh when no man can work.” But it is also animating—“Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed : the night is far spent, the day is at hand.” Oh, “until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be

thou like a roe, or a young hart, upon the mountains of Bether !” Farewell, dear and honoured fathers and brethren. The Lord is at hand. Even so come, Lord Jesus ! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

A REPLY

FROM

"The Bible, and the Bible alone,"

TO THE

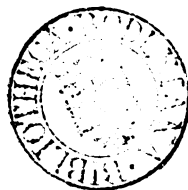
BISHOP OF OSSORY'S TRACT

ON

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION,

IN A LETTER TO HIS LORDSHIP.

BY



W. S. BURNSIDE, D.D.,

Rector of Aghalurcher.

DUBLIN:

GEORGE HERBERT, 117 GRAFTON STREET.

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To the Lord Bishop of Ossory, &c.

MY LORD,

When Mr. Gladstone, once the chivalrous champion of the Church of Ireland, became afterwards its ruthless spoiler, I was not so much astonished as when I read your pamphlet upon Baptismal Regeneration. I felt that Evangelical truth had received a blow from one who, for so many years, had been its most honoured and trusted pillar.

The relations between Church and State are of trifling importance compared with the vital interests involved in this primary doctrine of our faith.

There are topics of a complex and variable character affected by change of times and circumstances, on which a change of opinion need not startle us; but baptismal regeneration of infants is not one of these; it strikes at the root of all religion. It is the first step in departing from the faith of the Gospel; the portal to error. It seems to possess a blinding, corrupting, and perverting power; as is plain from the fact that the Romanizers within the Church, as well as those of that ilk who have left us, are, without exception, distinguished for their persistent adherence to this doctrine.

Now, when your Lordship candidly confesses, that for "*a good while you were decidedly opposed to it,*" and you have published your reasons for a change of judgment; those reasons being the same, which have been used over and over again by the High Church party—a party whose teaching has been condemned by your Lordship, in several able charges to your clergy, is it any wonder that I should feel some surprise, believing that your change of opinion is not only unfortunate at the present time, but positively injurious to the future prosperity of the Church?

Every one who has read your books must at once acknowledge that you are a learned, patient, laborious, and conscientious writer; that truth alone has been your object, and when there is added to this the solid worth of personal character, it is not hard to see, how powerful an impression, especially on youthful minds, your change of opinion must make—an impression equal in force to the just confidence and admiration with which you were regarded.

In any reply to your Lordship's pamphlet, it is necessary to notice this; because I have more fear from the weight of your character, than from the weight of your argument.

Independent thinkers are few. The worshippers of authority are many. Some will be unsettled, and will change with your Lordship. The unchangeable on this doctrine will be grieved. The anti-evangelical party will receive a triumph and confirmation to their views. The effect of your pamphlet will be to intensify a controversy, hot enough already, and will rather unsettle, than settle the question.

Persons will ask, Is there any stability in religion, or have the times perilous to faith arrived? Some will blame me for attempting a reply to your pamphlet—will perhaps charge me with presumption, and want of respect for my superiors; but such cannot know my motives, and their mistaken impressions are not of any consequence.

It is your Lordship who has put a most irksome duty upon me, and from which I would gladly retire, if I could do so with a good conscience; and you have in the preface to your pamphlet most truly defined the path of duty which is, "*to do all a person can do for the cause of truth and unity, even when all he can do is very little.*" It is this rule which constrains me to reply to your pamphlet.

With the first part of your pamphlet I have no controversy. I believe the weight of evidence is in favour of the baptism of infants being a Divine institution; and to me your Lordship's proof of this point is perfectly satisfactory.* It is to the second part of your pamphlet I demur. I cannot believe that the inward grace and outward sign in this sacrament are constant and invariable; that every baptized infant is, at, in, and by baptism truly regenerated, in the meaning of that vital change, as explained by our Lord to Nicodemus. The outward sign I believe is separable from the inward grace; but grace may be given when the sign is administered, but it may be withheld. And so complex is the question referring to the precise effects

* See "Wilson on Infant Baptism."

of infant baptism,† that in the case of infants, although we may charitably hope that grace is given when the rite is administered, yet of this we have no certainty, and indeed no proof beyond the judgment of charity. Under all circumstances the moral obligations of baptism are equally binding on all the baptized, and wilful sin after baptism exposes to a severer judgment, than the same sin committed by the unbaptized.

With respect to adult baptism there is no difficulty. Baptism does not propose to regenerate them; its office in their case is to sign and seal their regeneration, on the presumption, that they could not repent and believe, without being previously born anew of the Spirit. In the history of the Acts of the Apostles, repentance and faith are invariably the prevenient conditions of receiving baptism; by baptism these graces are confirmed—the gift of the Holy Ghost increased, spiritual life is renewed and invigorated. But with infants the case is different; they cannot answer for themselves; they cannot present the conditions of faith and repentance; they can only promise them by their sureties. They are incapable of a moral change by reason of their tender years.

In my opinion, the conversation of our Lord with Nicodemus is wholly inapplicable to infants, because our Lord makes the understanding of His discourse necessary to receive any benefit from it. Nicodemus comes to our Lord for instruction under the conviction that Jesus was a divine and infallible teacher.

† See “Good’s Effects of Infant Baptism.”

He is at once informed that he must be born again of water and the Spirit, before he could either see or enter into the kingdom of heaven. Nicodemus understands the words literally. Our Lord replies, that the literal interpretation would avail him nothing, because that which is born of the flesh is still flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. It was the latter birth Nicodemus required, because, by reason of the fall, he was carnal, and had lost the capacity of understanding spiritual things; and that before he could perceive their meaning and importance, he must be born of the Spirit—that is, receive a capacity for understanding spiritual things. This change was absolutely necessary—without it he could never be saved. This was a vital point, which even a master of Israel might not be able to comprehend, but still of such absolute necessity, that if he did not receive it, he was excluded from the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, he is instructed not to marvel at the necessity for this change, because if he ever should attain to a saving knowledge of religion, he must be made personally acquainted with the new birth. Our Lord further informs him that there was not any precise mode to which the operations of the Spirit were confined—that, like the wind, it blew where it listed. You may indeed, says our Lord, hear the sound of it, and perceive its effects; “but you cannot tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth. So is every one that is born of the Spirit.”

Now, if baptism was the invariable mode of regeneration, would our Lord have omitted to say so

plainly to this inquiring Jew. The words "of water" are obscure, and might convey a different meaning. But further, Nicodemus is still perplexed, and he anxiously inquires, How can these things be? Does our Lord direct him to the baptismal font? No, but to Himself, and reminds him of an incident in Jewish history as an illustration of His answer—"And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life."

Now, if we examine St. Paul's account of the natural and spiritual man, its harmony with our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus is obvious. Both speak of two natures. Our Lord affirms, "Ye must be born again," and St. Paul gives the reason: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned: but he that is spiritual discerneth all things, yet he himself is discerned of no man."

Your Lordship relies on this passage from the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, as decisive for establishing the certain, constant, and absolute regeneration of infants by the administration of the rite of baptism by a competent minister. I cannot believe such a statement. It is revolting to reason, as well as to Scripture. Our Lord's words are plain and intelligible; they were addressed to an adult, to a teacher in Israel. These weighty words must be received with intelligence, and must be understood in order to their having any moral effect. In my opinion, it is simply absurd to

apply them to an unconscious, unintelligent, and irresponsible infant. It is a wresting of Scripture to do so—a travesty of the Word of God. It is worse than this: it is a delusion which, I fear, in many instances has led to soul-destruction.

Analogies do not supply satisfactory reasons; at best they exhibit only a likeness to what is true. Your Lordship's analogy, from the slow growth of our natural faculties, is unfortunate for your argument. If, indeed, we saw the development of this seminal principle of grace, supposed to have been received in baptism, contemporary with the development of intellectual and physical growth in our children, we might be disposed to ascribe to baptism the credit of such an auspicious nurture; but when the facts of the case unfortunately contradict this reasonable expectation—when, on the contrary, we observe sin in every variety of form, to grow apace with the growth of our children, and to strengthen with their strength—I say the presumption is rather against the reception of grace in baptism than for it.

You ascribe the inability of some to accept the doctrine of the constant regeneration of infants in baptism to want of faith. I ascribe the belief of this figment to a credulity not less irrational than the credulity which believes in a corporal presence in the Lord's Supper. Your Lordship ascribes the difficulty of some to receive your doctrine to walking by sight; while I confidently believe that walking by sight is the only true, scriptural, and practical mode by which we can ascertain for ourselves, and in respect to others,

whether we are truly regenerated or not. "For by their fruits you shall know them."

The Scriptures constantly affirm the necessity of a solemn, thorough, and universal change in heart and life as an essential concomitant of salvation. This change amounts to an entire revolution in our inward and outward life—a change fitly compared to a second birth—to a new creation; "therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new." Now, to teach and preach that this change has actually taken place in countless thousands of baptized infants, without being followed by any moral evidence by which it might be possible to say of them, that they had been born again—to teach a doctrine so extravagant as this, is full of injurious effects to the professing Church of Christ. I know this to be the case, from the experience of a long and active ministry. I have asked persons to reflect on their conduct, to turn to the Lord, to abandon their sinful courses; I have told them that the very first step in religion was to be born again; I have urged them to seek this change, and I was told that they had already received it in their baptism. And yet they were going on in sin; "He feedeth on ashes; a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, and say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" (Is. xlv. 20.) A sermon, in their opinion, on the conversation with Nicodemus might be suitable for the unbaptized, but it did not apply to them; and the doctrine of the new birth was now no concern to them, as they had already received it.

Could Satan devise any means better calculated to keep poor sinners in their sins, and to keep them out of Christ? Besides, what evidence have these persons of their regeneration? None, except the parish register of baptisms. And what does baptism propose to do for the poor, unconscious babe? He cannot come to the font himself, he is brought; and a moment before the administration of the rite by a competent clergyman, he is the child of wrath; and the next moment, after the talismanic words are uttered, he is hereby made the child of grace. Now, is it consistent with all we know of our blessed Lord's character, that the communication of this grace to infants should be so shackled, as that it should depend upon a concurrence of things, the absence of any one of which would frustrate the efficacy of the sacrament, and cause the infant to lose the benefit, and that from no fault on his part? How much more reasonable and scriptural it is to hold, that the poor babe was not less the object of a Saviour's love before the ceremony than after it; and that while it is our bounden duty to bring our children to baptism, yet His free grace is not absolutely tied to ordinances of human administration, and that, as the wind bloweth where it listeth, so doth He bestow His Holy Spirit when and where as it pleaseth Him; sanctifying some, as John the Baptist, from their mother's womb, and calling others, at the eleventh hour of their lives; but producing in all who shall ever enter into His glorious kingdom, the same renovating moral change, regenerating them by His Holy Spirit.

I do not believe the position that infants do re-

ceive the grace of regeneration, and that they never in after-life manifest the fruits of it; or, that to say, they lost or sinned it away is a sufficient explanation of its remaining ineffectual and inoperative. I hold, that where there is regeneration, there is renovation and conversion; and I cannot contemplate regeneration occurring at a time, which is not most certainly followed by conversion, either at the time or afterwards. In my opinion the absence of conversion is a very sufficient proof of the absence of regeneration; for conversion is nothing more than the growth of regeneration.

I do not think your Lordship's attempt to vindicate your theory of baptism from the charge of frustrating the doctrine of salvation by grace is satisfactory. I remember some years ago having invited an English clergyman to occupy my pulpit. He preached an excellent sermon on Justification, excluding all idea of human merit, in fact denying the existence of human merit before God. I knew he held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration of infants. I asked him did he believe in the universal salvation of the regenerate. He replied he did not. I then asked him, if all received the same grace in baptism, and were made salvable by it, how did it happen that some only repented and believed the Gospel and were saved, and that the majority of the baptized seemed to live and die in their sins? I asked how did he account for this great difference in after-life, amongst persons who started from the same post? His reply was that

some improved the grace of baptism, and shaped their lives after that beginning, while others abused their grace and sinned it away. I then inquired, Does not this explanation imply salvation by works, the doctrine against which you so faithfully warned us in your sermon? Is it not the case, that he who improves his grace, performs a good work, and that he who abuses it, performs a bad work? Is it not, then, their works, which after all make the real difference between them? His reply was, he could not answer my objection. I would be glad to have your Lordship's reply to it.

Enough has been said in reply to the application of the passage from St. John's Gospel, quoted by your Lordship as settling the question of baptismal regeneration of infants. I cannot dismiss the subject without a brief examination of a few passages of similar import with the place cited from St. John. Your Lordship states that baptism is the divinely-appointed ordinance of regeneration. On the contrary, I hold that the Word of God is the divine instrument of regeneration. In James i. 18, we read—"Of His own will begat He us *with the word of truth.*" If baptism were the normal ordinance of regeneration, it would not have been omitted here. 1 Cor. iv. 15—"For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel." It is a fair conclusion, that if the divine institution of baptism be admitted, these ten thousand instructors must have generally administered the rite,

and must have been fathers to the baptized ; but we are told this was not the case, that the fathers were few, and that it was *through the Gospel* souls were begotten by St. Paul. In 1 Peter i. 23, we have the words, "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, *by the Word of God*, which liveth and abideth for ever." Here, again, we have the new birth mentioned, not in connection with baptism, but with the Word of God.

As I said before, I could not see my way in separating the new birth from holiness. I am supported in this opinion by the following passage—"Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed [seminal principle] remaineth in him ; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil." (1 John iii. 9, 10.) And, "We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not ; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." (v. 18.) "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God ;" and, "Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world." (1 John v. 1-4.) There is indeed a baptism which doth now save, not by any efficacy in the rite, but by the resurrection of Jesus Christ ; and this baptism is defined, "not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God." (1 Peter iii. 21.) In all these passages there is the active consent of the will and of the understanding, concurring with the operation of the Word and of the Holy Spirit, and leading the baptized believer to walk in newness of life.

These places of Scripture do not, any more than the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, prove the baptismal regeneration of infants. Indeed they do not apply to the case of infants at all; and the old "*non ponere obicem*" argument inferred by your Lordship does not meet the difficulty, because the qualification for the grace of baptism is more than negative, and demands the positive requisites of repentance and faith.

Infant baptism is an unmeaning service without confirmation, and when confirmation is rightly received, it is a strong presumption that grace has been received in baptism; this supplementary rite being necessary to determine the responsibility of the baptized when arrived at the years of discretion, as well as to strengthen and confirm them in their Christian profession. It is remarkable from the passages quoted, that victory over the world, the flesh, and the devil, are the concomitant and inseparable evidences of our new birth; and to affirm that this spiritual life can exist, struggle, and die, without such evidences, is, in my opinion, a snare, a delusion, a vain conceit, without any certain foundation in Scripture. Indeed the position seems to be a monstrous one, that so mighty a change as the divine regeneration of the soul could be received by infants in baptism, without their ever after having any perception of it, and without affording to others any evidence of it, beyond the parish register; and it is still more monstrous to maintain that such a change may co-exist with a life of sin,

impenitence, and unbelief, from the font to the grave, (as our experience proves.) Is there not here an *a fortiori* presumption against this position? For if the new birth be good for anything, it must be in the renewal of the heart, and in the transformation of the character. Besides, the Scriptures never speak of it apart from the corresponding moral effects which follow it. For instance, *They who are born of God, receive Christ, and believe on Him.*" (John i. 12, 13.) *They overcome the world; keep themselves; believe that Jesus is the Christ; and do not commit sin.* (1 John *passim*.)

It is not remarkable that the corrupt Church of Rome should hold this doctrine; but it is remarkable that an attempt should be made at this time to fasten it upon the Protestant Reformed Church of Ireland, since it is well known that the compilers of our Liturgy did not hold it, nor do our articles say more for it than that baptism is the sign or washing of regeneration. Error is corrupting and contagious; and it need not excite our surprise that many who began with this doctrine have ended their ministry in the Church of Rome. It is a natural consequence that such gross error must corrupt the fountains of truth, and mar the simplicity of the Gospel. It must paralyze the power of the Pulpit. Preachers who hold this doctrine cannot preach the necessity of the new birth to a congregation of baptized adults. They address their hearers as already regenerate—as believers in Christ. Thus they inspire them with a false confidence, and they overlook the fact, that many of them, as observation proves, are

aliens by wicked works, and are of their father, the devil, because the lusts of their father they do.

The right preaching for such is, to tell them at once they must be born again ; that they can neither understand nor enter the Kingdom of Heaven without it. But why need the solemn and peremptory words of our Lord to Nicodemus, trouble their consciences ? when their minister has already assured them, that these words were not intended to apply to their case, inasmuch as they had already received this new birth at their baptism !!! It is impossible to conceive a more cunningly-devised delusion. Ichabod is written upon the portals of the Church of Ireland, if such is to be accepted as her future teaching.

As to the use of our service for infant baptism, I have had no real difficulty, because I had no reason to doubt that if the infant were brought in faith, accompanied with prayer, our loving Saviour might then and there accompany the outward sign with His inward grace ; but of this I could have no certainty, beyond a charitable hypothesis, before the child had arrived at riper years. And further, with respect to the Book of Common Prayer generally I had no difficulty, because, according to the Sixth Article of Religion, I interpreted the Prayer-Book by the Bible, and received it only so far as it agreed with most certain warranty of Scripture. Although I have had no difficulty in using our Prayer-Book, I know others have—that many have refused our communion owing to these difficulties,

and some have left us; and amongst these difficulties none have appeared so formidable to them as our baptismal services.

The ceremony of sanctifying water to the mystical washing away of sin is, to say the least, of doubtful origin. It does not seem to have any warrant from Scripture. Some affirm that it can be traced to a heathen source. It is, therefore, most desirable that our Revision Committee should reform these services. In their present state they are hindrances to the health and extension of the Church. They are a stumbling-block and an offence to many, and, in my opinion, justly so. There is a palpable jumble between the service, the catechism, and the article. In the service we give thanks to God for the regeneration of the infant by the Holy Ghost. We can scarcely separate a moral change from regeneration, yet the catechism affirms that infants are incapable of a moral change, owing to their tender years; while the article affirms neither the one nor the other, but declares baptism to be only sacramentally the sign and seal of regeneration, and, therefore, as such can no more be the same thing as regeneration, than the bread and wine in the Supper of our Lord can be anything more than the signs of Christ's body and blood.

It may be that this epistolary tract may fall into the hands of some who are still trusting in the carnal ordinance of infant regeneration by baptism. Would that I could reach their convictions, so as to lead them into the light of truth. Far be it from

me to undervalue the sacramental efficacy of baptism. I believe it signs and seals to believers all the most precious blessings of the covenant of grace, and that it lays all who have received it scripturally under the most solemn obligations to lead a holy and a Christian life. But let not anyone deceive himself that baptism, *ex opere operato*, confers regeneration. All it can do, or professes to do, is to seal the regeneration and adoption into God's family of all who bring with them to the font the prevenient qualifications of faith and repentance. Baptism does not impart faith and repentance; it seals, invigorates, and increases these heavenly virtues. But to hold that baptism is regeneration, is to pervert the sacrament into a mere human invention, by which the simplicity and beauty of the ordinance are marred—by which it is deprived of its true spiritual significance, and is perverted to be the symbol of priestcraft and of a blind and ignorant superstition.

Why lean upon carnal ordinances, and rely upon sacraments to save us, when we have the glorious persons of the blessed Trinity to go to? the Father for His grace to draw us, the Son for His justifying righteousness, and the Holy Spirit for regeneration and renewal in the divine image. The things signified outweigh the importance of signs.

With greatest respect,

I am your Lordship's faithful servant,

W. S. BURNSIDE.

A FEW MORE WORDS

ABOUT

EXTINCTION;

ADDRESSED ESPECIALLY TO THOUGHTFUL
WORKING MEN.

BY

GEORGE BUTTERWORTH,

VICAR OF DEERHURST.



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INTRODUCTION.

AFTER reading a short treatise written by my friend and neighbour, Rev. H. S. Warleigh, on what he terms "The Extinction of Evil Persons and of Evil Things," (a copy of which he had had the kindness to give me,) I determined to write a pamphlet in answer to it. Mr. Warleigh's little book appeared to me to be full of serious errors. Holy Scripture seemed to me to be incorrectly interpreted : facts bearing upon the history of doctrines seemed to be mis-stated : erroneous views both about words and about things seemed to be broached. In fact, in my poor judgment, the whole work was full of mistakes ; some of them, indeed, slight, others of considerable importance. Then, let it be added, as a further reason for taking notice of the tract, the subject itself of which it treated was of great practical significance, one about which it behoves us to have clear and scriptural views, one about which mistakes may be mischievous in the highest degree,—namely, what is to be the end of those who choose the way of destruction. So I wrote my pamphlet, and had it printed and published. In doing so I was actuated by no feeling of hostility to Mr. Warleigh : far from it : I respected, and I respect still, his motives and his character. Only, I feared that his book was calculated to do

harm. I regarded his particular doctrine as untrue, and not only untrue, but also as likely to confirm in their evil ways such as, unhappily, might be living without God, by holding out to them the prospect of a cessation of existence, and with existence, of punishment, of course. I may have been mistaken here, I allow ; but that was my conviction. Meanwhile, Mr. Warleigh hopes, I know, that his peculiar teaching will turn men to God : but I could not, and cannot, share that hope, because, in my opinion, this teaching does not square with that of the Bible.

Now having said my say in a pamphlet of 50 pages, I would willingly have said no more. However, I find that my answer to my excellent opponent (for such I cannot but deem him) is generally considered not plain enough, and not adapted to ordinary readers. And I confess that this is a well founded complaint. The fact is, my object was to answer, or criticize, a particular treatise ; and this little book, though not in my humble opinion very profound in itself, yet touched upon difficult points, the discussion of which involved many long words and out-of-the-way inquiries. Had I been writing an independent book on the awful subject of the future fate of wicked persons, and intended it for general reading, I should probably have refrained from introducing many of the topics which are to be found in my pamphlet. But where my guide (Mr. Warleigh's pamphlet) led me, there I had to follow ; and this same leader brought me into the difficult ground of "psychology," and "pneumatology," and "lexical meanings," and "*usus loquendi*," and into this and that stiff piece of country. Happily, I knew just a little of Latin and Hebrew and Greek ; or else I do not know how I should have fared.

Since the publication of the said pamphlet of mine, it has been answered by Mr. Warleigh in a Lecture, which at least one of the local papers seems to have almost fully reported. The same courtesy and kindness which have characterized Mr. Warleigh throughout our discussion were shown on this occasion. He spoke of me most charitably, I am told ; but of course had no mercy on my pamphlet. And there he was perfectly right. My production seems to him quite as full of errors as his does to me ; and he lets the world know his candid opinion. Meanwhile, it is a great gratification to me that, differing as we do on one important point of belief, we can discuss this point openly and fully, and yet retain towards each other the utmost friendliness of feeling. What a mistake it is to feel angry with one who may be opposed to us in opinion, whilst, at the same time, we may have every reason for believing him to be a zealous and good man !

Well, having explained the above circumstances, I take up my pen once more, in order to supply, as far as I may be able, the alleged defects of my pamphlet. I have scarcely anything new to say in point of matter : I have merely to present what I have already given to the public, in a simpler form ; also to enlarge a little on some points, as challenged thereto by the Lecture lately delivered at Tewkesbury.

I wish now to write plainly and intelligibly, so that all who take the trouble to read these words may understand my meaning without difficulty. I intend to divide what I have to say into three portions of unequal dimensions. Whatever may involve difficulty (should any of my statements be of this nature) shall come in the 3rd Part ; and no one need read that, unless he be so inclined.

My avowed object is to write about Extinction, that is, the utter blotting out of existence of the reprobate. My 1st part will be devoted to the inquiry, "Is the so-called doctrine of Extinction true, or not?" 2ndly, I shall examine the position which the Church of England holds as regards this doctrine. 3rdly, I shall attempt to meet some at least of Mr. Warleigh's strictures on my pamphlet, as reported in a local paper: to follow him in respect of every point touched upon would both occupy too much space and weary even the most indulgent reader. However, all points which I consider important shall be noticed.

My task does not appear to be a useless or superfluous one. Because the opinions I have to oppose have been widely disseminated, and are also calculated (I and others believe firmly) to have a very mischievous practical tendency, and to weaken the safeguards of morality and religion. Then again, though persons who are capable of interpreting the Bible critically and have an acquaintance with theology are well aware that Mr. Warleigh's assertions stand upon a very poor foundation, yet there is a large class of persons, who, being unable to enter into difficult arguments, are liable to be deceived by plausible statements, which profess to explain a felt difficulty, and seem to be supported by learning.

R E M A R K S,

&c.

P A R T I.

WHAT is meant by the theory of Extinction is known only too well in the neighbourhood in which I am writing, through Mr. Warleigh's public addresses on the subject in the Tewkesbury Music Hall and at other places. It has gone forth to the world that the Rector of Ashchurch and, it would appear, not a few other Christian believers, hold that it is the Divine purpose to bring to an utter end hereafter all those who are not of the family of the redeemed and saved. This theory also embraces the like excision of the Wicked One and his angels. The Devil and a host of Evil Spirits are held (agreeably with Scripture) to have a personal existence; and they, together with hopelessly wicked men, are to be brought to an end, or extinguished. This notion is intelligible enough: it has, at first sight, viewed apart from the teaching of God's word, a good deal to recommend it to our adoption: it seems a simple way of getting over great difficulties in the region of thought, in fact, the "cutting of a Gordian knot,"—but then, Is it true, is it scriptural? We, the vast majority of Christians, say, "No:" Mr. Warleigh and his friends say, "Yes." Now my business is to see, and to show, which is right, the "Yes," or the "No."

The excellent Rector of Ashchurch and I are agreed in this—that the Bible is the sole authoritative guide in this important inquiry. Apart from the Bible this and that belief can only be conjecture. To us Christians the Bible speaks with an authority which we dare not dispute. Further, we both think that independent, human reasonings can help us very little, if at all, in our investigation : also we both hold (I believe) that when we come to the *interpretation* of Scripture, the belief of the best and wisest in each age of the Christian Church ought to have some weight with us. Now, then, the ground seems tolerably clear before us, and our main head of inquiry must be, What does Scripture teach ? But here, alas, we differ : the holders of the new opinion say that Holy Scripture plainly teaches extinction : we, on the contrary, who form the large majority of English Christians, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, affirm that the Bible teaches nothing of the kind, but speaks of a continued existence in a place of punishment, whence no escape is so much as hinted at, whether by extinction, or by any other mode. Now which of us is right ? that is the great question, and to this I will at once address myself. Here, of course, I shall have to repeat a good deal of what has already come from my pen ; and I shall make no apology for reproducing the very same words that I have used before, if I find it convenient. But I feel that I have at present a greater freedom of choice as to argument than when I was merely controverting the statements of my friendly opponent. I shall at once then turn to the New Testament for the solution of our present question. And I will first state in a few words why I pass by the Old Testament Scriptures, holding them, as of course I do, to be, equally with the writings of the New Testament, the word of God. The New Testament is that part of God's word which gives us the clearest light respecting the life to come. The Old Testament gives at the best very obscure hints about the unknown future. It speaks, I know, of the wicked going down to the grave, or hell (not, however, the distinct hell of torment), by reason of the just displeasure of God : but of that shadowy realm of darkness we are

told very little in this earlier portion of the Divine Book.* So obscure are the notices respecting the future world in the Old Testament, that the best Christian writers have differed much in their interpretation of the passages which speak of it. For further observations on the subject of the Old Testament I must refer my readers to my 3rd Part.

Meanwhile, as all are agreed that fuller light was brought to us by the Gospel and shed upon every part of God's dealings with men, past, present, and future, I shall simply examine the teaching of the New Testament, believing that what under the old dispensation may have been hinted or figuratively set forth, has been more distinctly revealed to us by the word of Christ and of His Apostles. Let us go then at once to the fullest source of light.

What, now, did Christ teach on the subject of the end of the ungodly? Every one knows that He not unfrequently referred to their awful coming fate. We must search His recorded words to discover the nature and conditions of that fate. The careful reader of the New Testament must be well aware that our Saviour in several places declared that Hell, or Hell-fire, would be the dreadful portion of those who should have no part in His own Holy Kingdom. This no one disputes : nor does any one dispute either that the word "hell," as used by our Lord, means a dreadful place of punishment. The hell of the Old Testament is the "pit" or "grave," with an indeterminate signification, so to speak : but the hell of the New Testament (in the places, at least, where the Greek word *Gehenna* is used,) means invariably a place of future terrible punishment. So far all are agreed. But, now, we differ as to the *result* of the turning of condemned beings into this hell. Mr. Warleigh believes that our Lord meant to teach extinction ; that He was pleased to use such language as necessarily implied

* "It was [described as] 'a land of darkness, as darkness itself,' (Job xii.) ; the common receptacle of the 'small and great,' of the 'servant and his master,' of kings and counsellors of the earth, of prisoners and of oppressors (Job iii. 13—19). All were gathered there, under new conditions of life, incompatible with those earthly forms of activity which cease at death." Liddon's *Lent Lectures*, 1870.

the total and final destruction, or annihilation (as theologians speak), of all who should be brought into that dreadful place of torment,—that they should become as though they had never existed. Now, of course, Mr. Warleigh finds in the words of our Blessed Lord something to bear out this interpretation : he is far too sensible a man to build up such a belief on no foundation whatever. And so he is able to show that hell is spoken of as a place, or lake, of fire, and to quote several figurative sayings of Christ, in which the wicked are likened to chaff and tares and refuse cast into the fire and burned up.* At first sight the simile may seem to teach an exactly corresponding condition in the experience of the wicked, *viz.*, that they also are to be consumed and brought to an end : but further consideration ought, I believe, to correct this first and hasty impression. Now I come to what seems to me a very important argument in our present discussion. I have mentioned it already in my pamphlet, and it was noticed by Mr. Warleigh in his Lecture, but dismissed by him without, it appears to me, due examination. May I bespeak my readers' close attention. When our Lord spoke of hell, He used a word familiar already to His hearers. Now what did the Jews of that time think about hell? They believed it to be a place of everlasting punishment, *not* a place where existence was extinguished. There is no doubt whatever that such was the Jewish belief.† When Jesus, then, spoke of hell and hell-fire (as we find Him doing in S. Matt. v. 29, x. 28, xxiii. 33; S. Mark ix. 47; and S. Luke xii. 5), His hearers, of course, must naturally have gathered the impression that He was referring to a continued existence in the place of punishment, for that was the notion of hell which had been handed down to them. Now Christ never said anything to alter the Jewish conception of hell. He never said, "The hell of which I am speaking is not that of which your forefathers dreamed, it is one where, after a time of terrible suffering, existence comes to an end."

* The word "chaff" is not used by our Saviour Himself in this connexion, but by His forerunner the Baptist when speaking of Christ's coming.

† This point will be again referred to in Part 3.

Nothing of this sort. On the contrary, He says of it, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched" (S. Mark ix. 44).

It is well known that in several of our Blessed Saviour's parables the wicked are said to be cast into a furnace of fire. We need only refer to S. Matt. xiii. 42, 50. Now it is said by objectors to the endlessness of punishment that the ordinary result of casting any material thing into a fiery furnace, supposing it to be inflammable, is to consume it. Of course it is. But, then, it is to be remembered that when Christ is speaking of the awful end of the wicked, He makes use of a figure, or similitude. Now in the use of similitudes it by no means follows that the thing employed as a figure and the thing figured have a literal and exact correspondence in all their parts. It is enough that there is a certain likeness, or, to use a more correct word, a certain analogy. From the very nature of figures this must be so. A thing without life is employed as a figure of that which has life, a man, for instance. Between the two there can only be a certain agreement or correspondence; and this we call an analogy, by which word is properly meant a likeness of proportion, scientifically termed "a relation between ratios." So when our Lord compares wicked men to worthless things which are cast into the fire, it by no means follows certainly that the end of the two must be precisely the same, but, rather, a similar or analogous fate seems contemplated concerning the two, according to their respective natures. What burning up is to the one, according to its material, inflammable nature, that consignment to the place of punishment will bring to the other, according to man's compound nature, which consists of body and spirit,—*viz.*, something very terrible and dreadful, something, therefore, which gets the name of "destruction," "woe," "torment," "everlasting punishment." Now, to my mind, one fruitful cause of error with Mr. Warleigh is, that he fails to distinguish rightly between what is figurative in the language of our Lord and what is literal. The proportion between the figure and the thing figured is not duly observed, and the figure itself does not receive its right interpretation. Because the wicked are likened to tares

gathered and burned in the fire, and are said to be similarly cast into a fiery furnace, he reasons that as the tares are consumed and there is an end of them, so in precisely the same manner the wicked (according to Christ's teaching) *must* be brought to an end. But, now, what strange inferences should we draw if we treated all the deeply instructive parables of our Lord in the same way, and argued that all that might be said of the figure must necessarily belong to the matter, or object, signified by the figure, overlooking the differences in the nature or circumstances of each. What I may venture to call "*literalism*," or bondage to the letter, seems to me to be a distinguishing feature of Mr. Warleigh's mind, as I have hinted already in my pamphlet. He appears to lay hold of the letter, or word, busying himself with its "lexical meaning" and derivation, and at the same time to let the idea about which the word speaks escape him. He keeps the husk in his hand, but lets go the kernel. He says in his Lecture that these sayings of our Lord in His parable show that He *did* modify the Jewish conception about hell or *Gehenna*. But, indeed, this is not the case, for our Lord was using figures of speech, which, in explaining them, we have to bring into harmony with other declarations of Holy Scripture, and which, it is clear from their very nature, are not to be made primary standards of meaning. And as I have said before, Christ nowhere in his recorded sayings declares, or even hints, that the old Jewish belief was erroneous. Just as the Jewish Rabbis were accustomed to speak of hell, so He was pleased to speak of it. If He had wished to disturb the popular belief concerning it, surely He would, we must imagine, have spoken plainly about it. And, indeed, He does speak with sufficient plainness about it,—not, indeed, very often, for words of love and tenderness were wont to be upon His lips, and it is only occasionally that we have His words of terrible warning concerning the future abode of the hopelessly wicked. But He does at least on one occasion plainly speak of the "everlasting punishment" of those who love not God (S. Matt. xxv. 46), and this saying of His does not uproot, but just confirms the ancient belief. It is true, Mr.

Warleigh and others labour to show that "everlasting" does not necessarily mean "lasting for ever," and that "everlasting punishment" signifies "a suffering terribly sharp, limited in its duration, and followed by irreversible consequences," namely, extinction of the whole being. But neither learned nor unlearned readers will ever be able to adopt generally this view, until it can be shown that the word "everlasting" has no reference at all to duration, because it is evident that a long punishment is a punishment which lasts for a long time, and an everlasting punishment is a punishment which lasts for ever. Besides, close by the words "everlasting punishment" stand the words "eternal" (or everlasting) "life,"—the word in the Greek is the same in both parts of the sentence, though differently rendered in the English. Well, surely "everlasting life" is life without an end: no Christian disputes that: and shall any one persuade us that "everlasting punishment" is punishment which *has* an end, or one which is "limited in its duration, and followed by irreversible consequences?" What hearer of our Lord would have understood Him, had He meant to use the same word in the same sentence in two different significations, or had He purposed to depart from the usual way of speaking, and, when He made mention of everlasting punishment, to refer to certain consequences, and not to the penalty itself? In vain does Mr. Warleigh display here before our eyes his specimen words and "lexical meanings:"—(his perseverance I admire, but not his critical faculty)—all that he says about the word "everlasting" having a more limited scope of meaning *in other connexions*, or about acts and processes accomplished in time, does not the least touch the present passage. I just place the words side by side, and invite unsophisticated minds to look at them with me,—“everlasting life;” “everlasting death.”

Thus, then, we have our Saviour speaking of the Hell of which the Jews were accustomed to hear from their teachers, and declaring that its punishment is everlasting. Has He given us any further hints on the same subject? Assuredly. We now have to point to that awfully solemn passage in S. Mark ix. 43—49.

There they that go into hell are said to go into the fire that is not and cannot be quenched.—“Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.” Here Mr. Warleigh, following the lead of numerous commentators, points out quite correctly that our Lord employs in these words of threatening the language of the concluding verse of the prophet Isaiah (chap. lxvi. 24). But at the same time Mr. Warleigh fails to point out the difference between the use of the language by the prophet in the first place, and its subsequent employment by our Lord. Isaiah speaks only of the carcases or dead bodies of men being exposed to the consuming fire and the devouring worm. But when our Lord uses the same phraseology, He applies it to man’s whole being, when consciously existing he is sent into the place of torment. Thus in the mouth of our Blessed Lord the expression appears to denote a terrible condition of torment, torment to which there is no prospect of an end, from which there is no escape. It is not the body alone that is cast into hell, but the man with his soul and body. “He is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.” S. Matt. x. 28. The man is nowhere said to come to an end : meanwhile the fire, that which causes grievous misery to the lost (whatever may be denoted under the figure), this fire is not quenched. At this point great labour is bestowed to show that because in the Qld Testament cities are said to have been destroyed by “unquenchable fire,” which fire, as a matter of literal fact, must have burnt itself out, therefore our Lord could not have meant that the dreadful fire of which He spoke should never go out. Here, again, the figurative nature of our Lord’s language appears to be overlooked, his favourite “literalism” once more leading Mr. Warleigh into error.

But we have further helps to enable us to arrive at a right interpretation of our Lord’s teaching about future punishment. As He often uses the figure of fire and burning to teach us that the fate of the wicked will be very terrible, so He frequently employs the figure of darkness. Those who are rejected from the kingdom of light, or of heaven, are cast into outer darkness. S. Matt. xxv. 30, xxii. 13. Existence is not said to be extinguished there, but, on

the contrary, it is declared that "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." In exactly the same way it is said concerning the furnace of fire, "there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." S. Matt. xiii. 42, 50. Existence there is there, but most miserable existence. It was not our Lord's purpose apparently, to speak minutely about the nature of the dreadful place of punishment ; it was enough to hint at its horrors obscurely by figures, and to let us know that body and soul were to be consigned there, and that there would be no escape. The words "death," "destruction," and "damnation," are applied to the future state of the wicked, as following upon the Judgment. The wicked rise to a resurrection of damnation (S. John v. 29), and then are delivered over to a prison-house, whence none can find enlargement till the whole of a debt infinitely great be discharged (S. Matt. v. 26, xviii. 34). But there is no hint of extinction of existence. It is called a state of death because it is the opposite of true life, "life" in our Saviour's language being more than mere existence, *viz.*, holy, happy, everlasting life. Thus it is said of the wicked, "he shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (S. John iii. 36).

I have now to notice a strange inconsistency in the interpretation which gives to our Lord's words about the future punishment of the wicked the meaning of extinction. On the one hand, we are told that "the furnace of fire" must mean an agency of consuming power, that just as tares are burnt in the fire, so the wicked when cast into hell must be extinguished. But, now, it appears from Mr. Warleigh's Lecture (not so clearly, I think, from his book) that he holds that it is not the mere consignment to the place of punishment which will bring existence to an end. For he believes that some sinners will be kept still existing in that dreadful place for a length of time : he cannot say how long : shall we suppose for centuries or thousands of years ? If this be the case, what becomes of the view of the fire of hell being the counterpart of ordinary earthly fire, which consumes at once that which is committed to it ? Let us discard these inventions,—they are not to be found in the Bible,—and take our Lord's words simply and

unhesitatingly : "the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment ;" "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

We will here consider again our Lord's saying respecting His Father : "He is able to destroy both body and soul in hell." This sentence gives us a clue to the right interpretation of the word "destruction," as applied to the place of torment. It is *not* extinction. Because the destruction is said to affect the soul, or immaterial principle, equally with the body. Now even Mr. Warleigh does not hold that the immaterial principle, or spirit of a man, is ever to be extinguished or brought to an end. What then can he say to this text ? Why, he explains the "soul" to mean the "animal life," *not* man's imperishable part. Of course no one else takes this utterly untenable view. Commentator after commentator affirms that Jesus was speaking of man's spirit as co-existing with his bodily organization. Can Mr. Warleigh name one respectable writer who takes his own view as to the meaning of soul here ?

Then if Christ tells us that God is able to destroy both body and soul in hell, must we not look for the explanation of these terrible words in the unspeakably grievous misery of the whole being of the condemned ? Their body and their soul (or spirit) taste of the cup of God's righteous anger,—as to real life or happiness they are destroyed.

In one of our Blessed Lord's parables we have the picture of the soul of a wicked man existing in hell (*Hades*) in torment ; and a flaming fire is described as involving him and tormenting him, and yet the spiritual essence of the man is not consumed (S. Luke xvi. 23, 24). The idea of the permanence of punishment is conveyed to our minds by this terrible note of warning. The imagery of the parable is in keeping with the ancient Jewish notion of future retribution. But we are further taught in other passages of Scripture that the punishment of that first prison-house will give place at the Day of Judgment to the final woe of the Second Death, which woe is also described under the figure of a flaming tormenting fire. Now this flaming fire, which torments, but con-

sumes not, is to us a parabolical representation, figuring the burning of God's just anger, the particular manifestations of which are hid from our eyes, even as the joys of heaven are as yet not known.

I do not know that there is need to add anything further about Christ's own sayings respecting the end of the wicked. I have considered the passages which chiefly throw light upon this awful subject, and have attempted to show that, correctly interpreted, they hold out no prospect of the miserable existence of the unrighteous coming to an end. We have next to ask, What did the Apostles of the Lord teach on this subject? We naturally turn first to the writings of the Apostle Paul. In not one of the several Epistles of this distinguished Apostle are we able to find traces of the theory of extinction. And when we consider the scope of his grand Epistle to the Romans, and how he describes in its commencement the fearful end of the ungodly, it is inconceivable that no mention should have been made of extinction, had the doctrine really formed part of the Gospel revelation. S. Paul speaks of indignation, wrath, tribulation and anguish, as about to fall on the head of the wicked (Rom. ii. 9), but nowhere implies that they are to be blotted out of existence. So in 2 Thess. i. 9, the wicked are said to be "punished with" (or "to pay the penalty of") "everlasting destruction [away] from the presence of the Lord." "Tribulation is recompensed" to them, whilst "rest" is the portion of the godly, v. 6. Similarly S. Peter declares that "the unjust are reserved unto the day of judgment, to be punished." This dreadful punishment is often called "perdition" or "destruction," by which is manifestly meant utter ruin and unspeakable misery, but it never is described as annihilation or extinction. The passages in the apostolical writings speaking of these terrible things are few. I shall only further allude to the two well known ones in the Book of Revelation, chap. xiv. 10, 11, and chap. xx. 10; in which everlasting torment is spoken of, "and they rest not day nor night,"—this torment being the portion of the devil and of wicked men. Though some are found to deny that the first of these passages

describes the final punishment of the evil, yet all allow that the second has to do with it. We have thus the several expressions, "everlasting destruction," "everlasting punishment," "torment for ever and ever."

Now in the face of all these declarations, and in the total absence of any self-evident allusion to annihilation, it is, indeed, a bold theory to maintain that extinction is a doctrine of the Bible. The only apparent support of such a strange theory to be drawn from the Sacred Text is the fact that the words, "death," "the second death," "destruction," and expressions of a similar import, are employed to describe the future state of woe, which is to be the heritage of the wicked. But when we compare Scripture with Scripture, it becomes evident that it is not the utter cutting off of existence which is described by such terms as "destruction," but banishment from Him Who is Light and Life, and consignment to hopeless misery. One of the earliest writers of the Christian Church says, "If death issued in insensibility, it would be a godsend to all the wicked. But since sensation remains to all who have ever lived, and eternal punishment is laid up, see that ye neglect not to be convinced" (Justin Martyr, A.D. 150). Thus the early Christians interpreted the sayings of the Bible fifty years after the last of the Apostles had "fallen asleep." The great Reformer, Luther, says, "I hold gnashing of teeth to be the extremest pain which shall follow an evil conscience, that is, despair; *viz.*, to know that one must be everlastingly separated from God." "Where the damned are, who feel everlasting pain, the same is the right (or true) Hell." (Luther's *Familiar Discourses*.)

Nevertheless, it is argued in our own day by those who take their stand upon the *letter* of Scripture, that "death" or "destruction" must denote extinction of the whole being. Surely not, however. It is a frequent scriptural usage to give to the word "death" a figurative meaning: "Ye are dead" it is said to those, who, though living, have died, as it were, to sin and to former bad practices. Again, so long as men continue in the practice of sin, they are said to be "dead." This figurative language is employed

over and over again. Death is made the opposite of spiritual life and holiness and happiness. It is thus entirely consonant with the ordinary usage of Scripture to apply the terms "death" and "destruction" to a state of misery, where God is not known and cannot be loved. If there be such a place as hell (upon which point all are agreed), existence there may well be called, as, indeed, Holy Scripture calls it, "death," "perdition," "damnation."

It may be useful to observe here that the expression "second death," which is made use of in the Scriptures to describe consignment to hell, was also employed by early Jewish writers in reference to that place of punishment, where it was believed amongst them that the wicked continued in existence. For example, the *Jerusalem Targum* thus paraphrases Deut. xxxiii. 6, "Let Reuben live in this world, and let him not die the second death, which the wicked die in the world to come."

Let us now observe that in the language of Scripture the *punishment or penalty itself* of the wicked is termed "destruction." Thus, "they shall be punished with everlasting destruction." So, too, "the second death" is the entering the place of torment and abiding there at least for a while, or as most say, for ever. But, now, the Rector of Ashchurch and his co-believers must perforce allow, if, at least, they are consistent with themselves, that the wicked are punished not with "destruction" (in their sense of the word) but with torment, and then that destruction or extinction is superinduced, which, indeed, under the terrible circumstances, can scarcely be called a punishment, but rather must be deemed an *end* of punishment. How, according to the view of Extinctionists, can the term "second death" be applied *till the moment of annihilation*, since it is not considered by them the equivalent of a state of misery, but literal dying, or passing out of existence? But, on the contrary, the scriptural view, as has been observed, regards the being in the state or place of misery as the "second death;" as it is thus expressed: the wicked "shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death" (Rev. xxi. 8). Then, too, Death, that

by which man once died, is brought to an end, swallowed up by the second death (chap. xx. 14). Resuscitated man can no more come under the dominion of the first death.

Let me here quote the words of Bp. Pearson (who gives the rabbinical saying quoted above in his work on the Creed): "Certainly a man may be said to be destroyed and perish, to be lost and dead, who is rejected, separated, and disjoined from God, the better and the nobler life of man; and that person so denominated may still consist, and be what in his own nature he was before, and live the life which doth consist in the vital union of his soul and body, and so subsisting undergo the wrath of God for ever. Nor shall any language, phrases, or expressions give any comfort to the wicked, or strength to his opinion, if the same Scriptures, which say the wicked shall be destroyed, and perish, and die, say also that they shall be tormented with never-dying pains, as they plainly and frequently do."—*On the Creed*, Art. xii. These are the weighty words of one whose knowledge of Scripture was very deep and extensive.

I will now go on to speak of the belief of Christians in various ages as to what the Bible teaches on the subject of future punishment. Of course, we first consult the Holy Scriptures themselves, the sacred volume being confessedly our only infallible guide. But we may well confirm the belief we have gained from the Bible's teaching by the testimony of eminent Christians living in the various ages of the Church, showing us how they understood the Scriptures. Now this testimony is uniformly against the theory of extinction. I do not say that we cannot find in the experience of eighteen centuries a single advocate of the contrary belief; but we can scarcely discover one,—and absolutely not one who was followed in his belief by any considerable number of persons. Whereas writer after writer, from almost the Apostles' time to ours, has put on record his conviction, based on the study of the word of God, that the wicked will be preserved in miserable existence. I will not give here a long list of quotations (which, however, I can supply to any one who may desire it), but I will

state facts which no theologian would dispute for one moment. The writers who immediately succeeded the Apostles (called often the Apostolic Fathers), happen not to speak distinctly on the subject either way, in such small fragments of their writings as have come down to us. That is why I said above, "from *almost* the Apostles' time." They merely employ the scriptural expressions, without explaining them. As we have no doubt then about the meaning of these expressions of Scripture, so we can have no doubt as to what was the belief of those venerable men who used the same or similar expressions, namely, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, two of whom are known to have suffered martyrdom. However, we cannot cite them as interpreters. It is now generally believed by the learned that only these three writers lived in the apostolic age. The writers immediately following these, beginning from about A.D. 150, give us their views more distinctly, and these views are entirely opposed to the doctrine of extinction. Happily, the works of the early Christian writers are no longer locked up in the dead languages of Greek and Latin, we have them now in an English dress. I myself have examined them with tolerable care; and any person who takes the trouble to read these writings in English, can form his own opinion about the correctness of my statements. Well, age after age gives us the same testimony against the notion of annihilation on the part of the chief instructors of the age,—extinction is nowhere recognized. The universal belief of Christendom had been hitherto that which is expressed by a very early writer, "Each man goes to everlasting punishment or salvation according to the value of his actions. Punishment is eternal, and not only for a period of a thousand years" (Justin Martyr, A.D. 150). However, this statement of mine is challenged by Mr. Warleigh, but its correctness is not in reality to be successfully gainsayed. But I must keep for my 3rd Part what I have to say more on this point.

At length, after an intervening era of great spiritual darkness, we come to the glorious Reformation. Who has not heard of the noble-minded Reformers, several of whom, both in England and on

the Continent, like the venerable Polycarp and Ignatius before them, laid down their lives in defence of the truth? Well now, these eminent men, both in our land and in foreign countries, kept to the old doctrine about the punishment of the wicked. I cannot find a single one who taught extinction. My good friend, the Rector of Ashchurch, is, or at least was, under the impression (as is shown both in his pamphlet and Lecture) that the illustrious Luther was an exception, and held the doctrine of which Mr. Warleigh himself is the devoted advocate. Never was a greater mistake made, as I purpose showing in my 3rd Part. Luther most distinctly avowed his belief of the imperishable existence of the wicked,—as, indeed, has been already shown by the quotation taken from his Discourses. So did Melancthon and Calvin; so did all the Fathers of the English Reformed Church. There is not one word about extinction to be found among them, except, indeed, when they condemn the doctrine as put forth by certain foreign fanatics and by the learned Socinus, the Unitarian leader. So far as my researches go, this is the exact state of the matter. Then ever since the Reformation down to our own days Christian belief has been the same. Not only do our eminent Church of England divines in succeeding years take the same view as the early Fathers and the Reformers, but also Nonconformist or Dissenting writers add a similar testimony. Here I may cite Dr. Owen, Baxter, Howe, Doddridge, Matthew Henry, Robert Hall, and (if they are to be classed amongst Dissenters) John Wesley and Adam Clarke. But it is useless to say more on this head: the great difficulty is to find a single writer of repute during all these ages who believed in the dogma of “the Extinction of Evil Persons.”

Surely we have in this fact at least a strong presumption that the novel opinion advocated in our day by a few zealous persons is not a doctrine of the Bible, correctly interpreted. I would ask, Is it likely—I will not say, Is it possible—but, Is it likely that the early Fathers, the Reformers foreign and English, the later English divines, the eminent Nonconformist writers, should all have been wrong in their interpretation of Scripture as regards the present

question, and that the handful of modern pleaders for extinction should be right ?

I have now shown what the New Testament says when allowed to speak for itself—(I might have said more on this head, but I wished to be as brief as I could) ;—I have next declared what the interpretation of Scripture has been among Christians in all ages, in reference to the point under discussion : I shall now bring this 1st Part to a conclusion by saying a few words about the reasonableness of the common belief that the wicked are not to be cut off altogether, but will be preserved in existence, suffering such punishment as God in His just anger may be pleased to put upon them. It is quite true that our own notions of the fitness of things would be most uncertain guides, were we left to them. At the same time, when God has made known to us His truth, we may often be able to strengthen our belief of it by this or that independent consideration. Is it not, then, I would ask, reasonable to believe that the spirit which God hath formed and put into every man is never in any instance destined to be brought to an end, or to cease to be a personal spirit? Why, it is asserted with every appearance of certainty, that no created thing is ever utterly destroyed,—matter takes new forms continually, but it is never turned absolutely into nothing. And now, if matter has received from the Creator's hand the property of indestructibility, shall spirit, the spirit of man, be ever annihilated? And if the spirit remains in existence, then the man himself, or the personality, must, we should think, assuredly remain in existence : for spirit is incapable of being broken up or divided into pieces, like any material thing. Indeed, this is so strongly felt by those who teach extinction, that they feel obliged to say that they “cannot tell what becomes of the spirit.” I should think not indeed. However, they hazard a conjecture, and suppose that the spirit of the wicked person goes back to God who gave it in the first instance, to be absorbed, apparently, into the Deity! Need I say that we find nothing of this sort in the sure word of God, and that the whole theory is one utterly at variance with reasonable thinking. Oh, let us not be imposed upon by

specious arguments, which, when sifted, have really nothing in them. Rather, let us ask of our own spirit, or the spirit of another, "Is this essence within me and within thee,—this amazing property of thinking, feeling, acting, this conscience, this inward power, which constitutes me a man,—made to be destroyed? Can I believe that the spirit of man has not necessarily the impress of eternity upon it—that it *may*, indeed, endure for ever, if the heart be given to God, but will *not* endure for ever if, at the present time, sin take the place of God in the man's heart?" Well, men may reason as they please: but the instincts of nature, God's voice within us, are stronger than all reasonings: we feel, we know, that the spirit within us will outlive all changes, yea, endure throughout the endless evolution of the ages. We question not God's power over the spirit: of course He who gave the spirit could, if He so pleased, take consciousness from it, or bring it to an end in modes inconceivable by us; but we are sure that, as the spirit of man has had imparted to it the power of reaching in its thoughts unto eternity, so for eternity it is formed and destined. And if we are formed for eternity, how unspeakably momentous a question is it for each one, "Am I as yet fitted for an eternity of bliss and holiness?"

On all sides considered, the inquiry as to the reality of extinction must receive an answer of denial: the doctrine affirming it, so far as we can judge, is not a true one.

Then, too, if the belief in extinction be only a human speculation, how unsafe an one to promulgate! It appears, indeed, that its promulgators teach a certain duration of existence and punishment in the place of torment, and affirm that to the worst men is to be assigned the longest duration. But remove the notion of eternity, and teach that punishment is longer or shorter,—you shall find that the ungodly man will, as a rule, give to himself a favourable place in the graduated scale, and readily persuade himself that others are worse than he, and stifle the salutary call of alarming thoughts by the unwarranted suggestion that, after all, punishment is for a while only, and the time *may* be short, and then the

weary will be at rest, sleeping an endless sleep. In the interests of truth, in the interests of morality, in the interests of man's real welfare, we must oppose this rash and dangerous modern opinion, and declare that man is not born to perish like the beasts of the field, but will live on in some kind of existence for ever and for ever. We are by no means unmindful of the difficulties surrounding the subject—as, for instance, how the God of love can have created beings with the possibility before them of so awful a destiny—such difficulties we attempt not to solve, as neither do we try to solve the mystery of the origin of evil, nor the various mysteries which belong to the blessed truth of redemption. But fully confessing these difficulties, we yet dare not reject the paramount authority of God's word, nor be swerved in our interpretation of it by any fancies we may have formed. We submit our understanding to God's revealed sayings; and that Divine utterance of truth appears to declare to us, in no doubtful accents, that the wicked as well as the righteous are to live on for ever.

PART II.

THE present part of my subject may be brought within a comparatively small compass. Whatever importance it may have for any of us as Churchmen or as Clergymen, our present inquiry, at least as compared with the previous one, is only of secondary interest. The great matter for us to know is what the Bible teaches about the end of the ungodly. At the same time, since Mr. Warleigh has made a great deal of the voice of the Church of England as speaking on the doctrine in question, and has devoted a short tract to this especial matter, I am disposed to examine what the position of our Church really is as to the novel opinion. At first one is rather startled at learning from a Clergyman that to the Church of England "belongs the peculiar honour of having expelled from her standards of doctrine the dogma of endless torments." We wonder when this was done, and how. We recall certain expressions used by the Church in her services, which seem to us to indicate a belief in the doctrine said to be eradicated, and we remember that young children are taught by her Catechism to pray to be delivered from "everlasting death." When we examine what the framers of the Catechism meant by "everlasting death," we find they meant everlasting existence in misery. How then, we inquire, can it be true that the Church of England has repudiated the old belief about everlasting punishment, and, as Mr. Warleigh declares, intended her ministers both to give up the said belief, and to hold instead the doctrine of extinction? The grounds for this monstrous assertion (for in the presence of certain undeniable facts nothing less can I call it) are so singularly weak, that I am sure that no man of sense, whether he hold on independent

grounds the old belief or the new one about the end of the wicked, can hesitate for a moment, when I have made the matter clear to him, as to where the truth lies, as regards the particular point now at issue. It is asserted first that the introduction of the revised Code of the (39) Articles, A.D. 1562, made this grand alteration in the teaching of the Church ; and then that a certain Judgment of the Judicial Committee has of late years (in 1864) confirmed the same. I have simply to examine the correctness of these two assertions.

The Rector of Ashchurch tells us that in the First Set of Articles (42 in number) made in the reign of Edward VI., A.D. 1553, the doctrine of endless punishment was plainly set forth. He might have added that all the rest of the formularies of the Church harmonized with the teaching of the Articles.* Then came the alteration in Elizabeth's days, A.D. 1562. Among other changes, as Mr. Warleigh correctly states, two Articles were removed bearing upon the subject of the world to come. One of these (the 40th) declared that "the souls of them that depart this life do neither die with their bodies, nor sleep idly." The other (the 42nd) affirmed that not all men should be ultimately saved, and condemned the opinion that even the worst of men, after a time of suffering, would at length attain unto salvation. Now there is no question about the fact that the Revisers of the Articles in Elizabeth's days thought proper to remove these as well as some other Articles. But what does this fact prove? Mr. Warleigh makes it prove a great deal. First, he considers that the removal, or, as he prefers to call it, the "expulsion," of these Articles shows on the part of the revising authorities of the Church an intention that exactly the opposite of the said Articles should be held. But

* I cannot myself see that the known sentiments of the English divines on the subject were quite so categorically expressed in the Articles as Mr. Warleigh affirms that they were,—however, this is not to the present point. The 42 Articles declare that : 1. The wicked are to be punished in their whole persons ; 2. The soul does not sleep nor die between death and Judgment ; 3. The wicked will not be saved after a period of punishment. Do these propositions in themselves positively exclude Mr. Warleigh's notion of extinction ?

now their exact opposite would be the belief that souls *did* sleep or die, till the great Day of Account, and that all men *will* be ultimately saved. However, Mr. Warleigh does not mean this when he speaks of "the opposite of the expelled Articles," although in point of fact their opposite is assuredly what I have stated. He means, he says, the view that the soul of man is not innately immortal, and that the wicked are to be extinguished by the second death. He calls this view "the opposite of the expelled Articles." Few people, I fancy, would consider it to be so. Why, the very first assertion in the matter appears to be a mistake. How can the 40th Article be said to have taught the innate immortality of the soul, when it simply affirms that during the time between death and the Day of Judgment the soul does not sleep nor die? I cannot but suspect that Mr. Warleigh fancied that the Article was speaking of *all future time*, otherwise his words about the teaching of innate immortality would seem to have no meaning whatever. But, in fact, the Article has regard solely to the period which intervenes between the death of an individual and the great Judgment Day. Then to make out that the opposite of the 42nd Article taken in connexion with the opposite of the 40th implies belief in the extinction of the wicked, is a most curious piece of reasoning. But this is by no means the whole of the blunder. It is laid down as a proposition not admitting of dispute, that Elizabeth's divines, having removed certain Articles, *must* have meant the opinions opposite to those contained in them to be held. Now what a very wild assertion this is, to begin with, without a particle of proof to sustain it! Because an Article is removed, its opposite is to be held forsooth! Surely if on so important a point the successors of the early Reformers had desired to teach the opposite of the doctrine of their predecessors, they would have embodied their belief in a new Article, and not have left it to be inferred from the simple excision of two existing Articles. The fact is, there is no trace whatever of such a design on the part of the Revisers of the Articles: nay, more; we know that they could not have entertained the design, as I shall proceed to show. The

principle which seems to have guided them in their work was (as the learned Archbishop Lawrence shows in his *Bampton Lectures*,—I may add, as Heylyn also says,) to alter the work of their predecessors as little as possible as to its more essential portions, and, where it could be done, to pare away speculative opinions. They appear to have deemed the 40th and 42nd Articles, together with some others, unnecessary ; though at the same time they held the opinions expressed in them no less firmly than their predecessors Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer had done. And what makes Mr. Warleigh's theory about the alteration of the Articles altogether preposterous is just this fact, *viz.*, that all the divines who had a hand in it held themselves the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment ! How could they then have meant the opposite to be held ? I may be asked, how do I know this to be a fact. My simple reply is, By the writings of these men. One of the chief authors of the alteration was Dean Nowell, the Prolocutor of the Convocation that effected this work ; and in his Catechism, which carried great weight with it in those days, he distinctly and at length teaches the doctrine of endless punishment. And as Nowell believed on this point, all his coadjutors believed too. There is not the shadow of a doubt about this matter. I challenge any one to produce a single line of the writings of a single one of the Revisers testifying to an opposite opinion. On this point I have to adduce the evidence (negative, indeed, but none the less convincing) of the accurate Bp. Pearson (who wrote in the middle of the following century), when speaking of the opinions of Socinus.* So that Mr. Warleigh's assertion respecting the effect of the "expulsion of the Articles" is utterly baseless.

So far as the belief of the Church of England is concerned on the particular point of the extinction of the wicked, not one single sentiment in favour of it has ever been expressed in its formularies, whether directly or indirectly. Our Church has never given the

* By "negative evidence" is meant the total omission of the names of English divines in Pearson's mention of the misguided men (as he esteems them) who held the notion of annihilation.—*Creed*, Art. xii.

slightest countenance to that belief which is opposed to the general convictions of Christendom in all ages, *viz.*, that the ungodly are to be brought to an end. But hear our teacher of Extinction! "The Articles of our Church not only permit but direct this belief to be held; and clergymen who cling to the old belief and teach it are unfaithful to the Church of their ordination," it is said—said, alas, most rashly! One of the 39 Articles is on the subject of the two Books of Homilies, of which it says that they contain "a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times." I turn to one of the Homilies, the teaching of which is thus endorsed by the Articles, and find these words: "The punishment of the body, although it be death, hath an end; but the punishment of the soul, which St. John calleth the second death, is everlasting; there shall be fire and brimstone, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth: the worm, that there shall gnaw the conscience of the damned, shall never die."—*Against Adultery*, 3rd Part.

It may be well to note the use of the word "soul" in this passage: it certainly is not taken in Mr. Warleigh's sense of "animal life."

I have just a few more words to say about the "expelled Articles." Mr. Warleigh's way of mentioning both these and the whole code of Articles convinces me that he has given very little study to the *history* of the Articles. He appears to think that the Articles of the Church of England were intended to be a full body of divinity. Nothing of the sort. They followed closely the precedents of the two foreign Confessions, that of Augsburg (1530) and that of Wirtemberg (1551). All these three venerable Protestants purported in the first place to set forth the leading doctrines of the faith as held by the party protesting, and then addressed themselves to the refutation of false doctrines, of those of Romanism on the one hand, and of those of the Anabaptists on the other. The last several Articles of our 1st Book of (42) Articles were a protest against the supposed errors of the German and Dutch Anabaptists, and of their learned leader, Menno (born in 1505). Our Reformers

here followed the lead of Luther and Melancthon, who drew up the Confession of Augsburg, as may be seen by the perusal of the XVIIth Article of that Confession. Surely all this has escaped the notice of Mr. Warleigh, or else he would not have invented such a curious reason for the "expulsion" of the two Articles. The true account of the matter is, that the Protest against certain opinions of the fanatical Anabaptists seems to have been considered by the Revisers no longer necessary. It may be noticed that the 37th Article (38th in the New Articles) mentions the Anabaptists by name; and it is evident to any one acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of that day that all the succeeding Articles (38th to 42nd) are directed, as Heylyn says, "against the extravagances of the Anabaptists and other sectaries." By the way, not only two, but five Articles were "expelled" in 1562.

But it may still be asked, What was the effect of the Judicial Sentence of 1864. Well, so far as relates to the doctrine of extinction, none whatever. There was no issue on this point. The question tried was specifically about the denial of endless punishment, as connected with the ultimate salvation of the ungodly. And here it is evident that had the old 42nd Article not been removed, the judges could not have given the Judgment they did pronounce as to what the Church of England compelled to be professed by her ministers. The force of the sentence was that the particular words complained of in the teaching of the defendant (a clergyman), could not be condemned by the expressions of the existing formularies of the Church of England. This was a sentence, be it observed, by no means declaring that the Church held the doctrine of the cessation of punishment (much less that of the extinction of the being of the ungodly—which, indeed, was not in dispute), but simply one affirming that certain expressions which had been used respecting the future fate of men did not so contradict the standards of the Church as to bring the writer under the penalty of the law. I myself speaking of the Judgment in my pamphlet, said that it "ruled simply that

it was lawful, within the Church of England, to deny, or explain away, the eternity of punishment," etc. A relative of mine, occupying a post of trust in the Church, has pointed out to me that in saying this I really conceded too much, and my language was not strictly accurate. For, as he justly remarks, my words appear to imply a "sanction on the part of the judges to the denial of the doctrine of eternal punishment, which they would wholly disclaim." He adds, "the effect of the Judgment is simply to give impunity, as touching pains and penalties, to those who may throw out ideas or express hopes in a *manner precisely similar* to that of a certain writer whose words were impugned." At the same time I conclude that after this Judgment the denial of the endlessness of punishment any way expressed would bring no one under the lash of the law. But this result will come about in consequence of the supposed absence of any close definition on the subject in our formularies. That the Church has expressed a belief on the positive side about the ending of punishment, whether by the ultimate saving of the wicked or by their extinction, is the exact reverse of the truth. 'Though our Church, true to its spirit of comprehensiveness, permits a great latitude of opinion, yet none who has studied its history and its doctrinal statements can doubt what its real mind is about the future fate of the ungodly. It just uses the language of Scripture : and if we would know how this language was interpreted by the Fathers of the Reformed English Church, we have only to consult their writings.

For instance, in the Litany our Church teaches us to pray for deliverance from "everlasting damnation ;" in the Burial Service she puts into our mouths these words : "deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death." Most people would say that these expressions interpret themselves : but if any one is still doubtful as to the mind of the Church in adopting them, let us take the interpretation given by the words of one of the most distinguished of the Revisers of the Articles in 1562. Dean Nowell says : "the ungodly shall, with Satan and all the devils, be cast into the prison appointed for them, and into everlasting darkness, where, being

tormented with conscience of their own sins, with eternal fire, and with all and most extreme execution, they shall pay and suffer eternal pains. For that offence which mortal men have done against the unmeasurable and infinite majesty of the immortal God, is worthy also of infinite and ever-during punishment.”—Nowell’s *Catechism* ; approved and allowed by the Convocation of 1562.

I hope that I have made it clear that the Rector of Ashchurch is labouring under the greatest mistake possible in dreaming that the Church of England has “announced the extinction of the wicked and the termination of their torment.” Those who know the real state of the case must smile, though smile sadly, when they read such words as these (Pamphlet, p. 42): “The Church of England did a great work in purging her Articles from the dogma of endless torments, but her ministers have contrived to neutralize her efforts, and yet they eat her bread.”

But I have a corollary to add to this statement. If it appears certain that in so simple a matter as the investigation of the history of a religious opinion Mr. Warleigh is capable of making a great mistake, and if it is a matter of fact that he has published a tract for the express purpose of setting forth his mistaken view about the action of the Church of England, then, I ask, Is he likely to be a trustworthy guide in the more important and difficult inquiry, *viz.*, that which is concerned about the main subject of the fate of the wicked?

As for the published results of his investigation of the subject, I have, as I think, traced in them mistake after mistake, and have proved that the foundation of the theory of extinction exhibited in his treatises is no foundation at all. Further, I have in private challenged my friend, and now challenge him publicly, to let our respective statements go before a competent tribunal,—professors of theology, for instance, of acknowledged skill and learning,—and to invite a judgment on the arguments employed on either side in support of our conflicting opinions. But I am also willing to appeal to the judgment of ordinary intelligent readers.

PART III.

I HAVE now to reply to the remarks made by Mr. Warleigh on my pamphlet in his Lecture, as reported in a Cheltenham newspaper. As I am desirous of making this second pamphlet of mine as little bulky as I can, I shall confine myself to such points as I may deem really important.

The first point which calls for remark relates to the testimony of early Christian writers. I have maintained, and still maintain, that their uniform testimony is opposed to the doctrine of extinction. In my former pamphlet I said that after a diligent search I had found one, and only one, Christian writer of an early date, who held the contrary opinion, *viz.*, Arnobius, who lived at quite the beginning of the 4th century, and who seems to have supposed that the persons of the wicked would be resolved into inanimate matter. Arnobius, I may observe, though a genuine convert from heathenism and a writer of ability, appears to have been imperfectly acquainted with the Scriptures, and to have given great license to his imagination. I added that with this exception, the voice of Christian antiquity, beginning with Justin Martyr (A.D. 150), perhaps the earliest expounder of the scriptural idea of punishment, was, so far as I could discover, given invariably in favour of the opinion of the eternity of punishment.* Now Mr. Warleigh controverted this statement in his Lecture, and appears to have read

* Since I wrote these remarks about the opinion of the early Church, and mentioned the name of Arnobius as a marked exception to all the other writers of the age, I have met with a work of a learned German author, Semisch, who distinctly declares that the said Arnobius stands out from the rest as a solitary exception (Semisch's *Justin Martyr*, English translation). We may be *quite* certain that the testimony of the early Church, whatever value we choose to put upon it, was in favour of the endlessness of punishment.

several passages from the early Fathers, which seemed to him to show a contrary opinion. As these passages are not given in the report of the Lecture, I cannot, of course, trace or examine them. Again, he is stated to have read passages from the Apocrypha with the purpose of showing what was the belief of the old Jewish Church on the subject: to these, again, I have no reference. Instead then of being able to show what the real bearing of the passages quoted is, according to my belief, and by comparison with other passages of the several writers, I can only deal generally and independently with the subject of the testimony of the early Fathers, and declare what their teaching was in reference to the matter at issue. At first sight there may seem to an ordinary reader to be a contradiction between the several statements of these venerable writers; because whilst they speak in common of an eternity of punishment, some of them, at least, declare that the soul of man is not immortal. And I cannot but think that Mr. Warleigh has been led into error through this very circumstance. I come to this conclusion from certain statements of his. Finding many an early Christian writer speaking of the soul as not being immortal, he seems to have concluded (most erroneously) that by this statement was implied the writer's belief of the extinction of the whole being in the ages to come. I am led to this opinion by noticing, for instance, that in his smaller tract he quotes the words of an early Father (Theophilus) speaking of the soul's lack of innate immortality as being proof positive of the same Father's belief in the doctrine of extinction; and again, that as a proof of the strange assertion that Luther held the same view, he alleges certain words of the Reformer denying that the soul is immortal. Now here Mr. Warleigh has, I believe, allowed himself altogether to be deceived. Certainly some of the early Fathers, and possibly Luther, denied the immortality of the soul *in a certain sense*, but at the same time they held firmly the doctrine of the continuance in being of all men, whether good or bad—in fact, they held the endlessness of punishment. And now let this seeming inconsistency be explained. These good men denied the immortality of the

soul, in the sense of its being immortal in itself, of its own nature : but they never dreamed of denying that all souls, whether of the good or bad, were gifted with the property of a never-perishing existence. The fact is, the first Christian writers opposed themselves strongly to the old heathen Grecian philosophy, which held that the soul of man was not created by a personal Creator, but was *in its own nature* immortal. In the same way it was held that matter (*Hyle*) had not been created, but was eternal. In opposition to such tenets, at that time very generally held in the world, the early Christian writers maintained that the soul had no proper immortality of its own : it was not to be called immortal : immortality could only be bestowed upon it by God, the only Immortal One. We now see in what sense the ancients held that the soul was not immortal. But there was still a further application of the term "immortality" made by the early Fathers. They applied it (most appropriately) to the blessed future life of the righteous ; and so in this sense immortality would be denied to the wicked, as not attaining to eternal life. Meanwhile, there was no doubt felt, or expressed, about the never-ending existence of the wicked in misery. In the view of the ever-enduring existence of all men they had no scruple about calling the soul immortal : thus a very early writer (Athenagoras) says that God made man of an immortal soul and a body.

It is true that some of the Fathers differed from others in their mode of speaking about the soul's immortality, but this difference was confined within certain limits, and can scarcely be said to have wandered beyond the question, Was the soul created naturally immortal, or did God impart immortality to it as a separate gift ? A distinction with very little difference (so far as we may judge) in point of practical importance !

I hope I have made this matter clear ; because just through want of clearness and discrimination here, Mr. Warleigh, to the best of my belief, has failed to understand the testimony of antiquity.* Unless I am mistaken, too, he labours under the further

* It is stated by Mr. Warleigh (Pamphlet, p. 41) that the so-called ortho-

disadvantage of mistaking these writers' meaning of the word "soul:" they always mean the spirit, man's highest inward principle: Mr. Warleigh's thoughts (so far as I may presume to interpret them) run invariably, when the word is in question, upon the animal life.

I come now to facts and to the actual words of the early writers. I have called Justin Martyr the earliest expounder of the scriptural idea of punishment. He is thought to have written about the year A.D. 150. I need not here repeat what I have said in Part I. of the three still earlier writers, Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius, further than to state once more that the slight genuine fragments of their works, if fairly examined and interpreted, give us no clue to their opinions on the subject under discussion. The same may be said of Barnabas and Hermas, who are now generally thought to have flourished at a somewhat later period, about A.D. 150. Hermas, in his remarkable book of Visions and Similitudes, speaks of death overtaking the wicked: this death he defines no further than the death and destruction of the Bible are defined in the Sacred Volume. So far then no definite interpretation of the declarations of Scripture is given us; and quotations from the five so-called Apostolic Fathers do not help us. But when we come to Justin Martyr (whose contemporary probably Hermas was), "the earliest of the Fathers, of whose works we possess any considerable remains,"* we then arrive at definite opinions on the subject. Speaking of the punishment of the wicked, Justin distinctly says it is eternal. These are his words: "We hold this view, that each man goes to everlasting

dox opinion found its way into the Church in consequence of the introduction of Greek philosophy. I cannot but think that this loose and general statement argues an absence of accurate knowledge respecting the writers by whom the doctrine was first clearly enunciated. For though it is perfectly true that at an early period Grecian philosophy gave a considerable bias to the speculations of Christian writers, particularly those of the Alexandrian School, yet I do not think it can be shown that the earliest writers, from whose works I have quoted, were swayed by Platonic notions. In fact, several of them were strenuous opponents of the Greek philosophy. Evidently they derived the doctrine of eternal punishment not from pagan teaching, but from the Bible.

* Bp. Kaye.

punishment or salvation according to the value of his actions." Again, he speaks of those "who shall suffer eternal punishment, and not only for a period of a thousand years." Again, "Reflect upon the end of each of these, how they died the death common to all, which, if it issued in insensibility, would be a godsend to all the wicked. But since sensation remains to all who have ever lived, and eternal punishment is laid up, see that ye neglect not to be convinced."—Justin, *Apology I.*

Bishop Kaye, in his learned work on Justin, says that he always speaks of the punishment of the wicked as eternal. At the same time he tells us that in one of his treatises Justin introduces an old man by whose discourses he himself had been converted to Christianity. He represents this old man as saying that at the Day of Judgment "those souls which appear worthy of God will be exempt from death, and the rest will be punished so long as God wills them to exist and to be punished. The soul partakes of life because God wills it to live : and in like manner it will cease to partake of life, when God wills it not to live." The Bishop says : "Whether Justin wished to be considered as implicitly adopting the opinions of his instructor appears to me doubtful ; but even if he did, it is evident that he meant not to deny the immortality of the soul, but only to say that it was not immortal in its own nature—that its immortality is the gift of God." Again : "Justin's venerable instructor speaks of the punishment of the wicked as enduring as long as God wills. Justin always speaks of it as eternal. There is no absolute contradiction between the two statements ; which may be reconciled by saying that God wills the punishment to be eternal. The bodies of the bad (according to Justin) will be rendered immortal, in order to endure the eternity of suffering to which they are destined."—Bp. Kaye's *Account of Justin Martyr.*

As regards, then, the duration of punishment, Justin's opinion clearly was that it was eternal : as regards the immortality of the soul, he held, in opposition to the Grecian philosopher Plato, that in its own nature the soul was not immortal, but had immortality

bestowed upon it by God. Such is Neander's view of his opinions. He says both of Justin and of Tatian, a contemporary writer, that they believed souls to be naturally mortal, but that by the will of God they will live for ever either in happiness or misery.*

I will now speak of Theophilus, who wrote about A.D. 170; and I make the more of him, because Mr. Warleigh (in his smaller tract) quotes his words as proving that the dogma of the intrinsic immortality of the soul, and, by consequence, that of the endlessness of torments, were not held by the early Christian Church. In the passage adduced by Mr. Warleigh it is said: "God made man neither mortal nor immortal, but capable of both [conditions]; that if he should incline to the things which lead to immortality, he might receive immortality as a reward. But if he should turn to the works of death, he might become the author of death to himself." Here evidently we have to examine in what sense the writer uses the words "mortality" and "immortality." By mortal he evidently means "liable to die:" by "immortal," "that which cannot die." Man was made neither liable to die, nor yet exempt from all possibility of dying: he fell, and became mortal, forfeiting the reward of immortality, which obedience would have secured. But in God's mercy he may still inherit immortality, or eternal life in heaven, Theophilus proceeds to show. The meaning of Theophilus seems clear enough. Like Justin, he appears to have held that the soul was not *in its own nature* immortal. Nevertheless, he seems to have held a *certain* immortality of the soul, for in giving an account of the creation, he says that in consequence of God's breathing into man's face the breath of life, "by most persons the soul is called immortal;"† apparently (as Bp. Kaye shows) agreeing himself with such persons.

But to leave this Father's definitions respecting the immortality of the soul, will it be believed that my friendly opponent in the innocence of his heart, and, I must add, with an evident lack of research, claims Theophilus as an adherent, when I am able to quote

* Neander's *Hist. of Christian Dogmas*, vol. i. p. 181.

† *Epist. to Autol.*, b. ii. chap. 19.

the following words of his? "Do you also submit to God, believing Him, lest if now you continue unbelieving, you be convinced hereafter, when you are tormented with eternal punishments; which punishments, when they had been foretold by the prophets, the later-born poets and philosophers stole from the Holy Scriptures." Again: "to escape the eternal punishments, and to obtain the eternal prizes of God."*

When these words are duly pondered it will scarcely any longer be maintained, I think, that Theophilus gives important testimony against the dogma of the endlessness of punishment.

Athenagoras is a writer of the same period, A.D. 177. In his remarkable treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, he repeatedly declares his opinion that man's soul is immortal and framed for everlasting continuance; and though I do not find in this treatise the direct mention of the endlessness of punishment, yet we may safely infer that he held this doctrine, since he affirms that at the resurrection the reward or punishment of lives well or ill spent will be proportioned to the merit of each, and he considers the soul to be "incapable of dissolution, dispersion, or corruption." He observes that "men, in respect of the soul, have from their first origin an unchangeable continuance, but in respect of the body obtain immortality, by means of change," *i.e.*, by virtue of the resurrection.

One of the earliest fragments of Christian antiquity is the beautiful Epistle to Diognetus by an unknown author. Learned writers are disposed to date it before even the time of Justin Martyr. The author thus expresses himself:—"Then shalt thou condemn the deceit and error of the world, when thou shalt fear what is truly death, which is reserved for those who shall be condemned to the eternal fire, which shall afflict those even to the end that are committed to it."—*Epist. to Diognetus*, chap. x.

Hippolytus (about A.D. 200) speaks thus in the *Discourse against the Greeks* attributed to him: "To the lovers of iniquity shall be given eternal punishment. No sleep will give them rest: no death will deliver them from punishment."

* *Epist. to Autol.*, b. i. chap. 14.

I will only refer to two more writers, Irenæus A.D. 180, and Tertullian A.D. 200. In the writings of the former are the following words : "On as many as, according to their own choice, depart from God, He inflicts that separation from Himself which they have chosen of their own accord. But separation from God is death, and separation from light is darkness, and separation from God consists in the loss of all the benefits which He has in store. Now good things are eternal and without end with God, and therefore the loss of these is also eternal and never-ending."* "Submission to God is eternal rest, so that they who shun the light have a place worthy of their flight ; and those who fly from eternal rest have a habitation in accordance with their fleeing, Those who fly from the eternal light of God, which contains in itself all good things, are themselves the cause to themselves of their inhabiting eternal darkness, destitute of all good things."†

The opinions of Tertullian respecting the endlessness of punishment are well known and very decided. I need only adduce one short passage : "The righteous judgments of God begin to take effect in the intermediate state" (between death and the Day of Judgment). "The souls of the good receive a foretaste of the happiness, and the souls of the wicked of the misery, which will be assigned to them as their everlasting portion, at the day of final retribution."‡

I abstain from quoting further because my object has been simply to give the opinions of the *earliest* uninspired Christian writers, who have placed on record their belief as to the fate of the wicked.|| When we reach the 3rd Century testimony of the same kind increases, and ever continues to increase as Christian authors multiply. The early centuries of the life of the Church were marked by an entire absence of any belief in extinction,—it may be more correct to say *almost* an entire absence, because, as I have

* Irenæus *Against Heresies*, b. v. chap. 27.

† *Against Heresies*, b. iv. chap. 39. ‡ *On the Soul*, chap. 58.

|| The Clementine Homilies (thought to have been written soon after the year A.D. 200) speak repeatedly and very explicitly of the never-ending punishment of the wicked. See *e.g.*, *Hom.* xi. chap. 11.

previously mentioned, there was the exception of Arnobius, who, however, did not flourish till about A.D. 300. Origen arose, indeed, with his remarkable speculations about the final restitution of all things (A.D. 220); but though he differed from the general belief of the Church respecting the world to come, he was diametrically opposed to the notion of extinction.

I need add nothing to what I have said in Part I. in reference to the period of the Reformation and to the succeeding centuries.*

The next point I have to notice is the Lecturer's assertion that the 40th Article (1553) affirmed the undying nature of the soul. I must here repeat that this statement is wanting in accuracy. What the Article *did* affirm was that during the interval between death and the Judgment Day the soul did not die nor sleep. Consequently at first it might be supposed that this proposition only expressed what Mr. Warleigh himself allowed. But I suspect he would be unwilling to put his hand to it in approval, for he argues that the soul is the "animal life," and *that*, of course, comes to an end with the body. Of course, by the "soul" the Reformers meant man's spirit. I have explained why this 40th Article found a place in the First Code, and have given the presumable reasons why it was removed from the Articles of the Church in 1562.

I have to demur to the statement that the precise point tried before the Court of Appeal in 1864 was whether endless torment was a doctrine of the Church. The real point tried and decided was whether or not the particular language of Mr. Wilson was of a

* We may thus tabulate the notices concerning the future fate of the wicked given by inspired and uninspired writers.

1. The general language of the Old Testament concerning the wicked announces simply that they are sent down to the pit,—where existence is contemplated. Daniel further declares that they shall "awake to everlasting contempt."

2. Jewish writers of the age which succeeds the closing of the canon of the Old Testament, speak of a future judgment and of misery being the portion of the wicked, but they give no hint of extinction.

3. Our Lord, employing Jewish expressions (*Gehenna*, &c.) calculated to set forth the idea of miserable existence, speaks indeed (according to the testimony of the Evangelists) of punishment, but makes no allusion to any end of punishment. The Apostles in their writings repeat the announcements of Christ, and threaten the wicked with endless woe.

4. Succeeding uninspired writers of the early days of Christianity have taken the canonical writings in the sense assigned above.

nature to bring him under the penalties of the law. But this has already been discussed in Part II.

There is a fallacy lurking under the observation of the Lecturer, "if I want to know the law of the Church, I go to Acts of Convocation," etc., "what the Elizabethan divines believed is not to the point," etc. In the particular case alluded to Acts of Convocation do not enlighten us, and the private opinions of the members of Convocation render us material assistance. For it is to be recollected that the question raised by Mr. Warleigh is *not*, What did certain declarations of Convocation mean, but, What did the "expulsion" of Articles mean? in other words, What motives prevailed with the Revisers, What were the known opinions of that learned body? I suggest that the best way of arriving at the considerations which weighed with them is to find out what opinions they individually held on the subject under discussion; and if I find, as I do find, that they held the doctrine of the eternity of punishment, then I know at least this much,—that they could not have intended the contrary to be held, merely because they struck out two Articles—Articles, by the way, which all the members of that Convocation actually themselves believed. Of all the Lecturer's doubtful, or more than doubtful positions, this, to my mind, is about the strangest. I can only compare it with the notion entertained, as it seems, at the present day by an eccentric individual, a man of education I believe,—that, after all, the world is not round, but flat.

I come next to the interpretation of certain expressions in the Psalms. This is a very extensive subject, and to go fully into it would require many pages. I still take leave to uphold the general line of interpretation suggested in my pamphlet. I hold that the promises of prosperity, especially as connected with "the land," *i.e.*, Israel's earthly inheritance, had regard in their primary import to the present life, and that the threatening of cutting off and destruction on the other hand spoke to the Jews of temporal ill. This true method of interpretation (as I deem it) was powerfully set forth by Calvin, who did much to call men off from mystical

expositions of the Old Testament, and whose valuable Commentary on the Psalms I commend to Mr. Warleigh's attention. Since Calvin's time the mystical method of interpretation has been less and less in vogue amongst commentators of the best kind. Of recent writers on the Psalms, I suppose the two Germans, Hengstenberg and Delitzsch, rank in the highest class,—and their general line of interpretation tallies in the main with that of Calvin. Calvin completely answers for me the Lecturer's strictures as to the present point. God's promises of prosperity and long life were, first, conditional; then they applied to collective Israel, to succeeding generations of the godly (as may be clearly seen in Deut. xxx. 18-20), and not only to the individual good man. As to the wicked, "he should be cut off from the earth:" and if collective Israel became corrupt, he would forfeit all the good promises given to the righteous, and "his place should know him no more." Space forbids me to enlarge further on this line of interpretation, or to illustrate it by examples gathered from different parts of the Old Testament. I have not, however, hastily adopted it. I must remark that "literalism" again comes in here, to the Lecturer's great misfortune, and prevents him from seeing the natural and evident meaning of the words, "the wicked shall not be," *i.e.*, they shall be cut off from the earth by death. Meanwhile, to correct misapprehension, I will just reproduce a sentence or two of my own, taken from my pamphlet. "That beneath the letter in which the Holy Spirit clothed His eternal utterances (in the Old Testament), we Christians, to whom the powers of the world to come have been more distinctly made known, may find the threatening of everlasting destruction to them who obey not God, I by no means deny. We may say, I presume, that the Holy Ghost, speaking by the mouth of David, hath said that 'the wicked shall be turned into hell,' ay, not into *Sheol* only (Ps. ix. 17), but even into *Gehenna*. But this admission by no means endorses the opinion that by such statements of the Old Testament the nature of the final state of the wicked is defined." I may add that in a similar way the promises of long life and prosperity in the Old

Testament, though primarily referring to temporal blessings, yet now in the light of the New Testament speak to the Christian of that everlasting life which by the terms of the Gospel is linked with the favour and love of God. In like manner when David prays for temporal deliverance from his enemies, and receives promises of help against them, the Christian takes up his words and finds in them the promise of help against spiritual foes, and of everlasting deliverance.

As for the word "annihilation," it is used by all theologians, the best and most correct as well as the less accurate (let me name Bp. Pearson as one), to describe the bringing to an end of man, as man. So that I consider it sheer pedantry to reject this word, or to draw a distinction between it and "extinction." The discussion is not worth two straws in a theological point of view.

The Lecturer has mistaken my argument about the several senses of the word "death,"—a tolerably conclusive proof to me that I must have written ambiguously. I was attempting to show (in accordance with a remark frequently made by writers on theology) that "death" was a term of varied meaning. Thus I instanced the death of the brute and the death of man, and observed that here "death" described two very different processes—the one subject perishing altogether by the blow of death, the other still existing in another phase of existence. Then I added, "death" has a further and more extended signification, when we come to speak of the "second death," because this affects both body and soul. Next I went on to refer to certain figurative senses of "death." My simple object in this passage was to illustrate the general proposition thus laid down by Dr. W. Alexander: "Death is a term of wide and varied meaning in Scripture, and it must in each case be interpreted according to the context in which it stands." Mr. Warleigh had complained of persons "attempting to show that when the Bible applies the word death, even the second death, to man, it uses it in a totally different sense than (*sic*) when it is applied to any other living being." Hence my attempt to show that death has many meanings in the Bible.*

* I take the following observation from a work of a modern French writer:

The Lecturer prefers the word "application" to the word "sense," as referred to the uses of "death." Be it so. I have no objection to the word "application." Dr. Alexander's expression quite meets my view, that "death is a term of wide and varied meaning." And widely different indeed is the application of the same word "death," as referring now to the life physical, and now to the life spiritual. Mr. Warleigh maintains that the sense is the same in the two instances. I should prefer to term the sense in the one case analogous to the meaning in the other; since in the first case the physical powers may be said to be totally destroyed, but precisely the same cannot be said of the spiritual powers. Let me quote in defence of this distinction a few words from Bullinger, the Swiss Reformer: "Truly the death of the soul in the Holy Scriptures is to be remembered, but the same is referred to the state and condition, not to the substance, of the soul. For if God be the life of the soul, surely to be forsaken of God, and to be left unto thyself, is the death of the soul. But, nevertheless, the reasonable soul liveth in its own proper essence or being, so that when it liveth miserably, a miserable life is in very deed called death."—*Decades* iv. *Serm.* x.

I notice that again in his Lecture Mr. Warleigh affirms that the proper meaning of the soul is the animal life. If he means that the word "soul" embraces invariably in its idea only the life of the body, this is altogether opposed no less to the scriptural use of the word than to the usage of antiquity, and to the present popular employment of the term. When the ancients spoke of the immortality of the soul, they referred to the immaterial principle, or spirit, within us; and so do the moderns when they speak of the soul. Let me mention in passing Tertullian's treatise *On the Soul*: he is speaking throughout it of the deathless principle

"All the consequences of sin are summed up in one word—death. This word undoubtedly points, in its primary significance, to the separation of body and soul and the destruction of the physical life; but it has a less restricted sense. It may be understood also of separation from God, and of the evils consequent on that separation,—of the ruin wrought by sin in our nature."—*Early Years of Christianity*, by E. de Pressensé.

within us which thinks and knows and wills. All the early Fathers use the word in the same way. The soul and spirit are used by the best writers of all ages interchangeably, unless circumstances require a distinction. The soul is taken ordinarily for the whole immaterial part of our nature. Thus S. Augustine speaks : " The soul, as it may be called corruptible by reason of sin and wickedness, so it may be called mortal. For the death of the soul is the revolting or falling from God : which first sin of the soul was committed in paradise." " The soul also hath its death, when it lacketh a blessed life, which is to be named the true life of the soul. But for this cause it is called immortal, for that, whatsoever life it liveth, yea, though it be most miserable, yet it never ceaseth to live."—August. *De Fide* and *De Trinitate*.

It may seem unnecessary to argue at length about so very simple a question as to whether or not the word "soul" in the Bible means sometimes man's highest part, the reasonable soul, or spirit. Any person consulting the English Bible can satisfy himself on this point, and unless committed to some preconceived theory, he will readily see that the word is used in the sacred volume just as we ordinarily use it, except that its range of signification there is rather wider than with us. In fact, it takes in the "person" and the "life," even sometimes the life of the beast. However, with Mr. Warleigh this point is a great matter : he first denies that the Bible uses the word "soul" in the sense of the human spirit, and then upon this presumed fact erects a grand support of his theory. Let us look, then, at the scriptural use of the word "soul." We begin with the Old Testament. In the Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius the word "soul" (or *Nephesh*) is said to mean : " 1. The soul, *anima*, by which the body lives. 2. The mind, as the seat of the senses, affections, and various emotions, to which is ascribed love, joy, fear, piety towards God, confidence, desire, etc." (Gesenius gives instances of each emotion or affection.) " Things are sometimes attributed to the soul which belong to the mode of feeling and acting ; to will and purpose : to the understanding and the faculty of thinking." And yet my good

friend, the Rector of Ashchurch, persists in maintaining in the face of all this, that the "soul" in Holy Scripture only denotes the animal life, or, rather, never denotes man's spiritual or intellectual nature ! He refuses to be bound by the opinion of Gesenius, but, at the same time, tells us of no one whom he finds agreeing with himself. I suspect that he stands quite alone as to this point,—*Athanasius contra mundum*. But I pass on to the New Testament. It may readily be conceded that in this portion of God's Word the word "Spirit" is employed ordinarily in reference to God dealings with man's soul. The Spirit of God addresses man's spirit. At the same time the word "soul" is also used to describe man's immaterial principle, his reasonable soul. Thus our Lord speaks of God's being able to destroy both body and soul (S. Matt. x. 28). He is there evidently referring to the immaterial spirit which thinks and wills, loves and hates, under the term "soul." Because (if for no other reason) it is implied that man cannot destroy this "soul," but we know that he can destroy the animal life. Again, S. Paul directs the Philippians to "strive together with one soul (or mind, *Psyche*,) for the Gospel," and the Ephesians to "do the will of God from the soul" (or heart, *Psyche*).

Again, it is said of our Blessed Lord that "His soul was not left in hell" (*Hades*) ; surely His reasonable human soul, that which (according to our Creed) together with His body made up His human nature. Our Lord Himself spoke thus of His human soul, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful : " again, "now is My soul troubled." Again, the Song of the Virgin thus commences : "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit (the equivalent of soul) hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." S. Peter tells us of "lusts which war against the soul" (1 Pet. ii. 11) : S. James speaks of "saving a soul from death" (v. 24). In these passages it is quite evident that the "soul" neither means the animal life, nor is put synecdochically for the whole person,—it is the spirit, or reasonable soul. In precisely the same way we speak indifferently in our common language, of our soul, or our spirit,—when we wish to speak scientifically, then we distinguish between them. I do not

myself attribute any great importance to the exact words which may be employed to express the facts of man's nature. Man is clearly compounded of a body and a reasonable soul, or spiritual nature ; or he may be more accurately defined as made up of body, soul, and spirit. When the word "spirit" is employed to denote man's highest part, then the word "soul" describes generally the life-power, and the emotional, the perceptive, and the imaginative faculties, and may be said to be (in reference to the body) on the side of the spirit. But when no mention is made of the spirit, and the soul is spoken of, "soul" often means either the life, or person, or spirit of a man. Such is the scriptural usage ; and that the ancients understood it to be so, and adopted it themselves, may be seen over and over again in their writings. Thus Tertullian in his book on the Soul calls death the separation of the soul from the body : the body comes to an end, he says, but the soul goes to paradise.

Why the Lecturer insists so much on the soul being in Scripture merely the animal life, and never the highest principle of our nature, or spirit,—thus ignoring the universal practice of theological writers,—is very evident. His main contention is that the Bible speaks of the "animal life" being destroyed in the place of punishment together with the body, but *not* the spirit, or as most would term it, the reasonable soul. *That*, he says, is never destroyed, but returns to God. The spirit of the wicked man returns to God, when in hell the life of the resuscitated body is extinguished ! Surely this is not Christian doctrine, though it may find some sort of support in the belief in Nirwana among the Buddhists. Still, this being Mr. Warleigh's theory, it becomes a matter of importance to show that Holy Scripture does not in its varied use of the word "soul" merely mean the animal life, but that the 'lexical meaning' of the word is often "mind," or "spirit," and to insist especially that when our Lord speaks of destruction both of soul and body in hell, He is referring to the immaterial principle which thinks and feels, and is the seat of self-consciousness.

Next I have to notice once more the subject of immortality. All Christians are agreed in this—that in the highest sense of the word “God only hath immortality.” In setting forth this statement I made use of the expression “proper, self-originating immortality.” This phrase scandalizes the Lecturer, and he apostrophizes the divines of Christendom, and demands to know whether these words express their sentiments. Now really a great flourish of trumpets is made about a small matter here. *Parturiunt montes*. The word “self-originating” occurred to me as conveying fairly well (like the Greek word *αὐτοφυής*)* the idea I wished to express, *viz.*, that the immortality of God Himself was grounded in His very essence. I might have used the word “inherent;” that no doubt would have been a commoner word. But my meaning, I should have thought, was clear enough. Nor am I yet quite convinced that my expression is incorrect. I have shown it to two friends, both men of ability; and it is their opinion that the word may be used as I have employed it, *viz.*, to express the nature of God’s attribute of immortality. But if theologians condemn the word, I am perfectly willing to acknowledge that a better word might be substituted for it. I contend not for words but for things. So now leaving the “letter,” let us come to the idea of immortality. Having confessed the great verity, that to God alone belongs inherent immortality, we proceed to inquire whether man has been made through the gift of God the possessor of immortality. And I answer, “yes; the whole race of mankind: only, we must distinguish between the meanings of immortality.” Man is both mortal and immortal, according to the meaning in which the word is taken. He is mortal, in that he dies: immortal is he, in that he has a spirit which is doomed never to die. Again, in a further sense man may be made to possess immortality. He may through faith in Christ attain unto everlasting bliss, and to this eternal life of happiness is attributed the term immortality. Immortal life was considered and spoken of by the early Christian writers “not

* This word is used by Bucer (*Exposition of Psalms*) as a translation of “Jehovah,” = *a se et per se Existens*.

as a mere continuation of the present life, but as something specifically different and higher."*

In this part of our discussion the Lecturer has mistaken my meaning. He calls me "one of two persons who say that through the atonement of Christ all men are re-made, whether the good or the bad, immortal." I beg to say that I repudiate this companionship. I believe the opinion has been held, and by more than one person, but I can find no scriptural warrant for it. When I asserted that immortality was regained by the grace of God in the gift of His Son, I was speaking not of a mere condition of never-ending existence, but of the regaining of the favour of God, "Whom to know is eternal life," and of the holy, deathless condition consequent on that state of Divine favour. But in regard to the wicked, I hold that the atonement has made no change in their condition as respects existence: before the atonement they were destined, and now after the atonement has taken place they are still destined, to exist for ever. I had previously said that when man fell, "he never parted with the deathless principle within him."

The Lecturer makes merry over my figurative expression, "a living death": he seems never to have met with it before—a fact which surprises me. It is found in a book not unfrequently met with—Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The venerable Bullinger comes near the expression when he speaks of a "miserable life being called death."

The mention of Milton gives me the opportunity of observing that in the Lecture, by a most unfortunate misinterpretation, our great poet is made by Mr. Warleigh to utter sentiments exactly the reverse of his real ones. He is quoted with approval as being understood to imply that death will be man's ultimate end, and prevent the eternal duration of woe. Milton, as we may readily suppose, is very far from thinking or saying this. A passage in his grand poem has been evidently misunderstood by the Lecturer. It is taken from Book xi.; and in it the Almighty Father is represented

* Neander's *Hist. of Christian Dogmas*.

by the poet as saying that in creating man He had endowed him with two fair gifts, happiness and immortality. The Divine speech proceeds :

“ That fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death : so death becomes
His final remedy.”

Here is intimated, indeed, that in the case of all mankind death ends the present scene of woe ; but the conclusion of the sentence (omitted by Mr. Warleigh) declares that death will give place to second life, and that same race “ whose final remedy” death had been affirmed to be, having been redeemed, shall “ wake in the renovation of the just, with heaven and earth renewed.” The case of the reprobate is not here entered upon ; and all that is stated about eternal woe is that the human race, regarded in its unity, is not to be subjected to it on the earth in the present condition of life,—onwards from man’s fall. Milton’s real opinion about eternity of punishment is not difficult to gather. He everywhere intimates that wicked men and evil spirits are to share a common destiny : and what will be the destiny of the rebellious is plainly affirmed in more than one passage of the great poem. Thus in Book v. the Infinite Father is introduced as declaring of him who disobeys, that he

“ Falls
In utter darkness, deep ingulf’d, his place
Ordained, without redemption, without end.”

And in Book vi. the punishment of Satan is declared to be “ eternal misery.” I am afraid that the Lecturer will no longer feel himself able to endorse the “ correct theology” of Milton.

I will not linger over the subject of the “ lexical” meaning of words. I could only repeat what I have elsewhere said about literal and figurative senses.

I come to the reference to Luther. It was not exactly a *complaint* of mine that we had not Luther’s own words in the pamphlet I was criticizing, but I simply regretted that we could not see with our own eyes what he had actually written. My

general knowledge of the theology of the great Reformer told me that he could not possibly have held the theory of extinction ; but at the same time I had not his works by me to refer to. I was able, indeed, to allude to the Augsburg Confession, which was the joint work of Luther and Melancthon, and to say that in its XVIIth Article it distinctly lays down the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment. Lately I have had in my hands the *Familiar Discourses* of Luther (*Colloquia Mensalia*), collected by Dr. Lauterbach, and done into English by Henry Bull in 1650. The vehement Reformer speaks out his sentiments distinctly enough in these discourses, especially in a Chapter headed "On Damnation and Hell," and of course knows nothing of extinction. In addition to my former quotation from this work (Part I.), I will only give these other few words : "The wicked and ungodly, as the dregs and filth, shall remain in hell, and there be damned." The Lecturer quotes, indeed, Luther's opinion about the immortality of the soul. After what I have already said, I need scarcely repeat the assertion that this opinion of his no way affects his belief about the endlessness of punishment. What Luther denies about the soul is its natural or innate immortality (just what certain of the early Fathers denied) : he never denies that the soul is destined to live on for ever. But here Mr. Warleigh seems to have fallen into one of his favourite errors, that of not distinguishing between the several applications of the word "immortality." I am able now to quote from two more of Luther's works, his *Commentary on the Galatians*, and his Exposition of certain of the Psalms. In the former we meet with these words : "The bondage of sin, death, the devil, and damnation is not corporal and such as continueth for a time, but everlasting. The fantastical spirits who fall away from faith and from Christ's freedom, have procured unto themselves here a temporal bondage, and in the world to come shall be oppressed with an everlasting bondage." Commenting on Ps. cxxi. Luther exclaims, "How miserable shall their condition be, when, after these transitory, momentary, and vain pleasures, they shall find and feel nothing but anguish and torments, with weeping

and wailing for ever and ever." In reference to Luther's language, it is to be remembered that the corrupt system of doctrine which he was opposing had engrafted into itself very much of the notions and diction of the old heathen philosophy. Now let it be borne in mind that in his pamphlet Mr. Warleigh roundly asserts that Luther denounced the dogma of the immortality of the soul and of endless torments! Evidently, this sentence was penned in profound ignorance of Luther's sentiments.

The Lecturer affirms that it is not a fact that our Lord abstained from modifying the belief of the Jews respecting the endless torments of hell,—but he rests his affirmation on the mere expressions of our Lord in His parables and parabolic sayings about the furnace of fire and the tares and refuse. I have already shown the weakness of this argument, in speaking of the nature of similitudes. It is asserted, again, that no proof was offered by me as to what the Jewish belief about *Gehenna* was, *i.e.*, the *late* Jewish belief, after the time of the Captivity. I thought sufficient proof had been offered by my references to the Book of Judith (written, probably, about B.C. 100), to Lightfoot (on S. Mark ix.), and to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii.). I would ask of Mr. Warleigh, Has he himself any doubt about what the Jewish belief was? He implies that he has studied the question. If he has not been able to satisfy himself on the point, I think I shall be able to set at rest his doubts, but he does not tell us what he really believes.

The fact is, the Jewish Rabbis spoke of the place of torment, and called it the "second death;" and at the same time intimated their belief that existence was continued in the place of punishment. Lightfoot (on S. Mark ix.) gives this Jewish saying: "Is not the finger of a man, if it be put in the fire, immediately burnt? But God gives power to wicked men to receive torments." Further, he quotes the words, "Gehenna of eternal fire," from a Chaldee Paraphrast, and gives three examples from Targums of the use of the expression "second death." Next the apocryphal Book of Judith yields tolerably clear evidence of the Jewish belief, in the words which are found in chap. xvi. v. 17: "The Lord Almighty will

take vengeance of them in the day of judgment, in putting fire and worms in their flesh ; and they shall feel them, and weep for ever." In another apocryphal book, the 2nd of Esdras (thought to be written about B.C. 150), the future condition of the wicked is spoken of. The language is obscure, but seems to denote a punishment without an end: the wicked "perish;" "thirst and pain are prepared for them;" "they must learn after death by pain;" "they shall dwell in torments" (2 Esdras viii., ix.). In another Jewish work, the Book of Enoch (written, probably, about B.C. 100), the doctrines of resurrection, retribution, and eternal punishment are dwelt upon, chap. xxii. See Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, "Enoch."

But more decisive is the testimony of Josephus. In his *Antiquities* he speaks thus of the belief of the Pharisees (he himself being of that body): "They believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life, and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former shall have power to revive and live again."—*Ant.* xviii. 1, 3. In his *History* he speaks of the same thing, "They say that all souls are incorruptible, and that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment."—*Hist.* ii. 8.

Thus we cannot doubt that the general belief of the Jews in the time of our Lord was that the wicked would be punished endlessly, and that this idea was involved in the use of the word *Gehenna* or Hell. At the same time we are aware, of course, that the party of the Sadducees denied future punishments, so that to them *Gehenna* had no real existence.

The Lecturer doubts whether I studied his pamphlet with sufficient care. I certainly did pay considerable attention to it, but I did not find in it the assertion which appears in the Lecture, *viz.*, that there are to be longer and shorter periods of punishment. I found the figure of combustion much insisted on, as also the statement that "punishment would be terribly sharp and limited in its duration." I now find an inconsistency between his statement that there will be a period of existence varying as to its length,

and his denunciation of the notion that God should "work a miracle every hour, so as to keep the fire from consuming the wicked."

Further on in the Lecture I notice a very curious specimen of "literalism," which I will give verbatim : " Let me ask, if God fills all space and is everywhere, and if the wicked, when punished, shall be (*sic*) from the presence of the Lord, then where can the wicked be?" I am tempted to inquire, Is this sentence of the Lecture correctly reported? Surely it is only the common language of the Bible to say that evil spirits and wicked men, though existing, are banished from the presence of the Holy God. Not having His favour with them, but His wrath upon them, they are dwelling away from Him, even though the Almighty is spoken of as everywhere present. "Depart from me" it is said to such. "I will cast you out of My sight" was God's threatening to His people of old. "The Lord removed Israel out of His sight," it was recorded by the inspired historian, in speaking of the captivity.

My argument about the destroying of the Devil, which has failed to convey any meaning to the mind of the Lecturer, was this : Destruction of the Devil need not mean his annihilation, for our Blessed Lord is represented as "destroying" him by His own death (Heb. ii. 14), *i.e.*, of course, destroying his power, and rescuing his victims. This, Holy Scripture calls destroying the Devil.

The Lecturer is able to quote Bp. Wordsworth in support of the rendering of "spirit of lives" in Gen. ii. 7. The name of this learned bishop carries weight with it no doubt. I have found, too, at least one other writer who turns the phrase similarly. Yet on the other hand I find profound modern expositors preferring the rendering of our Version, "breath of life." For the word "life" seems intended here to express not so much separate *kinds* of life, as life in its fulness, together with all that appertains to it. I do not think that "spirit of lives" is idiomatic English, and I do not expect that the Revisers of our Translation will adopt this rendering. The Hebrew plural form seems to express implicitly

—"life with all its various powers and phenomena." We may compare with it other phrases of the same kind ; thus a person's "youth" is frequently put in the plural in Hebrew, and so is "old age : " so, too, are states which are permanent, such as "perverse-ness," "blindness," "childlessness." Grammarians generally class "life" (as expressed in the plural number) with these. However, the main question has to do with the meaning of "spirit," or "breath" (whether "life" or "lives" be adopted). I take it to mean "breath or spirit of life." Mr. Warleigh understands it of the Personal Spirit Himself. "When the Spirit of lives was breathed into the earthly frame, He took with Him, and put into that frame, more lives than one." This I consider incorrect phraseology. It is maintained in the Lecture that "life" is "doubtless intended to be rendered by the singular when the Hebrew is singular, and by the plural when the Hebrew is plural." Mr. Warleigh could scarcely have known what results this canon of his would bring about. Let us follow it for a moment. We shall have to speak of the "tree of lives," Gen. iii. 22, though we have in the Revelation "the tree of life" (from the Greek) ; we shall have to speak of "the days of Abraham's lives," and of "the God of my lives ;" we shall have to ask, "Why are lives given to the bitter of soul ?" Further, of the brutes it is asserted, that they have in them the breath of "lives" (Gen. vii. 15). No ; we really must ask the Lecturer to revise his canon ; we cannot always translate the plural of Hebrew into the plural in English without dire damage to the sense. The Lecturer may rest assured that "I went to the Hebrew" before alluding to Gen. vii. 22. It is not my manner to make assertions about writings, whether inspired or uninspired, without thoroughly sifting such writings, so far as I am able. And the Hebrew tells me that Mr. Warleigh's rendering cannot be right, because the words are "in whose nostrils was the breath (*Neshamah*) of the spirit of life," *not*, as he makes it out, "the spirit of the *neshamah* of life," thus reversing the order of the words. It is against the genius of the Hebrew language (so far as my knowledge extends) to transpose thus two genitives, the

one governed by the other. "The destruction of the man of the house," is not the same either in Hebrew or in English as "the destruction of the house of the man." If Dr. Lee actually gives such a translation, I shall indeed be surprised, and must perforce own myself mistaken : but I must first have Dr. Lee's *ipsissima verba*. In respect of the Hebrew word *Neshamah*, Gesenius gives its meanings as follows : 1. Breath, spirit ; 2. The spirit of man, a soul ; meton., that which hath breath, a living creature, thus : "thou shalt save nothing alive that breatheth." No doubt it is generally applied either to man or to the Creator, but I do not see what this appropriation of a word proves, since another word meaning "Spirit" (*Ruach*) is used in reference to God, to man, and to the beast, and is made a synonym of *Neshamah*. *Neshamah* sometimes means simply a man's breath, as 1 Kings xvii. 17. In Gen. vii. 22, it seems to refer to the breath of all living creatures.

On the question of the origin of man's spirit I have only to say that I am (unintentionally I know) misrepresented as giving an opinion. Two theories were propounded, and I distinctly said that I declared myself in favour of neither, since I had never thoroughly sifted the question. I certainly attempted to show that Mr. Warleigh's arguments were weak, but I did not take it upon myself to say that his conclusion was wrong ; indeed, I am disposed to think it correct, but still I would say with an able writer of the present day, that the opposite theory "rests on too large an area of possibilities to be rejected with anything like peremptoriness."* I still think Mr. Warleigh's arguments weak, and fancy that he might find better ones.

I said, and say still, that "the Hebrew participle does not give a note of time." The Lecturer is so far right that it *generally* carries a present signification, but it does not do so always. Sometimes it has a past sense, sometimes a future. I am surprised to find that Mr. Warleigh is not aware of this, for it is a well-known peculiarity of Hebrew. I will give one or two instances which have lately come under my notice. Let us take the very passage

* Liddon's *Lent Lectures*, 1870.

quoted in the pamphlet, Zech. xii., the beginning of the chapter. In the first verse the participle is used for what the Lord doeth or hath done : but in v. 2 the participle is used for what the Lord *will* do : " I will make Jerusalem a cup of trembling." So in Hosea ii. 14 : " I will allure her." So Isaiah v. 5 : " I will tell you what I *will* do." Again, Isaiah xvii. 1 : " Behold, Damascus (is) taken away," *i.e.*, shall be taken away. So, too, Zech. iii. 8 : " I will bring forth my servant." Zech. viii. 7 : " I will save my people." Ps. xxii. 32 : " A people that shall be born." Ps. cii. 19 : " The people that shall be created." And (if the Authorized Version is correct in its rendering), Ps. cxxxvii. 8 : " Who art to be destroyed." But more common, probably, than the future sense of the participle is the past. And I can remember no more instructive example than what Psalm cxxxvi. affords us : " To Him that by wisdom made the heavens : to Him that smote Egypt : to Him that divided the Red Sea : to Him which led His people :"—all these are participles with a past signification. In fact, this is the rule of Grammarians : " The participle, both the active and passive, has no distinct tense-forms, but can express all the tenses, just as the context may require." The three Latin participles *labens*, *lapsus*, *lapsurus*, can be expressed by one and the same Hebrew participle. So, similarly, one Hebrew word will express each member of the group, *moriens*, *mortuus*, *moriturus*. So in accordance with this well-known principle of the Hebrew language, I could not allow the validity of the argument that the participle must of necessity express renewed or present action.

Then the other accompanying argument was faulty in this way—inasmuch as we all know that the heavens were made but once, and as the same form of expression (the participle) is used in reference both to their creation and to the forming of man's spirit, it could not be inferred with certainty *from the mere use of the participial form* that man's spirit was being made continually and not made once for all, like the heavens. On the hypothesis of either theory being right (Traducianism or Creationism) the

participle might be employed. Let me remind the Lecturer, in passing, that in the old discussions on the subject, the word used was the origin of "souls," not the origin of "spirits."

I must still consider it incorrect to speak of man's own spirit as the Spirit of God. God's Holy Spirit is given to man, and he is then said to have within him the Spirit of God. But his own natural spirit is not, strictly speaking, to be reckoned and called a part of God. Such is not the language of theology, nor of the Bible, to the best of my belief. I quoted in my pamphlet authorities condemning the usage. I may add the words of Bullinger: "we allow not of them who say that the soul (which the Scripture calleth expressly a spirit) is God, or else surely a part or portion of God. We added" (alluding to a former definition) "that the soul of man is poured into the body by God, whereby every man understandeth without any ado, that it is created, and also is a spirit, not angelical, but human, that is, breathed into man's body by God."—Bullinger's *Decades*, 4th *Dec.*, *Serm.* x.

It is true that Job (chap. xxvii. 3) speaks of "the Spirit of God being in his nostrils," but that only implies that he recognized that God had placed within him the breath of life, that his breath, a spirit, was a God-given spirit. But Mr. Warleigh's use of the same expression in his pamphlet is quite different. He makes the "spirit" to be the Personal Spirit of God. These are his words: "The spirit in man, which is a portion of the Spirit of God, was not a part of man proper." Again we have this remarkable sentence: "We know from the Bible that God is the One Source of Spirit; that He puts a portion into every man to profit withal, that at the second death, as at the first, it returns to God Who gave it." Again, "Solomon has taught us the necessary lesson about 'all have one breath or spirit.' This is, of course, true, for there is 'but one Spirit,' who is in all." There is clearly a confusion here between man's own natural spirit (given him by the breathing of the Almighty) and the Holy Spirit of God. We have already had the sentence (which, certainly, theologians would disavow) "when the Spirit of lives was breathed into the earthly frame, He took with Him, and put into that frame, more lives than one."

I gladly bow to the authority of Professor Lee. I can say with the Lecturer, he was a great and good man. It happens that in my youthful days he was a family friend and a visitor at my home. His acquirements in Hebrew and other eastern languages are known everywhere. But let not the choice be (as my friend, the Rector of Ashchurch, ingeniously puts it) between Lee, a great authority, and me (I most freely confess), no authority whatever. It is really Lee balanced against other great authorities. The interpretation I adopted is not simply mine, but that of the Vulgate, and of a host of Commentators, as may be seen in Pole's *Synopsis*. The Text in question (Job xxxiv. 14) is confessedly difficult; and whether the sense is really brought out in our English Version is doubtful. The LXX take it in quite a different way. Gregory the Great in his *Morals* takes it as I have done. I am glad to hear of the Lecturer's acquaintance with Dr. Lee: I am sure *he* did not hold the theory of extinction. But let me clearly explain the point at issue. It is whether in Job xxxiv. 14, the words "his breath and his Spirit" refer to man's breath and Spirit, or to God's. I have taken them in the former sense (as, I am persuaded, our Translators did). And I cannot but think that when Dr. Lee (I have not his work by me) applies the words to God, he must, with the German commentators Umbreit and Delitzsch, and many others, translate the beginning of the verse differently from our English Version. The word "man" is not in the Hebrew; it simply gives the indefinite "him."* I conclude that Dr.

* The question hinges on the sense given to the word "him," whether it is to be referred to man (as in the Authorized Version), or reflectively to God. The old versions and expositors, until the time of Grotius, seem generally to understand it of man; in which case "his spirit and his breath" are taken to be the spirit and breath of man. Similarly we have in Ps. civ. 29: "Thou takest away" (or 'gatherest'—the same word as in Job) "their breath, and they die." Most modern critics, however, refer "him" to God; in which case "his spirit and his breath" must be, of course, God's,—those by which He formed both man and beast. The German Bible (Luther's translation) fails, indeed, to give a close rendering, but does not refer the words in question to God: "so würde er Aller Geist und Odem zu sich sammeln." The French Bible (Ostervald's revision) gives the same sense as the English: "s'il prenait garde à l'homme de près, et qu'il retirât à lui son esprit et son souffle." The Douay, of course, follows the Vulgate, and agrees with my interpretation of the Authorized Version.

Lee's interpretation (like that of the writers to whom I have just referred), is, "if He setteth His heart upon Himself," *i.e.* thinketh only of Himself, "He will gather unto Himself His Spirit and His breath." This is language quite intelligible. It is represented as a thing possible to conceive that God should recall His Spirit wherewith He gave life to man. But even so understood, this text gives no countenance to Mr. Warleigh's peculiar diction about the Spirit of God in man.

In Mr. Warleigh's next remark I trace the working of his 'literalism.' I had objected to the expression, "only a portion of the Spirit is quenched and driven away," as being strange and incorrect. Whereupon, as a parallel to this saying, the following sentence of Holy Scripture is adduced, "Yet had He the residue of the Spirit." (Mal. ii. 15). As though the two sentences had anything in them in common save the bare letters of the word common to both! No; this was, indeed, an unfortunate reference. Let Calvin tell us what the prophet means by the "residue of the Spirit." It is to be taken for overflowing power, he says; as much as to say, the Spirit was still the same in Him. The unexhausted fulness of the Spirit remained with Him. And thus accordingly the Targums explain it (as in the margin of our Bible), "He had the excellency of the Spirit." Lexically, no doubt, Shear means a "remaining portion;" but if the word be applied to God, exegesis requires a modification of the term. There is no hint here, or anywhere, of a certain portion of Spirit being divided off, as it were, so that only some should remain. Far indeed from this is the Scriptural representation of God, and the Spirit of God. Again, it is by no means certain that the prophet's reference is to God at all. The verse is a very obscure one, and of doubtful interpretation. The Lecturer evidently takes the popular view of it, which Calvin promulgated, and the ordinary commentaries have handed down. And if this view be taken, then we must explain the term "residue of the Spirit" as above. But most of the best modern expositors, including Bp. Wordsworth, are disposed to go back to the old interpretation of the Text, and understand the

subject of the verse to be not God, but man. However, interpret the verse as we will, Mr. Warleigh must seek elsewhere for support for his strange expressions concerning the Spirit of God,—this text yields none.

I cannot find much more that I care to remark upon. To my mind Lecture and Pamphlet are alike distinguished by the conspicuous absence of anything resembling solid argument. The Lecturer's comments on my own expressed opinions seem to me fair enough. Mr. Warleigh manifests surprise as well as satisfaction at my refraining from asserting that the spirit *cannot* be destroyed. I do so refrain, on the ground of believing that all things are possible with God, and we may not say that He cannot do anything, save what is morally impossible,—thus He cannot lie. But, at the same time, I believe that He has been pleased to endow the human soul (or spirit) with a deathless principle, so that He *will* never bring it to an end. Further, Mr. Warleigh is correct in saying that it is a leading point with me to declare emphatically that God has never promised to save the reprobate. No, we have to leave them, in our thoughts, under the wrath of God, with the words “everlasting destruction” ringing in our ears. “O my soul, come not thou into their secret: unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united.” We may ask longingly and tremblingly, Is there no hope of some final restitution, of the ultimate salvation of all? It is answered us, yea, we make answer to ourselves, “God’s Word tells us of none.” That Word speaks to us of ever-enduring punishment, proving that the spirit and the resuscitated body are not destined to be consumed: it holds out to us no hope of the ending of misery and of the dawn of brighter things. But can “God be better than His Word?” This is no phrase of mine. I think it an irreverent way of speaking. But if I have to answer, I must say, God tells us to take Him at His word, and this I am just content to do. I pry not into Jehovah’s secrets: what can an earthworm do here? God is His own interpreter. The things He tells us, these let us prize, and believe and keep. Whilst darkness broods over the fate of those who refuse to turn to God and despise

the love of Jesus, yea, thickness of darkness, and no brightness in it, we are all invited to come to the light, and to walk in the light, and to delight ourselves in the Light of Life, even in Him who died that we might live, who having brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel, promises now freely to bestow on those who seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life.

A D D E N D U M .

In page 34, the last sentence. It would be more correct to say that the voice of Christian antiquity was invariably opposed to the notion of extinction, in the place of saying that it was "given invariably in favour of the opinion of the eternity of punishment." Because at the beginning of the 3rd Century we meet with the opinions of Origen, who, though entirely opposed to the belief of extinction, yet held the universal salvability of mankind. However, my meaning in the text is apparent, and I have noticed Origen's opinions a little later.

REMARKS

ON A PAMPHLET WRITTEN BY REV. H. S. WARLEIGH,

AND ENTITLED

“A DEMONSTRATION OF THE EXTINCTION OF EVIL
PERSONS AND OF EVIL THINGS.”

BY

GEORGE BUTTERWORTH,

VICAR OF DEERHUNST.



London :

C. A. BARTLETT, STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

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THOMAS KERSLAKE AND CO.

1872.

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Pessimum enim omnium est augurium, quod ex consensu capitur in rebus intellectualibus : exceptis divinis et politicis, in quibus suffragiorum jus est.

Intellectus humanus luminis sicci non est ; sed recipit infusionem à voluntate et affectibus : quod mavult homo verum esse, id potius credit. Denique innumeris modis, iisque interdum imperceptibilibus, affectus intellectum imbuunt et inficit.

Bacon, *Nov. Organum*, cap. 77 et 49.

Non quæro rationes eas, quæ ex conjecturâ pendent : quæ disputationibus huc, et illuc trahuntur, nullam adhibent persuadendi necessitatem.

Cicero, *Acad. Quæst.*, lib. 4, 36.

We conclude that sacred theology, which in our idiom we call divinity, is grounded only upon the word and oracle of God, and not upon the light of Nature : for it is written, "Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei ;" but it is not written, "Coeli enarrant voluntatem Dei : " but of that it is said, "Ad legem et testimonium, si non fecerint secundum verbum istud," &c.

Advancement of Learning, b. ii.

Ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ.—S. Paul.

REMARKS,

&c.

IN making some observations on a pamphlet written by my friend, Mr. Warleigh, and entitled "A Demonstration of the Extinction of Evil Persons and of Evil Things," I purpose showing first, in no unfriendly spirit, but still with the view of combating his conclusions, certain errors into which he appears to me to have fallen, and next, appending a few remarks of my own concerning the subject of fearful interest which is handled in this pamphlet.

Without tying myself down to any strictly formal method, I shall, for the most part, comment seriatim upon such statements as may appear to me to invite discussion.

Evidently Mr. Warleigh's brochure is the result of an honest endeavour to set forth important truth, and to justify the ways of God to men. So far, then, from joining in the popular cry which, he tells us, has been raised against himself and those who think with him, I am disposed to admire the courage which has made him give his views to the world, even though I may think these views incorrect. At the same time I may, perhaps, be allowed to question his Christian wisdom in making these opinions which, to say the best of them, are in our present state of knowledge very dubious, and the practical tendency of which seems to most of us very hazardous, the subject of popular lectures.

In the outset I would observe that those who advocate the

theory of Extinction seem scarcely to give sufficient weight to the fact of the novelty of their own view. It is true that the awful mystery hanging over the fate of the reprobate has, from time to time, been attempted to be solved in various ways ; but, so far as I am aware, never up to our own day has any united body of Christians, or any single eminent Christian leader of thought, applied for this purpose the conjecture of the possible extinction of the human spirit. Of course our chief business is to examine whether, or not, the Sacred Writers of the Old and the New Testament have offered such an explanation of the terrible mystery. But waiving for a while this inquiry of cardinal importance, I remark, in passing, that if it appear that from the century immediately succeeding that of the Apostles even up to this 19th century of ours the unanimous Christian belief has rejected the supposition of such extinction, then I make bold to think that this fact surely forms, of itself, in the absence of positive scriptural proof to the contrary, a grave presumption against the correctness of the novel doctrine. Of course it *may* have been reserved for writers of the present age to discover as a matter of demonstration the real destiny of millions of our race, a destiny never before suspected : (for as to certain former vague conjectures in this direction, to which reference will be presently made, they just came to the surface of the field of human speculation to die away immediately :) I do not deny the possibility of this ; I only hint at its unlikelihood. M. Conte fancies that he has discovered the fact of the final extinction of all men, good and bad : but M. Conte is not a Christian writer. Our author is not only a Christian believer and bases his view on his interpretation of Scripture, but is also evidently a devout and earnest Christian. With all possible personal respect towards him, then, I proceed to examine his arguments.

About Mr. Darby's book, mentioned at the commencement of the pamphlet as antagonistic, I know nothing ; and can only conjecture that Mr. Darby himself may be the same pious man who, I heard many years ago, had left what is now the Disestablished

Church of Ireland, and become a Plymouth brother. If he be the same, he is alluded to, I have reason to think, in high terms of admiration, though not by name, in an interesting volume of autobiography written by Professor Francis W. Newman, whom I may be allowed to say in passing, it is my privilege to number among my friends.

In page 8 I come upon two statements about the Church of England which appear to me to be incorrectly given. The Judgment to which allusion is made, so far as my memory serves, ruled simply that it was lawful, within the Church of England, to deny, or explain away, the eternity of punishment, on the ground of its being a matter nowhere strictly defined in the formularies of the Church. Of course it was held to be equally, or even more certainly, lawful to uphold the dogma : no one disputed *that* : but "Was it expressly and indubitably declared?" was the question argued. Consequently, the remark that Church of England "ministers who preach it have no legal standing within her pale," etc., is beside the mark altogether. Further, the particular question of extinction was never raised at all : another way of solving the dread mystery was proposed. The same Judgment, it may be remembered, allowed the denial of the full and equal inspiration of all parts of the Bible.

It is incorrect, too, to say that the Church expunged the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment from her Articles. It never was expressed in the Articles of Edward VI. I have no doubt at all that the framers of the Articles held it, but they chanced not to express it. The 42nd Article simply denies that the ungodly shall at length be saved after a term of suffering ; and the 39th says that the wicked man, in his whole nature, shall receive punishment. But there is nothing to say positively that this punishment *may* not be the extinction which Mr. Warleigh holds : eternal punishment is not named. Mr Warleigh, in his present mind, could, I conceive, subscribe to both these Articles. However, we know, as a matter of fact, what our first Reformers thought on the subject ; I only assert that one cannot directly prove their

belief from the words themselves of the Articles. Then, though these Articles were removed in Elizabeth's days, the expungers themselves held precisely the same views as their predecessors. Added to which, they retained in at least one of the formularies of the Church expressions stronger and more explicit than anything in the 1st book of Articles ; expressions indicating, according to the universally received interpretation of that day, the endless torment of the wicked. I allude, of course, to the opening sentences of the Athanasian Creed, the teaching of which Creed the 2nd Book of Articles expressly endorses. So that, I think, an unfair inference is drawn from the alteration of the Book of Articles. There is nothing to show that Elizabeth's divines may not have deemed the expunged portion, comprising the four last Articles, simply superfluous. That these eminent men differed in their belief as to eternal punishment from Cranmer and his coadjutors is a supposition altogether opposed to fact. Perhaps the best single piece of evidence to show the current belief at the time when the 2nd Book of Articles was compiled, is given us by the Catechism of Dean Nowell, which was in a peculiar way identified with the authoritative teaching of the Church of England at that particular juncture, and which is very explicit on the point of eternal torments. Now be it remembered that the same Nowell was Prolocutor of the Convocation under whose auspices the Articles were altered. I have purposely avoided quotations as much as possible, but when I speak of the opinions of any writer, I am prepared to adduce his words, if needful.

The general argument running through pp. 11-17 may, *pace mea*, be allowed to stand. No doubt words expressing the idea of endless duration are limited in their meaning according to the subject-matter. Not only is this noticeable in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin expressions, but in modern English as well. But the application of this argument to Mr. Warleigh's contention is difficult to discover : because in his view the "eternal" of Scripture *has* an absolutely endless duration ; only, it is the *destruction* which is for ever and ever, and not the experience of torture.

"Everlasting destruction" is, according to the pamphlet, destruction complete, without an end. The real gist of the controversy is thus *not* "What is Eternity?" but "What is Destruction?"*

I cannot think that the question as to whether stronger terms could have been found than those actually employed in Scripture (pp. 18-22) is happily treated. Surely the same limitation would apply to such other simple terms as to those actually found in both Testaments, according to the subject in hand. Thus we are pointed to the use of the word *kehts* (or *kets*) in Isaiah ix. 7 (p. 21) as describing (with the negative particle) absolute endlessness. But let us turn to chap. ii. of the same book, and we shall find the same word (or, to speak quite accurately, another form of the same word, carrying exactly the same meaning,) employed to describe the assuredly limited extent of Judah's "chariots and treasures,"—"neither is there any end of their treasures." At the same time, as our own language admits of the setting forth in unmistakeable clearness of the awful idea of endless torment, it is easy to believe that the same facility is inherent in Greek or Hebrew. However, probably any single term would by itself be insufficient for this purpose.

In p. 19 an interpretation is given of Ps. civ. 35, which, to my mind, is not admissible. The Psalmist is clearly speaking of the destruction of the wicked from the earth, and of nothing beyond. He sees that God will cut them off from the earth which they have troubled; and they shall no more be (in the land of the living). As another Psalm says, "They shall be put to silence in the grave." On the contrary, "The children of Thy servants shall abide." Ps. cii. 28, as is well noticed in the pamphlet.

The distinction drawn between extinction and annihilation (p. 23) seems to me to savour of logomachy. A being utterly extinguished is to all intents and purposes "annihilated," seeing that his personality has departed: the material elements are not the man. Surely in a popular sense we may use here the word annihilation.

* In fairness, indeed, it should be stated that the author's arguments here are directed against those of an opponent.

In p. 27 exception is taken to the double use of the word "death." It is argued that when the Bible speaks of the awful second death, it must be wrong to conceive that "it uses the word death in a totally different sense than when it is applied to any other living being." But now, in the first place, in the case of the man and the brute (the only other living being whom we can compare with man), death, as ordinarily understood, describes two very different processes, or two processes attended with very different results : the animal perishes altogether ; the personality of the man remains : yet both man and beast die. Again, when a death is threatened which is to affect the whole man, his resuscitated body and his soul, and when, too, this destruction is called an eternal destruction, it is clear that a new element has been introduced into the idea of death : it has acquired an extension of meaning. The first death, as regards man, did not mean obliteration : can the second ? Granted, that if we had only such expressions as "destruction of soul and body," we might possibly have concluded that entire extinction of the personality and individual consciousness was intended, though such destruction would be wholly contrary to our conceptions about the human spirit, as gathered both from Scripture and reason. But most persons think that they find in the Scriptures an undeniable notice of continued existence in the place of punishment. We shall come to this point presently.

But let it just be asked first, in reference to the objection made to the two senses of death, "What if, in order to impress us with the sense of the horrors of a state of future punishment, the first death, with the miseries of which we are familiar, should have been employed as a forcible figure to adumbrate a condition of what may be called living death?" Surely, on the face of it, this may not be impossible. Are there not analogies in the Scriptures for this method of speaking ? Is not the word "death" itself often used figuratively ? Men are said to "pass out of death unto life : " some are said to "be dead whilst they are living : " "life" is said to be "the knowing of God," whilst he who knows not God "abides in death." Again, Christians are said "to have died." Of course

spiritual death is meant in such passages. Yes ; but surely it will not be contended that in these connexions a total extinction of spiritual faculties is meant, which would be an exact counterpart of bodily death. Possibly, however, the author does so contend, for when he alludes to spiritual death, he appears to hold that unspiritual men have no imperfect remains even of spiritual powers,—they are positively and totally dead as to their spirit. This I am unable to believe. Again, the use of the word “destruction” need not imply a destruction akin to that which takes to pieces a man’s work (p. 30) : destruction may be simply equivalent to “ruin” or “undoing.” Throughout the essay the author appears to me to rely far too much on a rigid etymology, and to apply in too unsparing a manner his plumb-line of verbal consistency. Like many other things, good *per se*, etymology is an excellent servant, but an indifferent master.* In the awful language in which the second death is spoken of in Holy Scripture, we notice expressions taken from the harrowing details of physical death, which can only be taken in a figurative sense. Would it be altogether contrary to scriptural usage, if “the second death” itself were to carry with it a metaphorical or spiritual meaning, and to denote a terrible state of punishment, one chief curse of which should be that existence could not be blotted out? Would “lexical” proprieties be really violated? Would there be an actual departure from the scriptural *usus loquendi* †?

* As to the word “destruction,” let us see how Milton uses it. He makes one of the fallen angels speak thus :—

“The dire event,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as gods and heavenly essences
Can perish : for the mind and spirit remains
Invincible, and vigour soon returns,
Though all our glory extinct, and happy state
Here swallow’d up in endless misery.”

Again, in Scripture phraseology, “Israel hath destroyed himself,” wrought out ruin for himself,—not absolutely brought to an end his nationality.

† In direct contravention of the dictum of the author, I find this observation in a carefully written treatise on Theology of a Scotch divine, Dr. W. L. Alexander : “Death, a term of wide and varied meaning in Scripture, and

In regard to the general subject of the threatenings of death to the wicked in the Old Testament (pp. 33, 34), I believe, notwithstanding the assertions in the pamphlet to the contrary, that they had respect to the cutting off of the life that now is, and that they were so understood, and were intended to be so understood, by those to whom they were first addressed. But that beneath the letter in which the Holy Spirit clothed His eternal utterances, we Christians, to whom the powers of the world to 'come have been more distinctly made known, may find the threatening of everlasting destruction to them who obey not God, I by no means deny. We may say, I presume, that the Holy Ghost, speaking by the mouth of David, hath said that "the wicked shall be turned into hell," ay, not into Sheol only (Ps. ix. 17), but even into Gehenna. But this admission by no means endorses the opinion that by such statements of the Old Testament the nature of the final state of the wicked is defined.

It is alleged (p. 11) that there can be no inconsistency between the Old and the New Testament. True, but the latter goes beyond the former in its teaching. The threatening of the Old Testament was a cutting off from the earth and a banishment to Sheol and to its unrevealed, shadowy gloom, its terrors and woe. A comparison which must, in each case, be interpreted according to the context in which it occurs."

It seems almost demonstrably certain that spiritual death, or death of the soul, is analogous to bodily death, according to a rule of proportion conditioned by the differences in the natures of the two parts of the whole being. Spirit is of that nature which forces us (unless we should be categorically told from heaven that it is to be obliterated) to take "death, destruction, perdition," etc., of the soul in another sense than that of the destruction of any material object. Now the Scripture is full of instances in which death, as applied to the immaterial part of man, or to man's whole being as an intelligent and responsible creature, is plainly used in an ethical or tropical sense. The "carnal mind" is ever considered in the Bible as death, not only as leading to death, but as involving at the present time a state of spiritual ruin and inward disorganization which deserves the name of death. In fact, the worst and deepest sense of "death" is the ethical sense, *viz.*, severance from God. Physical death is the result of this, and the shadow of it. As on the one hand, life, light, and love, are ideas interwoven in all Scripture, so also, on the other, are their opposites. The unregenerate man is under "a law of sin and death:" he is weighed down by "the body of this death." The absence of God's presence and favour is death. There is nothing in Scripture to contradict the notion, but much to confirm it, that the meaning of the expression "second death," is to be shut out from God, and to suffer His righteous anger.

of various texts, especially of those taken from the Psalms, will, I think, establish this fact to the mind of an unprejudiced reader. For instance, who can believe that when the Psalmist says of the ungodly "they shall no more be," he means, they shall no more be after some thousands of years, *i.e.*, after the great Judgment Day, when, according to the pamphlet, extinction is to take place? No ; we are safe in concluding that the meaning is, They shall be cut off from the earth by death, and shall enter the land of forgetfulness. So with other like texts, of which it would be very easy to bring a goodly array.

An unsound vein of reasoning seems to me to run through certain assertions in p. 36. We are told that it is presumption not to take the "natural and lexical" meaning of God's words. But what, I would ask, if God be speaking to us in the way of figure or metaphor? Might we not, if we always laid down for our guidance the above rule in its full integrity, fall into the error into which Protestants conceive the Church of Rome to have fallen, when she takes the "natural and lexical" meaning of the words of our Lord, "This is My Body"? A specimen of an unfortunate application of etymology appears to be given in p. 40, in connexion with the Greek word κόλασις. Κόλασις is "cutting off," "pruning ;" then, "punishment." Because a branch is speedily cut off from a tree, therefore the use of the word κόλασις shows that eternal punishment must be "a suffering terribly sharp, limited in its duration, and followed by irreversible consequences." Such is the argument,—not in any way intentionally distorted by me. Now is it not well known that when words acquire a secondary meaning, it by no means follows that the circle of ideas belonging to the first meaning waits in unbroken order upon the derived meaning? Every language, our own included, is full of instances illustrative of this *usus verborum*. Mr. Warleigh must remember that one of the common words in Hebrew for a "song" comes, like the Greek word κόλασις, from a verb meaning to "prune : " now in the derived word the peculiarities of the parent stock are by no means preserved intact. I will not trouble myself to adduce a long list

of words to prove this point. Let me, instead, quote from memory the pleasant saying of the two "Guessers after Truth," as being not altogether foreign to the subject: "A lawyer's brief will be brief, when a freethinker thinks freely." Surely the derivation of the word *κόλασις* has no appreciable bearing on the great subject discussed in the essay.

In p. 42 Luther is referred to. I could wish to have a better acquaintance with his writings than I possess; still I confess that I am altogether surprised to hear that he has anywhere, in express terms, declared his belief in the extinction, in the case of wicked persons, of the human spirit, or of man's nature. No quotation is given from his writings. Of course if such testimony can be produced, a notable exception must be made to a former general statement of mine. But, now, the Augsburg Confession, embodying the views of Luther and Melancthon, speaks distinctly of eternal torment in its XVIIth Article. What am I to think of Luther's private statements in the face of his public expositions of doctrine? I could wish that the *ipsissima verba* of the great Reformer had been given us in the pamphlet, so that we might have formed a judgment of our own about his opinions.

We are brought (p. 42 and seqq.) to passages of the Bible in which unquenchable fire is spoken of. Now, in regard to all such passages, the question must be asked whether the meaning be figurative or literal; and if a figure should underlie the expression, What is the nature of the figure? And I think it might be conceded that in at least several of those not very numerous passages which describe the endless destruction of the wicked, other considerations apart, the sense would be satisfied by the explanation advocated with such zeal by the excellent author of the pamphlet. He says truly that wicked men are likened to chaff which is cast into the fire,—and that chaff cast into fire is brought to an end. Granted this: and the same with some other passages. These, standing alone, *might* bear this interpretation. But I think that there are certain passages of Scripture which are difficult, if not impossible, to bring into the same category. I think, too, that

there are certain independent considerations which may well make us pause before we admit the probability of the correctness of this exposition. However, before adducing any passages from the Scripture, I have to say that there is one consideration which does not seem to have struck the mind of Mr. Warleigh, and which I should like to bring forward here. It is this: The inspired writings of the Old Testament do not, so far as I know, present the conception of hell-fire. The hell of the Old Testament is, as is well known, Sheol or Hades, not Gehenna.* But our Blessed Lord did expressly name "the fire of hell" (τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός), and hell itself. And He has not vouchsafed us any definition of the term, Gehenna. Now how did the Jews of our Lord's day regard the place of torment? I do not here inquire, "Whence did they derive their idea of it, if they did not find it in their inspired writings?" but simply, "What idea did they entertain?" They believed it to be a place where the wicked existed in misery. Though Gehenna is not mentioned in the canonical Books of the Old Testament (I mean, in the sense of hell), yet it is certain that the Jews had the conception of it, as a place of penal suffering, a long time before our Saviour came into the world.† It would seem evident, then, that when our Saviour spoke of the suffering of hell-fire, His hearers would understand Him as referring to a continued existence in suffering. We can find no trace of His modifying their conception of Gehenna. This fact, if it be a fact, should be duly pondered.

Among the passages which appear to me to militate the most against the theory of extinction, is the latter of the two in the Book of Revelation, to which reference is made in the pamphlet, Rev.

* I am not unmindful of the last verse of the Book of Isaiah, and of the later Jewish comments on it.

† For instance, in the Book of Judith, written certainly before B.C. 100, there is the mention of a day of judgment, and of fire and worms: and the wicked, it is added, "shall feel them, and weep for ever." Chap. xvi. 17. Now it is well known that the Book of Judith as an historical document is valueless, but as embodying current Jewish opinions it may be consulted with advantage. Lightfoot, writing on S. Mark ix. 49, shows that the Jewish belief was that those who were condemned to the place of final punishment continued to exist there. Josephus clearly asserts that such was the Pharisaic doctrine. Antiq. xviii. 1. 3.

xx. 10. Here is a mention of torment day and night for ever. Certainly, the threat is applied to the evil spirits ; but as the author very properly shows, that which is assigned to the Prince of evil is to be assigned to his servants too. So we seem to be taught that in the place of torment existence will be possible. This text is scarcely submitted to sufficient examination, I think : its force is not accurately weighed. It is to be remembered, indeed, I freely allow, that the Book of Revelation is a book full of imagery ; with all due allowance, however, for its poetical character, we must, one should conceive, gather from this passage, as a plain fact, unaffected by its recognized clothing of metaphor, the terrible truth that in hell there is existence.

I must not pass over the other passage taken from the Revelation, chap. xiv. 11. Though the author fortifies his interpretation of it by the authority of an honoured name (Elliott), yet I cannot allow this explanation to stand unchallenged. The Prophet of the Apocalypse is speaking of the men who have worshipped the mystical Beast instead of the Holy God, and describes their awful punishment. This passage is in evident connexion with that in chap. xx., for in both the wrath of God is represented as consigning the transgressors to the torment of fire and brimstone ; and in both the torment is eternal, and they rest not day nor night. This is no description of a temporal punishment of a city, but of God's final punishment of individual transgressors. See Hengstenberg, Alford, and Dr. Vaughan, *in loc.**

Then where everlasting punishment is spoken of in our Lord's discourse (S. Matt. xxv.), the general impression upon thoughtful minds will be assuredly that what is declared to be lasting, is the penalty itself, *not* the result of the punitive act. What is said here seems to me incorrect. Surely our ordinary way of speaking is (p. 39)

* I miss altogether in the pamphlet the correct view that the images of the Old Testament prophets, and the various ancient world- and city-destructions, *e.g.*, that of the cities of the Plain, were types (*not* parallels) of the great final catastrophe which is to overtake the impenitent. The typical endlessness seems to foreshadow an actual endlessness, even as in the exactly opposite pole of conceptions the typical changelessness of the priesthood of Melchisedek was a prophecy of the actually unchangeable priesthood of the True High Priest.

that a punishment is of a longer or shorter duration : we do not say, as here hinted, a "*punishing*." A man sentenced to a ten years' imprisonment is suffering a "punishment" all that time. Indeed, of the two meanings, the form of the Greek word *κόλασις* would rather, one might fairly assert, favour the sense of "punishing" than of "punishment," should this fact be thought to strengthen my position ; but no doubt the word is used in both senses.* Then are we not led in the same direction of interpretation by those several declarations of our Lord about the evil-minded being cast out there, where there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth ? Is not a continuance in sorrow and misery here contemplated ? I allude to such passages as S. Matt. ix. 12, xiii. 42, 50, xxii. 13, xxiv. 51, xxv. 30.

But I must dwell a little more on S. Matt. xxv. 41-46. Every reader must notice the sharply expressed contrast in v. 46 between "everlasting punishment" and "life eternal," which contrast is still more observable in the Greek, where the same word embodying the idea of eternity is used in both clauses. Now, I do not wish to press the argument unduly ; but it is scarcely possible to escape the conclusion that a duration of punishment, and one termed by our Lord an eternal duration, is here spoken of. Elsewhere we have "everlasting destruction," and it may be thought that destruction is an ambiguous word, but here it is "everlasting punishment." Personally, I do not esteem of much weight the favourite argument of writers taking my own view of the main subject, *viz.*, that if punishment is not to be endless, than we have no guarantee that the happiness of the righteous shall be endless. Such reasoning never carries conviction with it, to my mind. But, that as we know that "eternal life" means living for ever, so we have terribly good reason for believing that "eternal punishment," spoken of in immediate sequence and in directest contrast with this life, means an endless conscious endurance of punishment ; this is a conclusion which appears to me to rest on a solid foundation.

* The word *κόλασις* is only found in one other passage in the N. T., *viz.*, in 1 S. John iv. 18, where it is rendered 'torment' : "fear hath torment."

I would further observe that all our Lord's teaching as to the final destiny of obstinate sinners converges, as we should expect, to the same point, and that point, apparently, the state of conscious, lasting woe. Though His divine teaching is here, if I may say so, more of an incidental than of a strictly dogmatic character, yet its force is by no means weakened by this circumstance: *e.g.*, we have the parable of the Unmerciful Servant,—he is consigned to a prison whence there should be no possible exit for him, S. Matt. xviii. Again, the unforgiving man receives a warning about the same terrible prison, S. Matt. v. 26, that prison being evidently the type of hell. Again, to lose a member is said to be far better than to go whole into hell, S. Matt. v. 29. Existence there seems to be contemplated. And if existence, then certainly existence without an end.

I proceed to consider the most awfully solemn passage contained in the end of S. Mark ix. Here hell-fire is spoken of with the terrible additions of the unquenchable fire and the undying worm. Now as to the first of these phrases, seeing that the language employed is figurative, a sense *might* be yielded by the notion of a devouring flame which burns so long as fuel is afforded to it, and hence is called unquenchable; and passages from the prophets might be adduced in support of this interpretation. But when we come to the second phrase, it is difficult to treat it in the same manner. Our Lord's words, taken apparently from Isaiah lxvi. 24, are "their worm," *i.e.*, the worm assigned to those who are delivered over to the place of torment, "their worm dieth not." Does not this seem to declare that they on whom the worm feeds, like him, are deathless? Of course "the worm" is a figure of speech; but beneath the figure, a dreadful, deathless fate would appear to be portrayed. It should be borne in mind that the figure, as employed by our Lord, is removed from the temporal and typical sphere in which the prophet's conceptions move, and from its material relations. Isaiah is speaking of the "carcasses of men;" our Lord is apparently contemplating the whole person of sinners, body, soul, and spirit, as delivered over to the "fire" and the "worm."

In our Lord's discourse hell, the kingdom of darkness, is opposed to the Kingdom of God (v. 47) : as some are destined to enter this, so there is ground to fear that others will have to encounter that. Not a word does our Lord say to the effect that there existence will come to an end : nay, there is there a deathless instrumentality of woe : to that the wicked are to be subjected.

In the parables of our Lord we find two figures mainly employed to set forth the future punishment of the wicked. These are "the furnace of fire," and "the outer darkness." Taken together, these furnish the ideas of extreme misery, and of banishment from God. Our Saviour expressly tells us that in the fiery furnace there shall be (not extinction, but) wailing and gnashing of teeth. This representation occurs in a parable which speaks of the wicked as of tares burned in the fire. In S. Matt. xxiv. 51 the unfaithful servant is "cut asunder," and has a portion assigned him with the hypocrites, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Again in S. John v. 29 the evil rise to a resurrection (not of extinction, or to one leading to absolute destruction, but) of damnation,—a sentence of woe which consciously they shall experience.

Now what is the cumulative force of our Lord's scattered sayings about the end of the ungodly? Is there a single syllable to support the assertion that the wicked are to be blotted out of existence? When His confessedly figurative sayings about destruction, such as those describing the burning of tares and of chaff, are put side by side with the statements of a different form, do they not simply serve to exemplify the unspeakably fearful nature of that kingdom of utter darkness into which the wicked enter at the close of the drama of the present dispensation? I know not whether any distinction is intended to be drawn between death considered as dissolution, and destruction as implying irremediable ruin, in our Lord's words to His disciples, S. Matt. x. 28 ; but, at least, the difference of language seems just to fall in with the conception popularly entertained of the second death : "men can kill the body, but God can destroy [not kill] both body and soul in hell."

Our Blessed Lord's saying respecting the traitor who should deliver Him into the hands of His enemies ought to be noticed here: "It had been good for that man if he had not been born." S. Matt. xxvi. 24. These awful words, when duly weighed, will seem to most persons to give some countenance to the view I am advocating; but, on the other hand, I can scarcely regard them as conclusive, because, short of an eternal existence in misery, they would be sufficiently verified by what almost all agree in supposing to have been the fate of Judas, *viz.*, present terrible retribution.

To sum up the scriptural argument. The contention in the pamphlet is that destruction is threatened, destruction both of body and soul in the place of punishment; and that destruction means, and must necessarily mean, extinction, inasmuch as bodily death implies, as we know it does, the dissolution of the bodily frame. To make "death" and "destruction" mean existence in extreme misery is, it is insinuated, to warp words from their evident meaning. On the other hand, I reply that destruction or perdition (*ὄλεθρος* or *ἀπώλεια*) may well be understood to denote utter ruin and misery, seeing that Holy Scripture uses the word "death" in many senses, and that, apart from these particular words about which our respective systems of interpretation differ, no intimation is anywhere given that the spirit within us, if we persist in wickedness, shall ever cease to exist.* If it be objected that the body is said to be destroyed by the second death, and so a destruction similar to that of the first death must overtake it, we have to reply that an element new to us has been introduced into the word "death;" the second death "destroys" the soul as well as the body: now we know of no annihilation of the soul by death. As, then, destruction of some kind is predicated of the

* The one hinge upon which the reasoning throughout the pamphlet is made to turn is this simple assertion,—destruction *must* be, *ex vi termini*, extinction. I think that it is clear from the scriptural use of "death," "destruction," and other words of similar import, that this *need* not be the meaning, and, in fact, *is* not the meaning. Let us consider how the term "second death," is introduced. It is used only in the Revelation and figuratively, to denote God's final judgment passed on evil and evil ones, "this is the second death." It is *not* said that in hell they die: it *is* said that in hell they are tormented.

soul equally with the body, we are led to conclude that it is a destruction which still leaves both body and soul in actual and miserable existence.* Again, we find certain passages of Scripture which seem to prove conclusively the appalling fact of a continued existence in the prison-house. Further, we have reason to believe that the Jews of our Lord's time had the notion of hell being a place of lasting torment, and we know that our Lord spoke of hell, and added in His recorded teaching no new conception about it. Lastly, when we come to the interpretation of the words of the Lord and of His Apostles, speaking of destruction in hell, we find that in the very first ages Christians understood these words to imply a deathless state of misery, and it is only with difficulty that we can discover a single dissentient voice. The Reformation period succeeds, when fresh light seems to flash from heaven to earth, and new formularies are introduced and many an old error is exploded ; and still we notice the same prevailing opinion. That the exact nature of final punishment is not entered into minutely in the Scriptures, and that hints are given rather than philosophical definitions, this is not a matter to cause surprise. If we may presume to say so, it was the mind of the Spirit just to convey to our minds the notion of intolerable woe as being the consequence of a persistent departure from God.

In p. 38 the author says, "We cannot but think that in issues so tremendous our Great Teacher would not have left us in uncertainty." Now let us look at what I have assumed to be facts. Our Lord spoke to a people who entertained the belief of a future retributive infliction of woe in a region called Gehenna, where the

* Death, as we know it, leaves the immaterial principle undestroyed : we question not God's power to extinguish the life of the soul, if He so pleased ; but as we can find no intimation of this purpose, we conclude that the second death has a figurative or secondary meaning, and denotes utter ruin and misery as falling upon the whole being of the wicked. In one of our Lord's parables we have the picture of the soul of a wicked man existing in Hades in torment, and a flaming fire is described as involving him, and the spiritual essence of the man is not consumed. Even so in Gehenna itself the flame torments, but consumes not. But when we speak of "flame" we entertain no materialistic conceptions of the element, popularly so called, of fire. The word to us is a parable, figuring the burning of God's just anger, the particular manifestations of which are hid from our eyes, even as the joys of heaven are as yet not known.

wicked continued to exist. He was pleased to use the same figures of speech as the Jewish Rabbis ; and we find in His discourses no certain contradiction of the popular belief, indeed, nothing approaching to such contradiction. To say the least, His language admits of an interpretation consonant with the received belief of the day. The same may be said of the language of His inspired Apostles in the very few passages in which the subject is entered upon. "Condemnation," "tribulation and anguish," are words appropriated to the idea of the fate of the wicked.*

Next I proceed to observe that those who followed the Apostles had no doubt about the meaning of Christ, and never dreamed of an extinction of evil persons. The five so-called Apostolic Fathers are, so far as I am able to see, silent on the point : they simply echo the exact words of Scripture, without adding any distinct explanation. Hermas, for instance, speaks much of the death of the wicked, but he does not define the death. But in the 2nd century Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Theophilus, and Hippolytus are more diffuse in their writings, and speak of continued, nay, eternal existence in the place of punishment. So also does Tatian, a writer, perhaps, not so much esteemed as the rest. In the following century testimonies in favour of this belief are numerous ; I will only mention, as probably the best known name, Tertullian (about A.D. 200) : somewhat later in the history of the Church the two

* In passing, let me observe that in 1 Thess. i. 9, the addition of "from the presence of the Lord" to the words "everlasting destruction" (if the right interpretation be the common one, adopted apparently by our Translators and certainly by Bp. Ellicott and other scholars—"from" "marking separation from,") seems to convey the notion of an existence apart from the Source of Light and Life. Let me point out, too, the striking phraseology, imperfectly rendered in our Version, in which the sentence of the wicked is described : "They shall *pay the penalty* of everlasting destruction away from the presence of the Lord."

It is scarcely conceivable that S. Paul was acquainted with the doctrine of Extinction, when the nature and scope of his Epistle to the Romans are taken into consideration, and it is borne in mind that the doctrine has no mention there. In chap. ii. he describes clearly the heritage of the wicked,—“indignation, wrath, tribulation, anguish,”—but not extinction. Then further on (chaps. v.-viii.) he speaks of “death” as “reigning,” of “death” being “the wages of sin,” of the “carnal mind” being “death :” we trace throughout the different uses of the word the same notion, *viz.*, on the positive side, that the bitterness of death consists in severance from God, and negatively, that its essence is not extinction of the personality.

great teachers, Augustine and Chrysostom, speak at great length on the same subject.

I refrain from giving a long list of authorities which, however, it would be perfectly easy to give. Meanwhile, after a diligent search, I can only find one solitary voice raised in support of the contrary view during many centuries of the Church's existence. The voice I allude to is that of Arnobius, a writer at quite the beginning of the 4th century, of no great repute. He seems to have supposed that the persons of the wicked would be resolved into inanimate matter. And it may be added that, if we wander outside the pale of the Church, Hermogenes, living in the same age, a writer full of wild speculations, and who indeed was not considered a Christian, may be cited as having held similar opinions. I have already expressed my ignorance of Luther, and my grave doubts about the alleged testimony of his sentiments.

Now if it be assumed that Christ must have spoken plainly on this awful subject (p. 38), will not the inevitable conclusion be that universal Christendom has not laboured under a delusion in regard to this portion of His teaching through these many ages? If the Christian Church has failed to interpret aright our Lord's sayings, then it will follow that He cannot have spoken plainly. It is quite a mistake to fancy that the dogma of endless torments (p. 63), whether right or wrong, is of modern growth.*

* To guard against the appearance of any claim to patristic learning on my part because of a cursory mention of some of the Fathers, I wish to say here that such very scanty knowledge of them as I possess has been derived from English translations.

The testimony of Justin Martyr, the earliest expounder of the scriptural idea of punishment, is learnedly discussed by Bishop Kaye in his work on that Father. The Bishop considers that Justin always speaks of the punishment of the wicked as eternal. He quotes the following words: τὰ σώματα ἀνεγερῆι (ὁ Θεοῖ) πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀζίων ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν, τῶν δ' ἀδίκων ἐν αἰσθήσει αἰωνίῃ μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψει. Again, αἰωνίαν κόλασιν κολασθησομένων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χιλιονταετῇ περιοδόν. Again, ἀπαύστως κολάζεσθαι. I compare these words with those before alluded to in the Book of Judith, which run thus in the original: Κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐκδικήσει αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, δοῦναι πῦρ καὶ σκώληκας εἰς σάρκας αὐτῶν, καὶ κλαύουσιν ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος. I ought to add that Justin is sometimes claimed as an authority on the opposite side. Erroneously,

In respect of the Wicked One himself (p. 54), it would be hazardous, it appears to me, to come to the conclusion, and hold it a certain conclusion, that he is to be blotted out of existence, simply on the strength of the passages which speak of the destruction of him and of his works. God may have other ways of making His word good.* Thus our Lord is represented as destroying the devil by His own death, Heb. ii. 14.

however, it appears. Bishop Kaye, in his careful analysis and explanation of the writings of this Father, takes the view that he always sets forth the punishment of the wicked as eternal. It is true, however, that Justin speaks of a venerable instructor who first led him to Christianity, and introduces this nameless old man as saying that "the wicked will be punished so long as God wills them to exist and to be punished."

But when Justin gives his own opinion, his language differs a little from that of his former instructor, as his expressions quoted above plainly show.

The words of Irenæus are:—"On as many as, according to their own choice, depart from God, He inflicts that separation from Himself which they have chosen of their own accord. But separation from God is death, and separation from light is darkness, and separation from God consists in the loss of all the benefits which He has in store. Now good things are eternal and without end with God, and therefore the loss of these is also eternal and never ending."—*Against Heresies*, book v. chap. 27.

"Submission to God is eternal rest, so that they who shun the light have a place worthy of their flight; and those who fly from eternal rest have a habitation in accordance with their fleeing. Those who fly from the eternal light of God, which contains in itself all good things, are themselves the cause to themselves of their inhabiting eternal darkness, destitute of all good things."—Book iv. chap. 39.

"Those who are worthy of punishment shall go away with it, having their own souls and their own bodies, in which they stood apart from the grace of God. Both classes" [righteous and wicked] "shall then cease from any longer begetting and being begotten, from marrying and being given in marriage."—Book ii. chap. 34.

Theophilus says, writing to Antolycus:—"Do you also submit to God, believing Him, lest if now you continue unbelieving, you be convinced hereafter, when you are tormented with eternal punishments; which punishments, when they had been foretold by the prophets, the later-born poets and philosophers stole from the Holy Scriptures."—*Theoph. to Antol.*, book i. chap. 14.

Hippolytus writes thus in his *Discourse against the Greeks*:—"To the lovers of iniquity shall be given eternal punishment. And the fire which is unquenchable and without end awaits them, and a certain fiery worm which dieth not, and which does not waste the body, but continues bursting forth from the body with unending pain. No sleep will give them rest; no night will soothe them; no death will deliver them from punishment; no voice of interceding friends will profit them."—Section 3.

To multiply quotations of this kind from succeeding writers would be superfluous; I have purposely chosen the earliest.

* Far different was the conception of the great Christian poet, when he put this speech into the mouth of a fallen angel:—

"To be no more. Sad cure! for who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,

The author again subjects words to an examination of their proper etymological meaning (pp. 54, 55): but it may be again asked, Are not metaphorical meanings often as proper as are literal ones?*

Reference is made on p. 57 to clergymen taking pay to teach the truth, who yet do not teach extinction (because they do not believe it). Are we to believe that the author, whose honesty no one can doubt, has always kept himself clear from this line of action ever since the day of his ordination? I mean, did he always believe as he believes and teaches now?

Clergymen of the present day, and Saints and Fathers of old, scarcely deserve the very forcible rebuke to be found in p. 58. The conception of Hell is terrible any way entertained; but I suppose that the most thoughtful interpretation of the scriptural language about it would own to a large infusion of the figurative element, and would hold that the inherent misery of unrepented sin is very obscurely portrayed.

Certainly the argument in p. 59 is an excellent one. God's truth is to be simply declared. But then we cannot be too careful in finding out what is truth before we disseminate it as "important and precious truth." What if our dogma be opposed to the almost universal belief of Christians? We *may* be right: we think we are

To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of sense and motion? And who knows,
Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
Can give it, or will ever? how He can,
Is doubtful; that He never will, is sure.

We are decreed,

Reserved, and destined to eternal woe."

* The quotations made in the pamphlet from the Scriptures in support of the author's view may be divided into three classes. First, those from the Old Testament. Second, figurative sayings from the New Testament. Third, statements given without a figure respecting destruction or death. Now the first of these have no bearing on the subject; the stand-point of the older revelations has been altogether misconceived in the pamphlet,—at least such is my conviction. Next as to our Lord's figurative sayings, the force of the figure does not appear to be correctly brought out. Lastly, the interpretation of passages speaking of destruction is based entirely on the idea of the destruction of material things; and this rule of interpretation fails to commend itself to my judgment, when applied to the matters in hand.

right, the Bible seems to support us. But, on the other hand, we may be mistaken. And then is it well to broach any novel doctrine till we be quite certain that we cannot be mistaken? Should we err if we here followed Horace's advice about publishing poetical effusions, which advice I take the liberty of presenting in a slightly altered form? "What you write, first submit to the inspection of friendly and able critics,—then for a length of time, yea, for years, keep it by you,—so long as it is safe under lock and key you can make alterations and amendments: but what is spoken cannot be recalled."

But more seriously, Must we not be content all our life through to suspend our judgment on many points of the greatest possible interest? We may conjecture: but our conjectures are not for the market-place.

A statement in p. 60 is to my thinking a wild one, but still it proceeds, clearly, from a commendable zeal, which has in its fervour overlooked undeniable facts. The human mind is so constructed, we are told, that it cannot believe in endless sufferings. Surely there are minds which embrace the dogma with the same feeling of assurance as they do any other, simply on the ground of its being the revealed truth of God. For instance, has Dr. Pusey, a man universally recognized as eminent for his love towards God and man, ever entertained the slightest doubt on the subject? Do not his writings give us an unequivocal answer? The assertion made here is just of a piece with one which a theist might make to the effect that the human mind was so constructed that it could not believe the Incarnation. Then the argument in p. 61 does not help matters: it proves too much, if it proves anything. Because if the kind of indifference there described proceed from a real disbelief of what is professed to be held on the subject of the end of the wicked, it might be equally argued that neither are the other truths which are calculated to stir up the spirit of a man to good, such as Christ's unspeakable love, held in the mind as truths.

I turn to what is said of the soul and spirit. Here, I cannot but think, we are launched into the region of chaos. Though it

may be, I am free to confess, that my own dimness of vision makes me take Cosmos for Chaos. Others shall judge for me.

In regard to the origin of the name of man (Adam), it is only a conjecture that it comes from the Earth (*Adamah*): certainly this is a probable conjecture: however, Gesenius does not allow it; he would derive both Man and Earth from the root importing Redness. But I am quite willing here to concur with the author. However, I must enter my protest against the next statement, *viz.*, that this name Adam was given to the body before it was animated. Adam, in the Bible, is to be taken for the living man, or for mankind. Of course Gen. ii. 7 has led the author to make this assertion, but it cannot be sustained by the words themselves of the verse. Much less can the following assertion, repeated in p. 99, be received, that man's bodily frame was made "in the image of *Elohim*, the Son of God." Where do we find in Scripture any statement like it? It surely is not meant to be the explanation of the saying "in the image of God made He man!" This image had nothing to do with bodily organization: it was moral and spiritual.* The same conception of the Son of God assuming an outward form in the day when man was created is presented with greater explicitness further on in the pamphlet. Some few of the early Fathers entertained this fancy, but it was soon given up by the mature mind of the Church.†

* Much better is it said, it seems to me, by Keil and Delitzsch (*Comm. on Pentateuch*), "The formation of man from dust and the breathing of the breath of life we must not understand in a mechanical sense, as if God first of all constructed a human figure from dust, and then, by breathing His breath of life into the clod of earth which He had shaped into the form of a man, made it a living being. By an act of Divine omnipotence man arose from the dust; and in the same moment in which the dust, by virtue of creative omnipotence, shaped itself into a human form, it was pervaded by the Divine breath of life and created a living being, so that we cannot say the body was earlier than the soul. The dust of the earth is merely the earthly substratum which was formed by the breath of life from God into an animated, living being. When it is said, 'God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,' it is evident that this description merely gives prominence to the peculiar sign of life, *viz.*, breathing. God, through His own breath, produced and combined with the bodily form that principle of life which was the origin of all human life."

† It may be fairly questioned whether it be theologically correct to render "*Elohim*," as used in Gen. ii., by the term "the Son of God:" the word would rather seem to represent the Triune God.

The explanation of *Neshamah* (p. 67) cannot be allowed to stand unchallenged. The proper meaning of *Neshamah* (Πνοή) is breathing, breath, spirit. Though generally used for man's spirit or the Spirit of God, it is not so used exclusively. For instance, in Gen. vii. 22, *Neshamah* is employed in reference to "all flesh that moved upon the earth," fowl, cattle, beast, together with man. Again, in Gen. ii. 7 *Nishmath Chayim* is not "Spirit of lives," but "breath (*afflatus, spiritus*) of life," the breathing of God's Spirit, not the Personal Spirit Himself. As Augustine says, "*anima non est pars Dei.*" Surely an incorrect phraseology runs all through the latter half of p. 67, when e.g. it is said, "When the Spirit of lives was breathed into the earthly frame, He took with Him, and put into that frame, more lives than one."

In fact, to the Divine energy of the breath of God's mouth all the work of creation is attributed in the Scriptures. A Psalm tells us that by the breath of God's mouth all the host of the heavens was made. The word, indeed, is *Ruach*, not *Neshamah*: however, the two words are employed interchangeably.*

It is questionable whether man's compound life be indicated by the plural form of the word in the Hebrew, *Chayim*. It is well known that the word "life" is generally employed in the plural number, thus, "the tree of life:" "the years of Abraham's life:" "the God of my life:" all plurals. The reason of this usage may be, perhaps, that life is regarded as the summary of all the powers and phenomena of life. So, however, in Hebrew, the word for "face" or "countenance" is always in the plural. We may say, indeed, that the Hebrew usage is peculiarly suitable in the passage engaging our attention; for the life breathed into man was a compound life: but still we could not well give, as here proposed, the English rendering, "the breath of lives,"—certainly not, "the

* Let me give Keil and Delitzsch's explanation of the phrase "breath of life." "That is, breath producing life: it does not denote the spirit by which man is distinguished from the animals, or the soul of man from that of the beasts, but only the life-breath." Keil here refers to 1 Kings xvii. 17, "There was no breath (*Neshamah*) left in him."

Spirit of lives." I observe that further on *Neshamah* is still made personal, being spoken of as "he" (p. 69) : an error, I think.*

In p. 70 it would appear to the reader that *Neshamah* was used in Eccl. xii. 7, it is not so, however ; the word employed is *Ruach*. This was probably a mere oversight of the author ; or else, since *Neshamah* and *Ruach* are, as has been said, used interchangeably, at least in certain of their aspects, he may not have thought it worth while to notice which was the actual word employed. But he seems to hold that when the spirit is said to "return to God who gave it," it is the Spirit of God that returns, not the spirit of man.

In the remarks about *Nephesh* and its Greek synonym *Psyche*, pp. 72-74, I find matter to comment upon. Assuredly *Nephesh* has all the width of meaning attributed to it here : in fact, I miss certain most important applications of the word which ought by no means to have been omitted in a catalogue which was intended to be exhaustive. It means, not seldom, man's highest spiritual part, not *anima* simply, but *animus, mens* : that ought to have been stated. The sacred writers used the same word in very different senses. Of course we could not ordinarily use the word "soul" when we meant the "body" or the "life" (p. 73), but the Hebrews could, and did use their word *Nephesh* when they spoke of "life," or "body," or "soul," or "spirit," leaving it to the reader to gather in what particular sense the word was to be taken in each passage. When the Hebrews spoke of a "soul" dying, they used the word *nephesh* in one sense : when David speaks of seeking God with all his soul, *nephesh* (which never dies), he uses the word in another sense. All this may be seen in the English Bible as well as in the Hebrew, for where the word "soul" occurs in the former, it is almost invariably *nephesh* in the latter.

In pp. 75-78 immortality is discussed. It strikes me that the opinions of the holders of the view of immortality, as generally

* I can quite believe, with the author, that it would have been better had the terms describing respectively the result of the creation of animal life and that of human life been made to correspond in the Authorised Version (p. 68). Probably the revisers of our Bible will make this correction.

understood, are not quite fairly stated. Proper, self-originating immortality is attributed by all to God alone : we all must bear in mind S. Paul's sublime saying in his 1st Epistle to Timothy. Still without derogating from the exclusive attributes of the Godhead, it may surely be held that God has been pleased to breathe within man a deathless principle ; which, yet, of course, He could destroy, but which He wills not to destroy. This opinion may be either erroneous or strictly correct : but it does not seem to me an "awful and manifest distortion of God's word."*

Let me examine the statement in p. 76. "Man has not, and cannot possess intrinsic, innate immortality, and he can obtain it only by a vital faith in Christ ;" failing this, "extinction or death must be his portion." An erroneous impression is conveyed, I believe, by this assertion. Immortality may be taken in at least two senses. In one sense it is certain that man has not immortality, for he dies. Still when he was created God placed within him a principle of life which we have every reason to believe is never doomed to die, and which we may consequently call deathless. This is the spirit of man,—God's gift and endowment. This was enshrined in a body of clay, which was not calculated to endure for ever, unless miraculously supported. Had man continued upright, his earthy body would probably have been transfigured into a spiritual body (according to the word of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 44). But on the day man fell, he died. Physical death took possession of his frame, and spiritual death, consisting in alienation from God, invaded his moral nature. But even then he never parted with the deathless principle within him. He might, in one sense, be considered and called a being endowed with immortality. But in the proper, high, and full sense of immortality, he could no longer be reckoned an immortal. To regain the immortality which was his heritage before his fall, he needed the grace of God in the gift of His Son, who both wins immortality for the fallen, and

* Christian writers have held it from the earliest times : Athenagoras, in the 2nd century, pronounces this distinct opinion,—*καθ' ἣν ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ σώματος*. After this early writer follow a host of others using similar language.

brings it to light. So that out of Christ men have neither life nor immortality : nevertheless, in any case they exist, and cease not to exist for ever.

In pp. 78, 79, I can find nothing beyond the simple statement that man has an animal life, and an immaterial part, and that the one is not to be confounded with the other. But really this confusion of ideas is not made popularly. When in popular parlance men speak of their soul, they mean, it is quite evident, their spiritual part. Nor is this incorrect language : the two terms "body" and "soul" describe man's whole compound nature with sufficient clearness for all ordinary purposes. Holy Scripture itself speaks sometimes, and generally indeed, of man as made up of "body" and "soul ;" sometimes of "body" and "spirit ;" sometimes of "body, soul, and spirit." No doubt it is easy to show that the last of these divisions (the trichotomy of theologians) is the most strictly accurate. But no harm, it is certain, can come from terming a man's spirit his soul ; indeed it is a question whether the former may not be considered to be included within the latter, as constituting, properly speaking, its higher powers. I shall have more to say on this point shortly. When our Lord speaks of the destruction of the whole man, body and soul, is not his spirit intended to be included ? I rather fancy that the author would answer "no ; for the spirit is never destroyed." I should reply "yes ; for it is evident to me that a man's spirit is a component part of man's nature." The author's own use of the word "soul" appears to me to differ from S. Paul's use of the word when enumerating the component parts of human nature. It is invariably made in the pamphlet to stand for the animal life,—for which, no doubt, it *may* stand, but by no means always does stand. S. Paul, on the contrary, if I mistake not, uses "soul" (*Psyche*) for the immaterial sentient principle, the seat of thought and emotion, in agreement with the usage of Aristotle and of Plato ; and with him "spirit" (*Pneuma*) constitutes the higher part of the soul. With the author mind, volition, mental affections and passions come under "spirit" (*Pneuma*) : S. Paul's division of the powers of man

relegates, I fancy, mind, affections and passions, considered simply as parts of the intellectual nature, or as emotional faculties, to "soul" (*Psyche*).* To make the soul the mere equivalent of the animal life, in giving an account of man's several parts, is a very curious proceeding, neither agreeable to Scripture, I believe, nor true to philosophy. Moreover, this view, as expressed in the pamphlet, is not a mere question of terminology, but is made to have an important bearing on the main matter of discussion. We must aim, therefore, at clearness and correctness of view here.

Meanwhile, I demur to the statement in p. 80 that the spirit in man was not created. Certainly it was created, even as the angels were created, though not formed of anything previously created. No doubt the statement arises from the author's view of the *Neshamah* as being a portion of God's own Spirit.† A good deal of confusion and of consequent fighting with shadows arises on the subject of the soul dying or not dying, from the author's use of the word "soul:" by this he means the animal life; most persons mean by it the immaterial principle which thinks and feels.

Very startling corollaries are made to follow from the proposition that "the spirit in man is a part of God," pp. 90-94. This spirit is said to "return to God at death, and to be sent back again at the time of the resurrection. The wicked man may be deprived of it finally at the second death, and again it may return to God, but it cannot be lost." Such is the account intended to be given, so it seems to me, of man's immaterial principle—what people

* The mutual relation of soul and spirit is very carefully and elaborately laid down in the *System of Biblical Psychology* by Delitzsch, who observes (p. 113, *Clark's Foreign Theol. Libr.*) that Holy Scripture says more frequently that man consists of body and soul, than that he consists of body and spirit; also, that in the sense of Scripture, the soul cannot be viewed as essentially distinct from the spirit. In fact, the spirit is the higher department of the soul: it is the eye of the soul.

† On this point I will quote the well-weighed words of Delitzsch, p. 108, "There is no dwelling of God's absolute Spirit in man taught in Scripture that is distinguished from that general presence of the Godhead in the world, which gives to every created thing its own special character. That the Spirit of God could be an element of human nature is a contradiction in itself." Contrast the author's language: "The Spirit in man is not part of man proper, but part of God."—P. 81.

generally call (but call erroneously according to the author) his soul. It is identified absolutely with the Divine Spirit !

We may inquire of the author what part of man's nature does he conceive will be destroyed by the second death. He answers, p. 25, "this death will be of the whole man : " I conclude he would further say, "of the body and soul." But the whole man, we are told repeatedly, consists of the body, soul, and spirit. Now the spirit does not die, he affirms, "it is a part of God ;" and the soul is the animal life; so it appears that what actually perishes is the body and the animal life,—nothing more.* Again, what is the intermediate existence between death and the resurrection, according to the teaching of the pamphlet? The spirit returns to God, to remain with Him, seemingly, till the resurrection. Now the spirit, together with the animal life and the body, constitutes the whole nature of man (pamphlet, *passim*). Two main errors, in my opinion, pervade the account of the constitution of man's nature. First, man's spirit is not considered his own proper spirit, but the Spirit of God, and, in consequence, a positive part of God, and indestructible.† Secondly, man's soul is simply considered his bodily life, which comes to an end when the breath leaves the physical frame.

A small error I notice in p. 82, which does not, however, bear on the general question. Still the author may be glad to be reminded (no doubt the announcement is nothing new to him) that the Nicene Creed does not call the Holy Spirit "the Author and Giver of life." When the Council of Constantinople enlarged the Nicene Symbolum, it appended to the words concerning the Holy Ghost (Πνεῦμα), "τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν," rendered afterwards into Latin, "in Dominum et vivificantem," and meaning "the Spirit

* So that, in fact, the identically same portion of man's nature is affected by the second death as by the first. But now Christ's own words draw a contrast between the first death and final destruction, in respect of that which is destroyed by each.

† However, we seem to come upon self-contradictory statements (*e.g.* p. 31) —"It is also possible for a man's body to be destroyed, or perish, and yet his spirit to survive. But neither of these is the destruction of the man, only a part of him ; and that of the whole man, body and soul, will take place in the last day in hell." In this passage "soul" seems to be used in the author's sense of "spirit : " at least only thus can any sense be extracted from it.

directing and life-imparting." Thus in repeating the Creed, after the word "Lord" there should be a pause : since, speaking grammatically, the word "life" does not depend upon "Lord," but only upon "Giver."

In p. 83 I observe an application of certain expressions in the opening of S. John's Gospel, which seems to me not allowable. When the Word (*Logos*) is termed the Life, and that Life is said to be the Light of men, I imagine that essentially spiritual light and life are described, and that no reference is made to the exercise of merely intellectual activity. The author gives a different interpretation. At the same time, of course, we trace every intellectual endowment to the same source. Only, the Evangelist is here speaking exclusively of such knowledge of divine things as is imparted mediately by the Word and immediately through the Spirit,—in accordance with that saying (as it ought to be rendered), promising the fullest manifestation of the light, "He will guide you into all the truth." S. John xvi. 13.*

A confessedly difficult subject is touched upon in pp. 85, 86, *viz.*, the origin of life. It is said that S. Augustine hesitated all his life through between the two systems of Traducianism and Creationism, as they are called, and to the last felt himself unable to decide in favour of either system. The author tells us that the latter scheme must be the correct one : the eminent German divine, Delitzsch, tells us as positively that Scripture supports the other. I shall not attempt to give an opinion on a matter so abstruse and uncertain, especially as I have never made the question a special study. I will only observe that the arguments of Delitzsch are real arguments, and not to be easily overthrown. I cannot speak quite so favourably of the counter arguments in the pamphlet of the English divine. The argument on p. 86,

* I must take exception also to the interpretation of S. John v. 26, 27, given in p. 78. The real meaning of the passage is, I apprehend, that Christ has authority to execute judgment as a consequence of His becoming the Son of Man—such, so to speak, is the reward of His humiliation. Again, when He declares that He has life in Himself, this means that He has the power of bestowing life. Further, when the Son is said to have received the power of life, the Son is contemplated in His highest relation to the Father. A different line of interpretation is adopted in the pamphlet.

based on the present tense of the verb, must be pronounced defective ; for if it were to be pressed, it would go to prove that God was always laying afresh the foundation of the earth, as well as forming the spirit of man within him. It is defective on another ground : for the Hebrew participle employed here in each of the three expressions, "stretching forth the heavens," "laying," &c., "forming the spirit," does not give a note of time : the participle, grammarians tell us, may be in meaning either present past, or future.*

The account of the Fall, psychologically considered, p. 88, can scarcely be deemed satisfactory. Man is represented as being left with his intellect and his bodily life, but, apparently, destitute of a spirit or spiritual life, without spiritual powers, that is. His intellect is the part which was once ruled by the Spirit of holiness, and is now "filled with the spirit of error." On the contrary, I must think, as has been already stated, that the spirit of man, though fallen, has ever remained with him. Its powers may have been woefully benumbed and perverted, but were never extinguished. The very notion of responsibility implies, I apprehend, the possession of spiritual as well as of intellectual powers. Certainly, however, without the special visitation of the Spirit of God, man's spirit would be borne down in the direction of evil.

An incorrectness of phrase, as I conceive (before noticed), occurs in p. 89, in the expression "God as putting His Spirit into a body for purposes of animal and intellectual life." Should it not rather be, "God animates the body by His Spirit?" Again, one must object to the language, p. 90, "the spirit in man, which is a portion of the Spirit of God, was not part of man proper." I cannot but think that man's spirit was, and is, as much a part of man proper as his body or soul. It is asserted that in the Bible the spirit of man is nowhere spoken of either as lost or as redeemed. The reader is asked to account for this omission. It seems to me

* The passage quoted from Isaiah xlii. 5, is in precisely the same position as that from Zechariah, discussed above. In the Hebrew there is no distinction made as to time in the several members of the sentence, the participle being used in each.

to arise hence : The most common way of describing the whole man with all his powers is the employing of the two words "body" and "soul ;" as the latter of these is confessedly the higher of the two, and is often put for the life, or the man himself, it is generally the soul which is said to be lost, or to be redeemed. But the idea of the soul embraces that of the spirit. For instance, when our Lord speaks of the danger of the loss or destruction of the soul, He cannot simply mean man's animal life, nor his intellect, but must mean his highest part, that by which he might know and love God, his very self, in a word, his spirit. Once we have the expression "that the spirit may be saved," 1 Cor. v. 5, so I suppose we may be allowed to say that the spirit might be lost.*

A simple and beautiful expression of Scripture appears to be turned into something strange in p. 91, "the spirit returns unto God who gave it!"† What is this but equivalent to saying, "the life-breath, or spirit, which God breathed into the man, He recalls to Himself?" He says, "Come again, ye children of men." This expression seems simply to indicate the continued existence of man's spirit after it has quitted the body : it is laid up in God.

We find psychology still under discussion in p. 94. The popular use of the words "soul" and "spirit" is reprobated on the ground of their being interchanged arbitrarily. But such usage merely denotes the belief that man's whole immaterial part may be called his soul, agreeably to scriptural phraseology : or, on the other hand, those higher powers of his soul which are the organ of communion with God, may be distinctively termed his spirit. So far as mere terms go, the precisely same thing is done in the Bible :

* It must seem to most persons a strange theology which holds that only the body and animal life of sinful man are redeemed, inasmuch as these alone constitute the being of man proper !

† The words to which I allude are the following : "It by no means appears that the 'Father of Spirits' ever infused a portion of His Spirit into the earthy frame begotten by the earthly father, with any possible risk that it should be lost. Man may be deprived of it, as at the first death, when the spirit returns to God who gave it ; and it may be, as it will be, sent back again at the time of the resurrection ; and again the wicked man may be deprived of it finally at the second death, and again it may return to God who gave it ; but it is not, and cannot be, lost. If any ask what becomes of the spirit when it thus finally returns to God, I freely answer I cannot tell."

that which addresses God is in the New Testament generally "the spirit," in the Old Testament oftentimes "the soul." The elegant Pagan conception of *Psyche* scarcely deserves the chastisement it receives, p. 94. It merely seems to symbolize the thought that man's immaterial part, the gift of God to him, is not destined to extinction, as the animal life becomes extinct. In p. 95 for "God recalls His Spirit," I should suggest "God recalls man's spirit," as being more in accordance with the language of Scripture. Then in the quotation from Job, "His Spirit and His breath," should be rendered, I hold, "his (man's) spirit and his breath."*

I find the psychological theory very difficult to master, as we proceed, and it appears to my apprehension to be essentially incorrect. Man's spirit, as distinguished from his soul, seems to be called the Spirit of God in him, and also to be the seat of both intellectual and spiritual life. But when man has fallen, "the spirit of holiness" withdraws, but yet man's spirit remains, at least on its intellectual side : of spiritual faculties he appears to have absolutely none (p. 88). This explanation must be considered defective. Then in p. 82, the psychology seems at first sight to shift its ground a little, but I rather think it does not do so really ; only, a somewhat hazy picture is presented to us. We have "three manifestations of life" (the word "manifestation" being, I think, happily chosen). First, that of animal life : the seat of which is the body, the lowest part of man's nature. Then comes the manifestation of, Secondly, intellectual life : Thirdly, spiritual life (belonging only to the regenerate man.) Both of these have to do with the spirit. The soul has not been mentioned. Afterwards, however, the soul is brought in, and declared to be one of the three parts of man. It must therefore be identified with the animal life, and so the theory must be absolved from the charge of inconsistency : but I do not see how this life can be exactly reckoned a constituent portion of man's nature. It is, rather, a certain

* It is very curiously said, p. 91, in reference to the Spirit of God visiting a man, that if He be grieved till He be quenched altogether, then He departs ; but "it was but a portion of the Spirit thus quenched and driven away." Can we thus properly speak of the indwelling and operations of God's Spirit ?

manifestation or energy of the one vital principle, the sphere of which is the body, but the body as united to the soul. There appears to be a confusion between the "manifestations of life" and the seats or spheres of these manifestations. These spheres alone are, properly speaking, constituent portions of man's nature, composed as this is of a material body, and an immaterial inward principle. However, the text quoted from S. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 23 (p. 84), manifestly condemns the theory of the pamphlet concerning soul and spirit. Surely we cannot conceive the Apostle praying that the spirit, and "the animal life," and the body of his converts might be preserved blameless; but we *can* understand his praying for the wellbeing of their body, *mind*, and spirit.* It condemns it also on another side, as Neander happens to show; for if man's spirit were really God's proper Spirit in man, then the Apostle could not have prayed for Its preservation,—as "in itself it could not be affected by any sin." (Neander, *Planting, &c.*, vol. ii. 92.)†

The question is raised in p. 96 as to whether it is correct to represent man's soul or life as the same as the life or soul of the beast. It is answered that the soul is the same in both instances. I should prefer to answer, "not precisely the same, but analogous;" that is to say, if "soul" be taken to mean anything more than mere bodily life, or the power of breathing. For the differences observable between such lower faculties of man as would come under even the author's conception of the soul, and the corresponding powers of the brutes constitute an essential distinction. "We and they have all one breath," says Solomon. Yes; God has given us in common the mysterious principle of life; but a difference seems marked by the very words relating to the Creation, so often quoted here, and applied only to man, into whose "nostrils God breathed the breath of life." "Man

* One is quite unable to believe that the logical and accomplished Apostle, versed, no doubt, in the writings of ancient Greek philosophy as in Greek poetry, could in this connexion have used the word *Psyche* in the sense here attributed to it. See also Ephes. vi. 6; Phil. i. 27; Col. iii. 23; Heb. iv. 12, vi. 19, xii. 3.

† Some theologians speak of *Psyche* as the "animal soul," or lower soul, in contradistinction from the higher powers of the soul, but animal life is quite a different thing.

has no pre-eminence over a beast," simply in respect of death happening to both. The same Solomon marks the difference in his words respecting the downward going of the spirit of brutes, and the upward going of man's spirit. To attribute to brutes any inward principle similar in some remote degree to conscience (p. 98) is a mistake, I apprehend : the instinct, the manifestations of which have some faint resemblance to the working of man's conscience, is essentially distinct.

The representation of the popular view of the place of punishment (p. 104) does not tally, I should suppose, with the belief actually held by sober-minded persons who think themselves forced to receive the dogma of the endlessness of the misery of the wicked. They would simply say, if asked, that they do not know the nature or the extent of the penalty which God has decreed for them who disobey Him ; that they can only conceive that something very terrible must be intended by the figures employed to set it forth. They would point to the miseries which may be inflicted simply by an evil conscience, under certain conditions of existence : but they would acknowledge that material, torturing flames of fire were not, to their mind, a necessary element of the dread punishment of the reprobate.

I regret that pp. 106, 107 should have been written. They are not argumentative, and they are unfair. The writer is a good man, there can be no doubt, and full of zeal, and desirous of teaching what he considers truth of paramount importance. But if he reflects for a moment, he will remember that the gentlest and kindest of human beings have felt themselves forced to hold opposite opinions to his own, as deeming them plainly declared in Scripture. Have not such pitied exceedingly the fate of the wicked? Would they not have laid down their own lives, if by any means they might have redeemed their brother? Let him further remember that the Universal Christian Church in all ages, with quite insignificant exceptions, has held the belief which he so sternly denounces.*

* Mr. Warleigh deems it preposterous to suppose that the Supreme Being could decree to save only one out of each hundred of human beings—(so he

Lastly, the outburst in p. 107 is evidently founded upon a *non-sequitur*. How much soever wickedness may have disfigured the face of Christendom in various ages, it is not the presumably false opinion respecting future punishment which has worked the bane. Can anyone suppose for a moment, that if final extinction had been a generally received dogma, there would have been one war the less, or that men would in consequence have given their hearts to God, and foregone deeds of violence and of wickedness? Alas! no. Through the hardness of the heart the most influential motives of the Christian religion, "its bands of love" wherewith it would draw men, have been for the most part disregarded. The heart believing the truth, has not loved the truth. At the same time, if the doctrine of extinction be the clear teaching of God's Word, let it be proclaimed upon every housetop in the Name of God. If it be God's truth, we are not accountable for the consequences which may flow from it,—these, we may be certain, will be good, however the doctrine may be spoken against. Only, before we proclaim authoritatively what comes before people as a novel opinion, let us be very sure of our ground. Otherwise, with the best intentions, we might be sowing tares instead of good wheat seed. Finally, if nothing more cogent can be advanced in support of this doctrine of Extinction than what is here given us by the author, I must then think it a thousand pities that men's minds should have been disturbed on the question.

I HAVE considered the main points of the pamphlet, and am unable to consider its arguments conclusive. Many of the assertions seem to me demonstrably erroneous. Still, a general conclusion may sometimes be true, whilst certain of the grounds brought forward in support of it may be wanting in soundness. I quite agree with the author in holding that the question is one which rests upon the right interpretation of Scripture. So far we are in accord: however, as to his present performance,—fully as I discern his puts it—) and to inflict on the rest punishment for ever; but apparently he sees no difficulty in such a variation of the theory as should still leave the single one to be saved, and the ninety-nine to be blotted out of existence.

good intentions, and willingly as I applaud them,—I cannot honestly congratulate him upon it, on these several grounds : First, I am compelled to think that competent critics must pronounce the treatment of Scripture in the pamphlet unsatisfactory—defective alike as to breadth of view, and as to exegetical accuracy. Next in respect of the psychological portion of the argument, either the author, or his present reviewer, makes great blunders, for there is an absolute contrariety between us. Then the historical phase of the question has been either overlooked altogether in the pamphlet, or else seen incorrectly : for the adoption of the novel doctrine of Extinction is called a “return to old paths,” whereas it is notorious that the path presented to us in Mr. Warleigh’s brochure, whether it be good or bad, true or false, is, at least, a new one to the Church’s experience. Again, I find it impossible to admire the declamatory peroration of the pamphlet, which quietly assuming the certainty of the correctness of the new teaching, condemns in most exaggerated terms the alleged mischievous tendency of what has hitherto formed part of the common belief of Christendom. Here the fact seems to be altogether kept out of sight, that the so-called orthodox view is held on precisely the same grounds as the author’s own, *viz.*, because the holders find it in Scripture, according to their interpretation of the sacred text. Nor, we must add, does it strengthen a man’s position in an argument to say with vehemence that he knows that he must be right, and that interpretations divergent from his own must be wrong interpretations, yea, forsooth, “delusions of Satan” (p. 94).^{*} Once more—to bring to an end these criticisms—I have just to make a passing unfavourable reference to a slight inexactness of diction observable in several passages, and to proffer the charitable supposition that a more careful revision before going to press might have amended this little blemish. Also, I can quite believe that I myself may have made a grammatical slip here and there. So

^{*} I am reminded here of an apt definition given in a book before alluded to and written by Julius and Augustus Hare, *Guesses at Truth*,—“orthodoxy = *my* doxy (or opinion) : heterodoxy = another person’s doxy.”

let us excuse and stand excused : "hanc veniam petimusque
damusque vicissim."

"Ubi plura nitent,—non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura."

Moreover, let the shortcomings as I may think, or the excellencies as others may think, of this little work be as they may, it is, at all events, the production of so sincere a writer, that we may confidently hope, in the event of his gaining other views on the matter he has handled, to see a palinode of the present tractate set forth with all the vigour and in the same trenchant style which distinguish this performance.

I have now to set forth a little of what I myself hold, as being at variance with the assertions of the pamphlet. I consider it useless to say anything of a position which might be assumed, recognizing, indeed, the fact of *some* lengthened existence in the place of punishment, but contemplating an ultimate ending of it. Such a theory has additional difficulties of its own, and seems open to still greater objections on the ground of improbability than even the scheme advocated in the pamphlet. I have endeavoured to meet the simple question as raised, if I am right, by my friend Mr. Warleigh, following here in the wake of the late Archbishop Whately,* "Do

* This eminent prelate, in a book entitled *Scripture Revelations of a Future State*, suggests the possibility of the fact (but by no means speaks of it as an assured fact), of the extinction of the wicked, basing his reasoning on the uncertainty of the interpretation of such words as "death," "destruction," &c. He raises the doubt whether these scriptural words are to be taken in a literal or a metaphorical sense. In fact, we may almost say that the whole question narrows itself to this issue. It is difficult to say to which side the Archbishop himself leans. Probably those who are best qualified to form an opinion of Dr. Whately think more of his abilities as a cogent logician and clear writer, than of his acquirements as either a profound metaphysician or an exact and critical expounder of Scripture. Many years have passed since I read his book on the future state, but I remember that he half inclines to the belief of the unconsciousness of the soul during the intermediate state of its separation from the body,—a view which most persons would consider positively contradicted by Holy Scripture. Then in discussing the meaning of the word "life," the Archbishop propounds a view, which, to ordinary minds, has the appearance of being rather verbally accurate than convincing. He will not allow that "life," as applied to the condition of the righteous, necessitates of itself the idea of happiness. Logically it may not, but surely according to the scriptural circle of ideas it does imply a holy everlasting bliss. On this basis it is argued that as "life," in the case of the righteous, only means life or the simple state of existence, so "death" *may* mean literal destruction in the case of the impenitent.

the wicked still exist, or do they cease to exist, when assigned to the place of their punishment?" He nowhere puts before us a slow process of extinction, or the idea of a first incarceration and of a subsequent annihilation: according to his view the wicked are cast into hell, as the sure word of God teaches, and are brought to an end as chaff is consumed in the fire. We are referred, it will be recollected, in the body of the pamphlet to the cutting off of a branch of a tree: the process of excision is speedy, whilst its consequences are lasting.

As to the ordinary metaphysical argument in support of the immortality of the soul, I, in agreement with the author, am unable to feel the force commonly conceded to it. It is often said that the soul is spirit, and spirit cannot be destroyed. How know we that? It should be borne in mind that Bishop Butler's celebrated argument is a purely negative one. He simply shows us that from the analogy of bodily dissolution we have no right to assume a similar destruction of the soul, because, unlike the body, it is an indivisible principle. But more we cannot say.*

I am not at all sure, however, that some support may not fairly be deemed to be given to the belief in the soul's immortality, by the kind of instinctive feeling respecting it so widely distributed amongst the various families of the human race, differing greatly in culture one from the other, that it almost appears to be, like the idea of duty, a first principle implanted in our nature. If absolute universality could be proved in favour of this human instinct, then, I think, there would be considerable force in such a fact of man's mental constitution. But I must candidly own that by no means have all men believed, or felt, that the spirit within them would never die. Even Aristotle, I believe it is certain, held the melancholy view that the spiritual essence which we call soul would become extinct after this life.† Still, Revelation is our only sure

* Still be it recollected that the fact of the soul being now in existence, coupled with the fact that death does not do it away and that the body joins it again at the time of the resurrection, is a presumption that it will continue in being unless we have positive proof to the contrary.

† In his ethical works Aristotle speaks of this life as the only one worth thinking about it, as though there were nothing beyond. On the other hand,

guide in the things of the vast future, though facts of human consciousness may to some extent afford a confirmation to the announcements of the written Word. But whilst I am on the present part of my subject, I would advert again to what is to be found in the pamphlet on the subject of destructibility. The author tells us that matter is never annihilated, but only decomposed, and that spirit is not lost, nor extinguished. I believe he is quite right; only he adds to this correct statement, that man's spirit is the Spirit of God, and *therefore* indestructible. But he cannot say what becomes of the spirit of the wicked. Here, I conceive, his assertion is erroneous. The Bible leads us to believe that the whole man,—body, soul, and spirit,—enters the place of final punishment. If the author could only be brought to believe that man's spirit, or immaterial principle, were his own proper spirit, then on his other premises he would be compelled to hold, so it seems to me, the preservation in existence of the wicked. But now, in truth, the spirit of a man is as much a part of his proper being as his body. Where are we told that when the wicked are banished to the place of punishment "everlasting destruction" only affects their body, and does not invade their immaterial part? Again, without asserting that God *could* not destroy spirit, is not the fact that matter is not annihilated (if it be a fact) a weighty presumption in favour of the belief that neither *will* spirit, which is indiscerptible, ever be annihilated? And if God extinguish not spirit, will not the individual and personal spirit of the wicked man ever remain his, and constitute him a living being?

I must now, as best I can, attempt the construction of a Psychology in accordance with the general tenor of scriptural statements, which may be less open to adverse criticism than the system with which I have ventured to find fault. I lay no claim

in one of his metaphysical treatises, that on the Soul, he speaks of one of the three elements of the soul as being immortal in its nature.

Τὸ αὐτὸ μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδίου.—*De Animâ*, lib. iii. cap. 5.

However, the ancients generally held the belief of the soul's immortality, and spoke of the *argumentum ab appetitu aternitatis*. And in keeping with this thought, not a few good critics translate Eccles. iii. 11, "God has given eternity in the heart of man."

whatsoever to originality : I freely acknowledge my obligations to various writers of recognized ability from whose labours I have benefited. By *Neshamah*, as used in Gen. ii. 7, we are to understand the breath of life, the vital principle imparted to man's frame by the inbreathing of God's Spirit. Through God's breath (*Neshamah*) man became possessed of vital energy ; he was gifted with a spirit (*neshamah*). This was man's proper spirit, not the Spirit of God. By the same breath of God all things are said to have been created : but of man only the phrase is used " He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." *Neshamah* has sometimes in the Bible, it should be observed here, the simple sense of breathing or living : all that breathe, whether men or brutes, have within them a *neshamah* (Gen. vii. 22), or *ruach* (Gen. vii. 15). But in a more eminent sense the word *neshamah*, or more frequently the synonymous word *ruach*, appears to denote man's vitalized or vitalizing energy (*spiritus spiratus et spirans*), that which chiefly constitutes his personality, his very life-power ; that essential property in man, to which the reflective and the moral powers of the soul are subordinated, and which has, through the soul, a connexion with and dominion over the body with its various organs. This is spirit, the proper seat of self-consciousness and of the determinations of the will. *Ruach*, at the same time, is often used for mere bodily life, whether of man or beast ; but as often for man's highest part, his spirit, which I have just attempted to define. In the ideal, or unfallen, man his spirit would actually hold its supremacy over his other powers, and enjoy uninterrupted communion with the Father of spirits, through the Holy Spirit. Man's fall caused a derangement of his powers ; and the spirit of a man no longer rules rightly, but has greatly fallen away from its assigned position : and the harmony subsisting once between the various faculties has been disturbed. Nevertheless, the powers of the human spirit were not suffered to become extinguished ; and when God's Spirit speaks to any man, and leads him, He addresses him through his spirit. Thus, strictly speaking, the spirit of fallen man is not so much dead as paralysed : at the same time, so feeble

may be the spark of life, that a man can be termed spiritually dead with manifest propriety. Still God's image in him has been shattered not destroyed.*

Let me pass to the consideration of Soul. *Nephesh* (soul) has a great variety of meanings. Like the Greek *Psyche*, a common, and we may say, perhaps its most proper meaning is the "soul," or immaterial portion of the living being. Very frequently in the Scripture man is regarded as made up of body and soul (*nephesh*). Then this word stands for the whole of the intellectual and the spiritual nature. When, however, the man is looked upon as composed of body, soul, and spirit (*ruach* or *neshamah*), then *nephesh* (soul) denotes exclusively the intellectual or sentient, and emotional part. The proper organs of the body are regarded as pertaining to the body: the *neshamah* (spirit), as in some sort the presiding power, exerts a quickening influence over these, and holds its proper relation towards them by means of the soul. Life

* Of this spirit of man, the great theologian Neander thus speaks:—"According to the doctrine of Paul, the indwelling *πνεῦμα* of the human nature itself is to be distinguished from the supernatural *πνεῦμα*, as the receptacle in the human soul for the operations of the Divine Spirit, that which, in connexion with the supernatural influence, belongs to its right activity. Even in the spiritual nature of fallen man Paul recognizes something higher than the *ψυχή*. *Πνεῦμα* is represented as a component part of human nature with the soul and body." Again: "Paul deduces an undeniable consciousness of God and an equally undeniable moral self-consciousness as a radiation from the former. And as he recognizes an original and universal revelation of God to the human consciousness,—so also he acknowledges in human nature a constitution adapted to receive it: as there is a self-testimony of God, in whom the spirit of man lives, moves, and exists,—so also there is an original susceptibility in human nature corresponding to that testimony. But since by the predominant sinful tendency of man the susceptibility for this revelation of God is impaired, he has lost the ability to raise himself by means of the feelings awakened by outward impressions to a development of the idea of God, to serve as an organ for which is the highest destiny of the human spirit. The apostle represents the spirit as powerless, because a selfish tendency predominates in the soul."

Similarly Delitzsch writes:—"The essential light of human reason in which it was first established potentially by God, by that great judgment of God" (at the fall) "has even perished, and become deprived of brightly efficacious power, so that there has remained to it only a certain spark of light,—wherefore all men are exhibited by God's Spirit as *τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐσκοτισμένοι*, and in that respect are alienated from the life of God by the ignorance that is in them." "The soul and spirit are sometimes distinguished" (in Scripture) "as Heb. iv. 12. For the soul is so called in its natural powers; but in so far as it is enlightened by the light of the Holy Spirit it is called spirit." Delitz. *Psychology*, pp. 33 and 31.

courses through each part, bodily life, mental life, spiritual life, in the seat proper to each,—though in the case of man as he actually now exists, a fallen creature, the special help of God's Spirit is needed to produce the regular flow of life spiritual.*

To guard against mistakes, let me notice that the threefold division of man's nature employed in the Bible is not to be confused with other divisions of man's inward powers made by moral and metaphysical writers, which proceed upon totally different principles. For instance, ancient Greek philosophy, as represented by Plato and Aristotle, makes a threefold division of soul (*Psyche*) regarded as the totality of the inward faculties. The highest faculty of man by these writers is viewed as residing in the soul, and is termed by them *Νοῦς* or *Διάνοια* : this may perhaps be considered to correspond to *πνεῦμα*. But now the Scriptural view is that God breathed a spirit into man, and thus quickened him into being, giving him a soul and body,—that, further, man's powers became disordered by the fall, so that the proper eye of the soul, the spirit, is now grievously dimmed, and needs the restorative power of God to cause it to become again a rightly acting organ. On death ensues a separation of the body from the immaterial part ; but we have no reason to imagine a separation between soul and spirit, *i.e.*, between the lower and the

* The word *nephesh* is sometimes used to denote simply the animal life (*anima*) in which case it cannot properly be said to describe a component part of human nature as to its essence, but describes rather a condition of activity appertaining to the union of the two parts, body and soul. In this sense *nephesh* (soul, life) is sometimes said to die, to be given up, &c. But that by *nephesh* Scripture generally means the mind, or inward faculties, and not animal life, is shewn by a variety of operations which are attributed to it,—operations which could not possibly be spoken of animal life.

When soul (*nephesh*), or spirit (*ruach*) is attributed to the brute creation, these words describe the properties of their being which they have in common with us, but are not intended to place them on our level. For instance they have life, it is true, as much as we have ; and they have a sentient and emotional nature (though very imperfectly developed), and we, too, have an intelligent nature : but there is this essential point of difference between us, (in common with divers other points,) that their sentient nature is bound up with their bodily organization, and becomes extinct when they die ; whilst on the other hand, we die, but bodily dissolution does not bring to an end our intelligent nature. And the proper word for our sentient principle is "soul" (*nephesh* or *psyche*).

higher powers of the soul. But *nephesh*, in the sense of animal life, is of course no more.

Though Scripture clearly makes a threefold division of human nature, this formal division is by no means always strictly adhered to. More often than otherwise two parts only of man's nature are mentioned, his immaterial rational, emotional part, called indifferently "soul," or "spirit," and his bodily organization. In the Epistles of the New Testament, as is well known, the spirit of a man is brought forward prominently, and with greater distinctness than in the Old Testament. There the highest principle, or part, in man, is clearly viewed as the organ of the Holy Spirit, who visits and informs man's spirit, being Himself distinct from that human spiritual essence which He quickens by His gracious influence.*

Thus, as independent powers, the spirit and the soul are scarcely to be divided off from each other by any hard drawn line. They are of the same nature, both being portions of that immaterial principle which is joined in a living unity to the body. The one power of life is exercised in all three constituent parts,—spirit, soul, and body. Clearly, however, spirit and soul possess functional differences which appear from the language, both ordinary and Scriptural, which is applied to each respectively. Thus

* Luther's opinions have been alluded to on an earlier page. Let me give his words about the threefold division of man.

"The spirit is the highest, noblest part of man, wherewith he is fitted to apprehend intangible, invisible, eternal things; and it is briefly the house within which the faith and word of God dwells. The soul is just the same spirit conformed to nature. Its manner is not to apprehend intangible things, but such as the reason can recognize and estimate. And thus the reason is here the light in *this* house; and when the spirit does not enlighten us with a higher light, this light of reason rules; and therefore it can never be without error. For it is too feeble to act in respect of Divine things. To these two divisions Scripture appropriates many things as *sapientiam* and *scientiam*,—the wisdom to the spirit, the knowledge to the soul; and accordingly, also, hatred, love, desire, horror, and the like. The third division is the body with its members, the agencies of which are only bringing into exercise and use what the soul knows and the spirit believes."—*From Luther's Exposition of the Magnificat.*

I may here allude to S. Paul's division of men according to their moral standing. He speaks of the "fleshly" or "carnal" man, of the "natural" or "psychical" man, and of the "spiritual" man. Of these, the second is ruled by the lower powers of his soul; the third, through the power of the Holy Spirit, is renewed in his spirit, and obeys "the law of his mind." 1 Cor. ii, 14; Rom. vii. 23.

the Spirit of God teaches the things of God to the *spirit*, or heart, of a man; and the man communes with his own spirit in matters of a high concern: whilst with his soul he performs the ordinary operations of the various faculties of mind, and is affected in it by varying emotions of all kinds.*

It will be seen that this psychology differs altogether from that propounded in the pamphlet, the most important point of difference being, that whilst the former considers the immaterial part (soul and spirit) a portion of man's own proper nature whereby he is made a person, the latter deems it (*i.e.* spirit) a part of the Spirit of God and separable from the man himself. It is the want of metaphysical clearness on this point, I believe, which has greatly helped to lead Mr. Warleigh to adopt his novel doctrine.

In reference to what I have said above about the threatening of punishment to the disobedient under the Law, I would wish to call attention here to a passage in Deuteronomy, *viz.*, chap. xxx., as exactly illustrative of what was then advanced: the Lord God is there represented as setting before the people of His adoption life and good, and death and evil. Had this sentence stood alone it might have been argued that eternal life and eternal death were distinctly revealed. But no; we find from vv. 18-20 that it was life temporal that was promised, and a speedy cutting off from the good land that was threatened. The passage which from among all passages in the Old Testament gives most distinctly a prophet's consciousness of a resurrection and of a final separation between the evil and the good, is that which we find in a writer quite late in the Jewish history, Dan. xii. 2, and it is noticeable that whatever weight may be attributed to his inspired words as bearing upon the question under discussion, this is given to the dogma of never-ending punishment,—“everlasting contempt” are the words of the prophet. But I hold that our chief reference must be to the New Testament.

* “The human spirit is the self-knowing nature. The soul belongs to the side of the spirit, (not of the body,) and is its external nature: it is the perceiver in us.”—*Delitzsch*.

Since I began to write these observations, I have been reading a book written by an author of Theistical opinions with whom I had once some personal acquaintance, in which a violent attack is made upon the "Christian hell." The attack is fully as violent as that in the pamphlet as directed against the ordinary conception of the final punishment of the wicked. But now the Theist is attacking professedly the representation of the "Christian Bible," it being fully recognised that the popular view of endless misery is just the view of the Bible itself. This notion of a future hell, is altogether repudiated by the writer in question, who allows no supreme authority to the Bible. But the notion of extinction is equally repudiated: "the soul of man no doubt lives for ever." However, we Christians, whether we take one side or the other of the question about future punishment, feel that we cannot argue the matter on *à priori* grounds: we cannot undertake to say what may be fitting or unfit in the eternal nature of things: we have simply to consult what we consider the word of revelation, and to follow implicitly its guidance according to our best interpretation of it.

And the more we ponder over such revelation of God's ways as He has been pleased to give us, the more must we be disposed to exclaim, "Thy judgments are a great deep." Can we bring our minds to believe that the misery of created intelligences is to be absolutely endless? Mr. Warleigh and others think that Scripture clearly does not threaten this. But even they, I presume, believe on the authority of Scripture, truths very startling and terrible respecting the wicked. They hold that till the great Judgment Day the wicked are kept in durance, and are undergoing torture. In the case of some of the disobedient, those living in the early days of the world, namely, this state of extreme misery must last for many thousands of years! Myriads of years are not eternity, it is true: but how appalling a state! Might not exception be taken to such a representation by those who allow themselves a free handling of the Bible, as being, in their view of the eternal fitness of things, a reflexion upon the wisdom and the love of God? For it might be asked, "To what end these millenniums of torture, when at last

sinners (as it is said) are to be totally consumed and extinguished?" What answer could be given beyond this; "we know not, we cannot say: only, we find it so written." The best of us are but poor reasoners concerning the eternal fitness of things.* Of the intermediate state, of the still more terrible final state, we can but say, "God's judgments are a great deep:" we can but repeat the words which God's wisdom has given us.

For myself, if I am further asked, "Do you individually believe that an unlimited duration of misery is clearly and unmistakably contemplated in the Scriptures as the portion of the wicked?" I must reply thus: As to extinction, I cannot find it so much as hinted at in the Bible, but I seem to find it denied utterly.† The wicked appear to me to be threatened with a continued existence in misery, which is called everlasting punishment. "Is there then absolutely no hope of any remission of punishment at any time?" I can find none promised.

But it is not for me to venture to deny absolutely that God can by a secret counsel be designing to recover the lost through some remedial process. To assert the existence of such a design from one's own notion of fitness or likelihood would, indeed, be highly presumptuous and hazardous, for not a hint of any purpose of the kind do we trace within the whole breadth of Scripture. We know, indeed, that in the early days of the Church one distinguished Christian teacher, Origen, did, amongst his various speculations, set forth with positiveness this opinion, and that his disciple, Gregory of Nyssa,

* I may here cite the words of a German theologian, Rinck:—"It seems to us to be very precipitate to decide that the supposition of an eternal condemnation prejudices God's honour, and is unbecoming to God. Do we then so thoroughly understand the proprieties of God? Do we fundamentally understand the nature of Him before whom the seraphim with veiled faces sing, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth?"

† I append a note which ought to have come in an earlier page. So far as the mere use of words is concerned (of which so much is said in the pamphlet), we may notice that the Scriptural representation of man fallen and unregenerate is that he is in death. Our Lord terms him so.—S. John v. and xi. Then there comes the experience of death, as commonly conceived—bodily death. Lastly follows second death, or perdition, which, so far as the usage of words is concerned, need not imply anything beyond a state of utter misery and irretrievable moral ruin—a ruin, in fact, of all the elements of the being.

followed in his track. We know also that the sense of the Church discountenanced this teaching, as being simply based on the uncertain ground of mere human imagining. Dogmatizing here on the part even of the ablest of men is, it is evident, a dogmatizing out of our depth, and an entering upon the unsubstantial expanse of pure speculation, or guess-land. We cannot with safety go beyond the word of the Lord, when we would lay down tenets of belief. I may be allowed, however, just to observe that the great and good Neander, whose judgment and caution are, to say the least, considerable, even though they should be thought rather less conspicuous than his enormous learning,—in commenting upon the opinion “that the Kingdom of God is to be realised subjectively in all rational creatures, and that nothing ungodlike will any longer exist,” makes the following remark :—“The doctrine of a universal restitution would not stand in contradiction to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as it appears in the Gospels: for although those who are hardened in wickedness, left to the consequences of their conduct, their merited fate, have to expect endless unhappiness, yet a secret decree of the Divine compassion is not necessarily excluded, by virtue of which, through the wisdom of God revealing itself in the discipline of free agents, they will be led to a free appropriation of redemption.”—Neander, *Planting of Christian Church*, vol. ii., p. 211, note, Edinburgh Cabinet Edition.

In reference to which assertion I cannot but recall to myself, and remind others of, the circumstances of the Fall of man. Before the Fall, man was simply threatened with death, and death implied the direst consequences. Nevertheless, unknown to man, God in His infinite love had devised a method of rescuing him from the worst of the threatened consequences which were to flow from the transgression which in the beginning God had foreseen. But now having conceded thus much, let us ask what is the real value of any such hope respecting the unrepentant. At best it hangs on a “may be” or a “perhaps” of the barest kind. We

have no Divine promise whatever in the direction contemplated :* on the other hand we have the sure word, "the soul that sinneth it shall die." What now, in consequence of the establishment of a constant law, we may justly call the natural result of unrepented sin, this is declared to us to be the torment of *Gehenna*, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Can any one be found so mad as to be willing to face the penalty denounced by a just God as His award to the impenitent on the strength of a hope against hope that God may perchance have designed a restitution of all fallen created intelligences by methods altogether unknown and inconceivable? It seems almost superfluous to observe that we at least can conceive no possible way by which a moral nature could be touched, and moved from its centre, and won over to Christ, after a persistent rejection of the Gospel. Surely a man who thinks at all seriously about the future will never be content to build his house which is to hold within it the issues of eternity upon this foundation of sand, but will be led rather to surrender himself to the gracious call about which there can be no mistaking, "I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth ; wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye." "I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee : behold, now is the accepted time ; behold, now is the day of salvation."†

* The three well-known passages of S. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28 ; Phil. ii. 10, 11 ; Colos. i. 20 ; have been sometimes thought to hint at an absolutely universal restoration, but they are quite capable of another reference, and *may* speak of a compulsory submission on the part of fallen spiritual natures.

† Let me quote here the words of Dr. Martensen, Bp. of Seeland, in Denmark :—"Some have endeavoured to remove the difficulty" (connected with eternal damnation) "by means of the supposition that lost spirits finally cease to exist ; that they are at last worn out and overcome by their own vain and fruitless antagonism against the Creator, and by their continual torment ; and that they finally sink in the depths of annihilation. By this means certainly all moral barriers to the Divine love are done away with, for after the extinction of all the unsaved, a kingdom of the blessed only remains. But not only is this supposition entirely without any sanction in Scripture, but it does not solve the chief and ultimate difficulty, namely that beings endowed by their Creator with life eternal, who have been led through a life-long series of influences towards that goal, must at last be given up, abandoned by that Divine Providence, by that Fatherly power, which is unable to accomplish its design

I have now finished the task I proposed to myself. I have endeavoured in my comments on the contents of the pamphlet to be fair, and to press no point unduly: indeed I have wished to keep well within the limits of legitimate argumentation.

I hope I have not written with too great positiveness: if I have made any incorrect statements, the incorrectness of which can be shown me by anyone, I shall be most glad to acknowledge the error. I am sure that my feeling towards Mr. Warleigh is that of complete friendliness, and my only wish in reference to his statements and my counter assertions is that what is true in either the one or the other may approve itself as true to the minds of such as take the trouble to examine both. May theological investigations be to all of us who take part in them not merely dry, scholastic, disquisitions, but may they lead us on to contemplate the love of God in Christ: may our thoughts on the awful subject of future punishment stir up in us grateful emotions towards that gracious Father, who, at the present time, invites all men, without exception, to flee from the wrath to come.

“*Ἀρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι κάθως καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην.*—S. Paul.

concerning them, and has to leave them to sink in the night of annihilation. Another explanation of the difficulty has been attempted. The term ‘eternal’ has been taken to have only a subjective reference; that it is only in the consciousness of the lost that the punishment can be taken as never ending. Or again the word ‘eternal’ is taken to mean eternal ages, which have to be traversed, but which come to an end at last. This explanation is directly contradicted by that passage which speaks of sins which shall be forgiven neither in this world, nor in that which is to come. Upon the assumption given by the representation of Scripture, we are compelled again to say, *et inferno nulla redemptio*.

“As the certitude that the counsels of Divine love are for the salvation of all, is the foundation of that Christian love which ‘hopeth all things,’—so, on the other hand, belief in the possibility of eternal damnation,—in the possibility of a final and eternal—It is too late! forms the dark back ground for the solemnity of life; the dark background which awakens that fear and trembling with which to work out our salvation; and which rouses us to make a good use of the acceptable time of grace to which God’s word summons us.”—*Martensen’s Christian Dogmatics*, sect. 287, 288.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 9, line 7, for "their spirit" read "the spiritual part of their compound nature."

Page 12, line 2, for "Guessers after Truth" read "Guessers at Truth."

Page 32, note, for "that He has the power of bestowing life" read "that He is the source or fountain of life, and has the power of bestowing life."

It is only fair to supplement what appeared on a former page (*viz.*, p. 31), with the acknowledgment that I discover in the pamphlet a distinct assertion that Hades is to be the receptacle of the spirits of the wicked during the intermediate state of existence. Thus I might have found, and do find, a proper answer to my question as to that state. But that such was the belief of the writer could scarcely, I think, have been gathered from those other words of his which I quoted in the above-mentioned page, and which, perhaps, had better be produced again—"Man may be deprived of it, as at the first death, when the spirit returns to God who gave it; and it may be, as it will be, sent back again at the time of the resurrection; and again the wicked man may be deprived of it finally at the second death, and again it may return to God who gave it; but it is not, and cannot be, lost."

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REPLY TO DR CAIRNS

ON

DISESTABLISHMENT

BY

A JUROR

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REPLY TO DR CAIRNS

ON

DISESTABLISHMENT.

IT may be advisable to intimate at the outset, that we have no intention in the following argument to offer what might possibly be termed a defence of Church establishments. Such a task would far exceed the limits we have assigned ourselves. What we contemplate is simply to reply to the argument of Dr Cairns—an argument which he has chosen, doubtless for sufficient reasons, to confine to a narrow issue. In order, too, to render impossible the usual allegations of omitting to notice special points, raising false issues, and suchlike controversial devices, we shall scrupulously follow Dr Cairns's own arrangement, thus forestalling a species of rejoinder easy and consequently common. This unauthorised appropriation of the Doctor's plan will, I trust, be the more readily acquiesced in by all parties, as affording the fairest method of testing the issues that are raised.

At the outset of his paper Dr Cairns is careful to inform us that the question he undertakes to discuss has possessed an interest to him, from a period considerably anterior to the Disruption of '43 : that being then a Voluntary, he hailed with unmingled satisfaction the issue of "The Ten Years' Conflict." Belonging to the generation which dates from that notable year in the Scottish calendar, we are happily free from the influence of all the passion and prejudice of which that period

was so fruitful, and may therefore be able to form a judgment on this question unbiassed by the unwholesome influence of ancient animosity.

Dr Cairns having treated his readers to a brief personal reminiscence of the non-intrusion controversy, proceeds to assert that the issue of that controversy has rendered "negotiations with earlier forms of separation possible and hopeful, and has afforded reason to believe that division will be made the precursor of unity, and lead to the gathering of all Presbyterianism into one fold." Dr Cairns, like everybody else, may derive whatever satisfaction they can extract from possibilities; and it would be a pity to interfere with such possibilities as he may have reason to hope for. But let us see how the matter stands. Two allied armies are besieging the city of a common enemy (an enemy because he refuses to join their alliance). The campaign opens hopefully; for the investors, numerically superior, press the siege with vigour. There is every hope that incessant attack, conjoined with artifice, may speedily make them masters of the place. But the city is naturally strong, the governor is resolute, and the garrison emulate his spirit. The besiegers would starve them into submission if they could; but such is the position of the city that both parties can requisition from one and the same people. Notwithstanding this, the matter is still hopeful, when, to the dismay of the besiegers, it is suddenly discovered that a large and ancient city in the neighbourhood is incessantly supplying the beleaguered city with the munitions of war, and that too under such conditions as rendered their doing so by no means incompatible with their declared neutrality. At this discovery dreams of speedy success vanished, and for a time confusion filled the camp of the allies. The commoner sort began to desert, while the unhappy people who supplied the "sinews" began loudly to advocate the termination of hostilities and dissolution of the alliance. The allied leaders saw with dismay the unexpected turn of affairs; the possible had indeed blossomed into the hopeful, but only again to fade, removing the season of fruit to a distant and by no means hopeful future. But the enterprise was not to be abandon-

ed—means *must* be found to stem the rising tide of disaffection. As the idea of *alliance for its own sake* no longer aroused the former enthusiasm, it was plainly seen that something must be done, or the scheme was wrecked. A general meeting of those favourable to the alliance thus untowardly threatened was convened, at which the historiographer of one of the contracting parties entered at length into the causes, both proximate and remote, of the present perplexing condition of affairs. He alleged that nothing had so much contributed to the failure which had hitherto accompanied their efforts as the countenance and assistance rendered the besieged by the large and ancient city already mentioned. He had examined the annals of the State, and found that there were many grievances of long standing which might be alleged against her; that there were many still living whose ancient animosities only needed to be fanned to inflame them against her; that, in short, the wavering sympathies of the people might again be enlisted in their favour, by the prospect of a crusade against their former, but long peaceful, enemy. The historian concluded an eloquent speech by recommending a temporary truce with the recalcitrants, and the simultaneous declaration of hostilities against that city whose unfavourable neutrality and suspected sympathies had balked their designs. This counsel was received with marked approbation, and it only remained to find a colourable pretext for so wanton and unprovoked an attack against a neutral and unoffending power. That matter, however, had not been overlooked; in less than a month an orator from the other contracting State, who was not present at the former meeting, and who, singular to say, had not then the remotest idea that such a proposition would be mooted, came forward with a studied array of reasons for the overthrow of the ancient city whose continued existence menaced the completion of their design. The effort of the orator was hailed with tumultuous applause, and was forthwith ordered to be published for the restoration of the wavering loyalty of the faithful. Now it cannot be doubted that we have here disclosed a device notably ingenious if not strikingly ingenious, yet how far it

may render hopeful the success of the original design may fairly be doubted. Such, however, with only a slight modification in name and circumstance, easily supplied by the intelligent reader, is the latest phase and present position of the Union negotiations—a position which Dr Cairns, more sanguine than ourselves, hails as hopeful. Whatever opinion we may be inclined to form on that point, we cannot imagine there can be two opinions on the honesty or morality characteristic of such ecclesiastical manoeuvring.

Yet granting, for the sake of argument, that the result were as hopeful as Dr Cairns endeavours to persuade himself it is, and that “the gathering of all Presbyterianism into one fold” became a reality instead of a possibility and a hope, it might still, we imagine, be a matter of opinion whether more had not been lost than had been gained. The past history of the Christian Church has certainly not been such as to lead us to pronounce in favour of a oneness of *fold*. The forecast of our Lord Himself concerned the future oneness of the *flock*, not the singleness of the *fold*; *καὶ γενήσεται μία ποιμήν, εἰς ποιμήν*, said He, “and there shall be one *flock*, one shepherd.” On this point, however, we need not enter at present, as we shall have to refer to it again when we examine the Doctor’s pleading “for disestablishment in the interests of Christian truth and sound doctrine.”

As we have already given a sketch of the recent movements of the negotiating parties under the slight disguise of an historic episode, and as that sketch is substantially the same with that given by Dr Cairns, pages 4 and 5, we need do little more than glance in passing at a few of the many loose and illogical statements with which it abounds.

To begin with, it is but fair to ask the Doctor what he means by informing us that “it was a union of Churches *for its own sake* that was sought, and is sought still”? Union of parties as a means towards an end is a matter commonly understood and acted on, but why a union should be sought *for its own sake* would certainly puzzle any one not acquainted with “the profoundly interesting and exhaustive discussions” that have marked the course of the negotiations hitherto.

We are next informed that the said "profoundly interesting and exhaustive discussions" had the following curious effect on the negotiating parties—they "revived and deepened the sense of their common difference from the Established Church;" and then he goes on to add that "such a state of quickened consciousness of distinction naturally passes into antagonism." A full exposition of this interesting process whereby "a state of quickened consciousness" of their common difference from the Established Church *naturally* passed into *antagonism*, would prove a valuable addition to psychological science. It is certainly new to us to learn that a consciousness of common difference necessarily passes into antagonism, but experience teaches us that many things elsewhere impossible are both possible and actual in the arena of "profoundly interesting and exhaustive" ecclesiastical discussions.

The three missing links between "quickened consciousness of difference" and antagonism are next set forth as, "(1) The efforts of the minority to exalt the so-called Establishment principle into a term of communion; (2) The active alliance of the leaders of that minority with the Established Church on the subject of education; and (3) The broaching by them of schemes for the reconstruction of the National Church."

Now what does Dr Cairns mean by speaking of the efforts of the minority *to exalt* the Establishment principle into a term of communion? Either that principle was or was not at the Disruption a term of communion among the adherents to the Free Church. If it was, and has continued so to be for nine-and-twenty years, it must surely have been valued at something, else it is difficult to see why it has been retained. If it was not, then the Free Church has been purely Voluntary from the beginning. On the former supposition, does Dr Cairns imagine that principles are to be shuffled off and on like a preacher's gown, or transformed at the signal of those who pull the wires like the creations of a play-wright in a pantomime? Is the peace of another Church to be wantonly disturbed, and her very existence menaced, because a bullied minority cannot be seduced from loyalty to principles they have cherished with a lifelong consistency? If, on the other

hand, the Free Churchmen have all along been Voluntaries, the necessity for "exhaustive discussions" to elucidate the fact is something incredible, and is certainly highly flattering to the intelligence of so respectable a body. So much for Dr Cairns's first step in what he is pleased to designate a natural transition from consciousness of difference to active antagonism.

The next reason alleged, "the active alliance of the leaders of the minority with the Established Church on the question of education," need not surely be erected into a *casus belli* in view of the present difference of public opinion, and more especially of recent deliverances of that very body of which Dr Cairns is so conspicuous an ornament; and, to say the least, we shall require some better proof than has yet been advanced to convince us that the parties referred to are not the true exponents of the historical position of the country in regard to combined secular and religious education.

The third and last reason with which we are favoured is certainly not the least extraordinary; it is described as "the broaching by them of schemes for the reconstruction of the National Church." What does Dr Cairns mean by "reconstruction of the national Church?" We have yet to learn that anything has been done to her, or is proposed to be done, that could necessitate such an operation. Dr Cairns probably alludes to the abolition of patronage, and should therefore have spoken of schemes for *popularising* the national Church; but that term, though infinitely more correct, would not have looked so well in a formal indictment. Dr Cairns, moreover, ought to know that patronage, not being an essential of the Church of Scotland, but an unfortunate addition imposed in an hour of weakness, its abolition ought not to be described as a scheme for reconstruction. I might add that, not to speak of its being practically unexercised already over half the country, it is seldom we are troubled with a disputed settlement, unless when exercised by Town Councillors of the Doctor's own persuasion, who, following a good example, avow themselves as anxious to ruin a congregation as are their leaders to destroy a Church. But, apart from this, the

Doctor himself will admit that to abolish patronage and so popularise the Church, would be in itself a good thing, and cannot therefore be a ground for proceeding against her. But he tells us that such a scheme seems to the majority in the Free Church to undervalue their great distinctive principle of spiritual independence. This is another of those extraordinary methods of connecting things in words utterly unconnected otherwise—a method we should hope confined to the field of ecclesiastical polemics. Surely the abolition of what can alone bring the Church under secular domination must conduce to spiritual independence in the only meaning of that phrase which is not visionary and impracticable. Unless, therefore, the Doctor is prepared to saddle that unfortunate and sadly-abused expression, with a meaning contrary to what repeated experiments have shown alone belongs to it, his statement is nothing better than *vox et præterea nihil*.

So much then for the reasons for which it has been deemed imperative to preach this new crusade, and for which we, whose peace is to be disturbed, are expected to profess ourselves grateful. But more and worse than all remains,—we are assured that the present initiation of this movement is “eminently wise, courageous, and seasonable.” Perhaps the less said as to its being courageous the better; few, we fancy, will see the courage, while many will admire the strategy.

Wise and seasonable indeed! Let Dr Cairns ask wise and good men who value the common cause more than sects if *they* think so. Is this a time to speak of propagating strife and sowing bitterness, when unbelief is threatening all that is most vital in our common faith? Is this a time to dissipate our energies in intestine conflicts in face of an infidel propaganda that would rejoice at such a symptom of incredible folly? Wise and seasonable! when our strength is already more than taxed to meet the constantly augmenting multitude who never darken the doorways of our churches, and are rapidly drifting into worse than heathenism. Let Dr Cairns and his allies find some other way whereby to designate a threatened agitation so fraught with evil, and leave to

the execution of nobler purposes such worthy epithets as wise, courageous, and seasonable.

It will be seen from the foregoing that this attack on the Church of Scotland has arisen from the exigencies of the Union negotiations, altogether irrespective of anything pertaining to the Establishment itself. According to this highly edifying method of procedure, no institution is safe from wanton and unprovoked assault; to insure this it is only necessary that it interfere in some way, however remote, with the designs of scheming and turbulent sects. The National Church, it is urged, does so, and therefore must quit. Although, however, such reasoning as this might be sufficient to satisfy the demands of United Presbyterian intellect—that is, *the one hundred thousandth* part of that portion of creation accredited with reason—it was felt that the Grand Jury of Honesty and Common Sense would inevitably refuse to find a “True Bill” against the defendant. To satisfy, therefore, the unreasonable scruples of a jury who refuse to countenance a purely vindictive prosecution, a twofold indictment is drawn, setting forth that the continued existence of an Establishment is “a political wrong and injustice,” and “a spiritual evil and impediment.” Such is the preamble of the Bill, and if words could prove a case we might tremble for the issue.

I. First, then, the general public are invited to lend their aid in working out the United Presbyterian programme of disestablishment, on the ground that the continued existence of the Church of Scotland is a political wrong and injustice. Dr Cairns admits that, for the sake of godliness, it is permitted to the State to see that the religious element should have its place in legislation and education; but he denies that it has any right to be “the supporter and propagandist of Christianity in the way which is alone possible in State Churches.” But after Dr Cairns has admitted so much, and since the Synod of his Church has declared its consent to the concurrent establishment of religion in schools, what reason can be given why the State should be debarred from doing for churches, what he and his readily admit it may do for education? Dr

Cairns has made no attempt to show why the State should be deemed to overstrain its province, when it only seeks to apply to preaching what he and his Synod admit it may justly apply to teaching. What the Doctor's argument wants is thoroughness. Had he been content to stand fast on the plea that ALL interference by the State in matters of religion is beyond its province we should have felt ourselves bound to argue the question ; but inasmuch as he has not done so, and as his Synod has shown that, as a body, it does not do so, we maintain that both have virtually abandoned the only ground on which it was possible to argue that an Establishment is a political error. Dr Cairns is too astute not to have seen himself that his argument was paralysed, and could not stand alone. It is plain indeed that he did see it, and hence the extraordinary attempt made in page 8, to bolster up a worthless argument by vague references to the sanctions of Christian teaching.

What, might I ask, are "the express Divine arrangements," which he avers are encroached upon by State support of religious institutions? We shall be delighted to give them due weight when we know their nature, and where they are set forth. As it is, all we can say is, that we know nothing of them. Much in the same style we are informed that "the strain of Christian teaching" is opposed to State aid, in the preaching and propagation of the Gospel. As in the former case, not the slightest hint is afforded as to what strain of Christian teaching affords the inference referred to ; again we repeat we do not know it. Moreover, even supposing it existed, it would be worth something to know how a matter so dubious as an inference could "determine a general rule."

Dr Cairns's argument, then, originally seen to be worthless in consequence of its flagrant inconsistency, has derived no additional strength by this appeal from Cæsar to the Gospel. Vague assertions are bad substitutes for arguments, and are eloquent of the weakness of a case, when invoked to buttress a position originally unsound.

Apparently conscious of this fact, the Doctor hastens to inform us that his case is "indefinitely strengthened by the

admitted fact that the Church of Scotland is the Church of the minority." In endeavouring to demonstrate this portion of his case Dr Cairns presumes the Church of Scotland was Established as being the Church of the majority; he might better have said as being unquestionably the largest Protestant body in the country. And is she not so still? What other body, might I ask, has any claim to represent the Protestantism of our Constitution? Notwithstanding the act of schism effected in 1843, she is still what she always has been, by far the largest single Protestant body in Scotland. Why did Dr Cairns, in estimating the position of the Church of Scotland in regard to numbers, endeavour to raise a false issue by comparing the adherents of a *Church* with the totality of a *population*? The Establishment is a Protestant Church, and holds her position as such. She should therefore, in the first instance, be weighed against other Protestant communions.

From the 3,358,613, the population of the country given, we must deduct the 400,000, who it is estimated belong to no Church whatever, together with the rough calculation of 180,000 who belong to the Roman Catholic communion. We have thus 2,778,613 as the total Protestant population. If the numbers adhering to the Church of Scotland be 1,308,441, as Dr Cairns is apparently willing to admit it may be, we see that as a matter of fact the Establishment numbers only 160,000 fewer adherents than all the other Protestant sects combined. As we are satisfied, however, that from lack of data we have considerably under-estimated the Roman Catholic population, we believe that a more accurate calculation would show that the Establishment is not only almost but altogether equal to the remaining Protestantism of Scotland. *A fortiori*, therefore, she must greatly outnumber any other single body, and so continues to justify the principle on which she was originally established.

Nor must we allow to pass unchallenged the statement made on page 11 that there "has been a sufficient trial of the experiment whether the State Church can reverse its numerical disadvantage." Dr Cairns dares not deny that the position

of the Church of Scotland to-day is better than it has been at any time for wellnigh thirty years ; and there cannot be a doubt that at no distant date she will exhibit a superiority so marked, as to remove it beyond the possibility of doubt. Year by year she is steadily augmenting the number of her churches, multiplying her agencies, and making her influence decisively felt in the field of Christian work. To endanger, therefore, the usefulness of a Church by factious opposition for party purposes—to invite the aid of infidels and political agitators in such a work and at such a crisis—ought to earn the contempt and reprobation of all, who are not blinded by the exigencies of sectarian diplomacy. Unfortunately, however, on both sides the border, Nonconformist Churches are learning to lend their organisation for the purposes of purely political agitation, to the great decrease of their usefulness as religious and spiritual agencies. The sittings of synods, conferences, and unions are vastly more occupied in the discussion of politics, formulating of petitions to Parliament, and the like, than in considering how to propagate the Gospel, refute heresy, and stem unbelief. To smite an adversary under the fifth rib is the favourite occupation now of the modern Philistine or political Dissenter—an occupation that cannot fail to afford, and does afford, unmingled satisfaction to the army of nondescripts, who care for no Church and hate them all. It was the mutual conflicts of the Grecian States enabled Philip of Macedon to set his foot on the neck of freedom ; let the lesson not be unheeded now, or religion itself may have cause to wail the policy of her friends.

II. We come now to the second set of considerations which are urged against the continued existence of the Church of Scotland. It is affirmed that its removal would inaugurate “a greatly improved state of things in regard to religious interests.” It will be well to remember that on this point Dr Cairns declares he places far greater weight than on the other, on which account it is all the more necessary to note carefully how far he has succeeded in making good his case.

First, then, he pleads for disestablishment “in the interests of Christian truth and sound doctrine.” But for this Dr

Cairns declares he "should very possibly not have taken part in any movement on the present occasion."

On reading this statement we felt a little natural alarm, not unmingled with surprise. We thought ourselves not wholly unacquainted with the teaching of the Church of Scotland, and were not a little bewildered that we had hitherto known nothing of heresy so general, as alone could justify a movement for disestablishment "in the interests of Christian truth and sound doctrine." What, then, was our amazement when we read that this wide-spread unfaithfulness was charged upon us, because on a public platform a well-known dignitary of the Church of England had a good word to say for the Church of Scotland, and had further, in conjunction with "a leading contributor to the 'Essays and Reviews,'" appeared in the pulpit of a conspicuous minister of the Establishment. We know nothing of the utterances of Dean Stanley or Dr Jowett in the Church referred to, but even granted that by both the canons of orthodoxy were violated, what follows? Why, even a stretch of reasoning would allow no more, than that "the conspicuous minister" who had provided the pulpit should disavow participation in the objectionable sentiments. According, however, to Dr Cairns, it follows that the Church of Scotland is deeply heretical, and should therefore cease as an Establishment. It is difficult to speak with patience of such reasoning as this, violating as it does both candour and common sense. That it should be advanced at all, can only be accounted for as a despairing attempt to overreach, by something worse than even special pleading.

Were the Church Courts ever so anxious to bring discipline to bear on a member, who had so compromised the honour of the Church, Dr Cairns does not need to be informed that the matter would be one of great difficulty and more than doubtful issue. That it has not been done, is the best proof that the Fabian policy has been deemed more prudent than a rash and uncertain prosecution. To say, as Dr Cairns insinuates, that this course has been followed because sympathy is felt for heresy, and approval accorded to the act, is to utter a

libel that cannot be justified, against a body of divines not less honourable and orthodox than himself.

Upon what grounds, then, has Dr Cairns dared to assert that the theology of the 'Essays and Reviews,' according to the type of Dean Stanley and Dr Jowett, is now a recognised form of "national Scottish teaching"? We confidently leave it to an intelligent and unprejudiced public, to pronounce a scathing judgment on so utterly reckless an attempt, to defame a Church whose purity is known and acknowledged throughout the Christian world.

It were a waste of time to follow Dr Cairns through the rest of an argument, whose *minor* is false in fact, and whose *major* is equally false in theory; for disease, however serious, is surely a plea for cure, and not an argument for death.

As we find this paper threatening to exceed those limits within which we desire to keep it, we can touch but very briefly on the remaining portion of Dr Cairns's argument.

Secondly, then, he pleads for disestablishment on the ground of *liberty*. His contention here is twofold: First, that though enjoying a superior measure of liberty to other national Churches, her claim to spiritual independence is nevertheless null. We are reminded of the Cardross case, as proving the independence of the Free Church from civil jurisdiction, and of a present disputed settlement as attesting the continued bondage of the Establishment.

Both examples are exceedingly unfortunate for the argument, while one that could throw true light upon the subject is *prudently* unnoticed. The Cardross case, we maintain, proves the very reverse of the Doctor's contention; the appearance of the Free Church in a civil court is surely proof sufficient that even she is amenable to that law which protects our property and enables us to vindicate our character. It is notorious, too, that nothing but a lack of means permitted the case to collapse, without a thorough trial of the issues involved. In fact, it is absurd to argue that any corporation, whether civil or ecclesiastical, possessed of vested interests, and affecting to deal with the character and private interests of individuals, can claim to be independent of the law of the land. It would be

monstrous if it were so. So long as such corporations administer with fairness the various rules and understandings by which their members are federated, the Civil Court has no call to act ; but the moment this course is departed from, it is both competent and possible to appeal to a civil tribunal. Spiritual independence, therefore, unless interpreted in this the light of common sense, is a danger to be avoided and not a thing to be desired.

Why did Dr Cairns omit to instance the Auchtergaven case, so lately tried and so decisively settled ? Were not the decisions of both the Outer and the Inner Courts to the effect that they could not review the decision of the Supreme Ecclesiastical tribunal—that as a court recognised by the law as possessing a legal and competent jurisdiction its decision could not be disturbed ? Let Dr Cairns reflect on this point, and then let him tell us whether there exist another spiritual court in Britain, possessed of an authority at once so untrammelled and decisive.

In regard to the present disputed settlement, perhaps the less said the better, especially as those who have vowed to use their power to continue the unedifying spectacle belong to that very body, whose love of freedom the Doctor so urgently persuades us to emulate, and of which he himself is so conspicuous an ornament. Secondly, he contends that Nonconformists would not be justified in permitting the National Church to acquire that liberty of which *it is alleged it is deficient*.

It is positively painful to have to note the mode of reasoning Dr Cairns is reduced to adopt, in order to justify his party in opposing the attempt of the Established Church to rid itself of patronage. The *reason* given is that “they could not consistently assist an appeal to an incompetent tribunal.” We said already that patronage was imposed on the Church in an hour of weakness by an imperial Act, and why the tribunal which was competent to impose it, should be incompetent to remove it surpasses comprehension. After this, and much of the same kind which the reader will find on page 16, we leave to his own judgment the ingenuous disclaimer of

adopting "a dog-in-the-manger policy," when they strenuously oppose the attainment by churchmen of what they claim for themselves. We are perfectly content to leave Dr Cairns, and the policy he advocates, to the estimate of a public who will be apt to call things by their right names, disclaimers notwithstanding.

Two other points yet remain to be noticed, but cannot be entered on within the limits of this paper. Fortunately they are neither of them of sufficient weight to affect the value of the argument, so that there is the less need for a lengthened consideration of them. We are willing enough to admit that the liberality of the Church of Scotland is far short of what it might be, and, if Dr Cairns will spare us a little longer, I doubt not will be. How disestablishment, however, is to mend the matter it would be difficult to surmise; and as Dr Cairns has not favoured us with an exposition of the economies of disestablishment, we are unable to pronounce a judgment on the probable effects of so radical a cure. The Church of Scotland, we apprehend, will be better, in the first place at least, to try the curative effects of more frequent ministerial exhortation, and the general formation of parochial committees, to collect for the various schemes recommended by the Church. It is a lack of system more than a coldness of charity, that lies at the root of whatever shortcomings may fairly be charged against the Church. To our mind, at least, the connection between cause and effect is vastly more apparent between efficient organisation and increased liberality, than appears to obtain between the same result and a policy of disestablishment.

With Dr Cairns's final argument for disestablishment, "that it is the only path to the union and reconstruction of all the Presbyterian Churches," we need concern ourselves but little. Dr Cairns may rest assured that the Established Church, anxious as she may be for an united Church in Scotland, is not likely to think of trying to realise the wish by an act of voluntary beggary. Nor are we certain, moreover, that a Presbyterianism reconstructed on a type that would secure the approval of Dr Cairns, and those who regard him as their

leader, would be an unqualified blessing after all. It may be that what we would gain in an imposing uniformity would be lost to individual liberty, and a healthy rivalry would be sacrificed, without any corresponding gain in spontaneous activity.

The Church of Scotland, therefore, while willing to hail the peaceful solution of present difficulties, and to co-operate with such as love the common Head of all our Churches, will not tamely abandon her historic position, or abdicate her right to adjust her constitution in accordance with her high and sacred interests.

THE
REPLY OF A RITUALIST

TO

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO HIM BY TWO
ROMAN CATHOLICS

IN DEFENCE OF

MONSIGNOR CAPEL.

"Catholicism is the religion of a world; Roman Catholicism is the religion of a tribe,
or race of men." — ARCHER BUTLER.



LONDON:

G. J. PALMER, 32, LITTLE QUEEN STREET,

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TO THE READER.

This brief reply has been written simply to counteract any harm which the pamphlet "Catholicism or Ritualism" might effect upon the minds of any who are as unacquainted with the "Controversy with Rome," as the authors of that pamphlet seem to be. The tone of these pages is, I hope, that of "defence not defiance," and what they protest against, is not anything that is Catholic, but only Ultramontaniam, that is "Romanism gone mad," an expression attributed to the Bishop of Orleans. Personal acquaintance with one of my two *roaming* correspondents must be my excuse for the familiar tone of my reply.

THE REPLY OF A RITUALIST, &c.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIRS,—I do not know if you had the sanction of Monsignor Capel for your reply to my letter to him, and so I address my reply direct to yourselves. I may as well confess to you at once that my only difficulty in answering your pamphlet has been in trying to do so in a way which, while refuting it sufficiently, should not charge you with any of the grievous faults you have so freely accused me of. I will say *now* the hardest thing that I intend to say of your publication, and it is merely this—I am surprised that two Anglican clergymen, after all the prayers for guidance and many months of diligent study, which one would expect to be involved in the contemplation of Secession and the breaking of Ordination Vows, could only publish such a weak defence of Monsignor Capel and the Papal Aggression. My letter to him was written literally "*currente calamo*" on the morning after his sermon, May 12th, and I am surprised that *two* Anglican priests who *ought* to have known something of the controversy with Rome before joining her, could not (each helping the other), in several weeks, with the assistance of extracts from Dr. Newman, put forward something more telling than "Catholicism and Ritualism." That is the hardest remark I hope I shall make, and in trying to avoid the style of your letter, I hope I shall say nothing to wound feelings.

The only remark I need make upon your preface has regard to this sentence—

"The true answer, therefore, to 'A Ritualist's letter' and other similar productions will, doubtless, be made by the publication of Monsignor Capel's lectures, which are, it is understood, already in the press."

I think it would have been a more fitting course if Monsignor Capel (knowing the way his sermons were commented on by Romans as well as Anglicans) had printed his sermons at once. What he preached he might have printed; a long time now has passed, and we who may wish to counteract the harm of those sermons, are told we must await their publication—meanwhile the heaven works. I do not mean to hint that he is going to print as preached that which he did not preach, but it is a manlier, more Christian course, to disabuse people at once of a false impression if you can. A public controversialist ought to let his opponent know at once what he does or does not say; such is my humble impression. In page 1 of your pamphlet you "presume my letter is to be regarded as the manifesto of my party." Not so, indeed, I am only a little one among giants; in fact, I have no name,

weight, or influence amongst the clergy of any party. Page 2, I am glad my arguments caused you to smile, but I really must decline to accept the compliment that follows at the expense of the English Church Defence Tracts. You then write—

“There is, first, the accustomed appeal to individual names, a preliminary argument, which is generally used in this way: ‘If Dr. Pusey, and Canon Liddon, and Mr. Carter are content with Ritualism, why should not you be?’ the number of ‘Non-contents’ being carefully put out of sight.”

Your paraphrase does not render my meaning correctly, but even if it did, you seem yourselves on page 31 to use this argument, which you say “tells both ways,” by appealing to Dr. Newman and the learning of the Dominicans, Jesuit Fathers of the Order of Our Most Holy Redeemer, and the Fathers of the Oratory. Page 3: Here you cause *me* to smile (thank you). Because the word “on” occurs twice in a sentence at the close of my letter, you facetiously quote the couplet from Marmion—

“Charge, Chester, charge! on, Stanley, on!
Was the last cry of Marmion.”

I am afraid I must add this to the long list of “Roman Misquotations.” Would all were as harmless. This is the correct version—

“Charge, Chester, charge! on, Stanley, on!
Were the last words of Marmion.”

I am tempted, in return, to suggest another couplet from Marmion, for the consideration of the next two Seceders who unite in a literary attack upon the poor old Church of England.

“O, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practise to deceive.”

(Pp. 3 and 4.) “Nor must we pass over the special appeal to—shall we say argument for?—the sentimental section of the Ritualist party: ‘Who would think of leaving Ritualism for Catholicism so long as “one of our number can go off on a mission, week after week, with a worn-out throat and brain, and fill a church as big as your pro-cathedral,” or with this fact before them: “Another tyrant priest is ordered rest for six months, and *half the largest congregation in London is in tears*”? Who would desert Anglican ministrations when ladies exclaim, “There never are such profound sermons in the poor Anglican Church”?’ We are, indeed, by the treatment that seems necessary from your letter for a portion of the flock, reminded of an Anglican book for confession, that spoke of ‘gentle creatures,’ and made suggestions as to the disposition of the bonnet on the vestry-table, which at the time appeared absurd, but which your letter seems to prove was ‘called for.’”

The first sentence is not quite correct, and “begs the question,” for, if you look at the preface to my letter, you will see that I hold Ritualists to be Catholics, and on pages 12 and 13, which you are referring to, I use the words “Anglican Church” six times, and speak of Ritualists as priests of that church which is Catholic. “Who would think of leaving the Church of England, which is Catholic, for the Roman Schism?” would have been a fairer rendering of my words, and I regret that they must thus read offensive. Truth is often unpleasant.

I did not mean that half that large congregation were actually pouring forth lachrymal distillations. All I meant was that our priests were not all such appalling tyrants as Monsignor Capel (if correctly reported) made

them out to be, else the temporary indisposition of one of them who had a very weighty spiritual charge of souls would not be so regretted as it was.

I am not aware that there is "a sentimental section of the Ritualist party"—very likely some priests are more sentimental than others. I have no copy of Johnson at hand to consult, but Nuttall's Dictionary gives the following as one meaning of the term sentimental—*Abounding with just opinions*. I hope such a section is large and increasing.

I think I may say with truth I have at various times looked through or thoroughly read almost every Anglican book or pamphlet on Confession that has been published of late years, and a great many of the various publications that have appeared against it, and I think I may say that Roman Catholic books on the subject have been more studied by myself than by you (so I venture to believe), and I cannot remember *any* book where the expression "gentle creatures" occurs. I think you are alluding to "Hints to Penitents," page 12, where the adjectives, *gentle*, *good*, *saintlike*, occur in connection with the noun *friend*. If you are referring to that passage, I may as well explain that, owing to the "glamour," Protestant controversialists (with the help of indiscreet Roman Manuals) have succeeded in surrounding the Confessional, many young women have got to think with a fear and trembling of coming for Absolution, so great that they have asked for a friend described as above to accompany them to the church. This is simple fact.

But neither in Hints to Penitents or any other Anglican book on Confession do I remember suggestions as to the disposition of the bonnet on the vestry table: but whether a lady puts her bonnet on a table, kneels on it, or puts it in her pocket, I cannot imagine what all this has to do with the question of the Catholicity of the Anglican Church. Indeed, my dear friends, you will soon come across more sentimentality where you are gone to than there ever existed, or, please God, ever will flourish among us. For a Roman to declaim against sentimentality in another part of the church, is so audacious one cannot help being amused. Sometimes children are naughty, but in such an open odd way, one feels more inclined to forgive than to scold, and so for a Roman to reprove us for our sentimentality is like that charming naughtiness which disarms resentment, as when one of you asserts that you are all "at one," "no dissensions about the faith and never were." "Papal Infallibility always held" "Jesuits never intrigued," or, richest audacity of all, "Monsignor Capel preaching on Sins of the Tongue immediately after his Kensington Sermons."! Members of your Communion have told me there are many books of prayers popular amongst yourselves which they cannot use, being too sentimental. On page 28 you speak of Father Faber's life as a book familiar to you. Have you read his letters? Was he not a little sentimental? I will not quote the passages; surely you know without my proving it there is a great deal too much romance and sentimentality in Rome, far more than in the Anglo-Catholic Communion.

(P. 4) "The letter is meant to be read by the laity, to influence the laity, and to keep back the laity from the Catholic Church. It appeals, therefore, to those who know little or nothing of the want of unity prevailing among the Ritualist party."

My dear friends, you know *my* intention was just the reverse of this, whatever *you* may think the Catholic Church to be.

Your next sentence, about our want of unity, which, indeed, appeals to those who know little or nothing of the want of unity prevailing in the Roman Communion, shall be noticed shortly in my appendix, as you return, *con amore*, to this old charge further on in your pamphlet.

(Page 5). On the expression "Insolent and aggressive faction." Here you imply (*a*) that my reference to Dr. Newman's phrase, "Insolent and aggressive faction," is dishonest; (*b*), that it occurred in a letter not intended for publication; (*c*), "that it is still a matter of doubt to whom the words were applied"; (*d*), "that is quite certain that no reference was intended to any work going on in England."

Your first remark, of course, I pass by; to (*b*), I answer that Dr. Newman is not a man to say one thing in private and another in public, and that if his letter was not intended for publication, you are accusing the Bishop to whom it was addressed of indiscretion, carelessness, or betrayal of confidence; and, as for your two last remarks, it matters not whether the words referred to Dr. Manning and the Ultramontanes and their doings in England or abroad, as you consider the Roman Communion as completely *one* in faith, and opinion, and everything, quite a happy family compared to the differences between Anglican clergymen, whom you describe as "looking aghast at the utterances of each other" (p. 4).

A good deal of page 6 is true enough, but I must venture to inform you that, while I quite agree with Mgr. Capel in not regarding "any form of dissent as a Divinely appointed system," yet I think I differ very seriously from you about the method of doing all "in one's power to win souls from Dissent to the Church." May I commend these extracts from Archer Butler to your attention.

"For my own part, I will not scruple to say, though, perhaps, it is scarcely wise to enter upon such a topic without more room than I can now demand, to explain and defend my meaning—it is not without fear and trembling that I should at any time receive into the Church a convert from any of the forms of Christianity outside it, *whom I had known to be sincerely devoted, according to the measure of his light.* The duty of so doing may arise, and, when the duty is plain, it must, of course, be done; I only say that I should feel very great anxiety in doing it. Men ought never to forget how fearfully heavy is the responsibility of a new convert."

Now, what I wish you to understand is this, that while longing to win souls to the Catholic Church from all forms of dissent or schism, my first care would rather be to try and convert and baptise heathens and infidels, and get *them* into the Church. And, with regard to those who are Low Churchmen, Presbyterians, or any other sort of baptised Christians, I think I should try and win them on more by prayer and example than by direct attacking of what they conscientiously believe; the more we labour and pray, and live the lives of Catholic Christians, the more attractive the Church will become, and the more rapidly will she draw back to her fold those whom the apathy or unfaithfulness of her ministers have formerly caused to be separated from her. You seem to deal with all Dissenters as heretics *wilfully* living in mortal sin, and in opposition to God. I rather think we should not take quite so proud a line with them; we ought, rather (without abating one jot or tittle of the claims of

the Church to their entire submission) to deal with them as Christians, to be won back from estrangement to union—souls that have been alienated by our shortcomings, as well as separated from us by their own faults. You seem like men with sacks on the sea-shore, trying who can fill them quickest with common pebbles. Some perverts you may “instruct” for a time before reception into your Communion, but all I can say is, that I certainly would never have received any Dissenters into open Communion with the Anglican Branch of the Catholic Church in the same sort of way many weak Catholics that I have known have been pressed and hurried into your Communion. Forgive my saying it, but I have reason for my belief. I think that, considering the great responsibility attached to trying to alter the faith of any soul, that some of the most energetic priests of your Communion seem to think more of quantity than quality. “Get people to secede and join us, never mind who or how, what their reasons, knowledge, belief, or character, only get them to be received quick.” These seem their principles of action.

(P. 7.) “As it is, those who read the temperate reply of Father Addis will probably be of opinion that the strong language of the Tracts is not supported by strong arguments.”

As you recommend Father Addis’s pamphlet for the perusal of enquirers (p. 40), I conclude that you have read that publication, but I wonder you consider a reply containing the following sentences a temperate one:—“They give distorted interpretations of the originals” “with unscrupulous audacity, they lead their readers to suppose” “they begin with an appeal to the ignorance of their readers, and they presume on it to the utmost.” If the reasoning on a passage of St. Irenæus falls to the ground, “the authors are convicted of a dishonest suppression of the truth, hypocrisy of protesting against partiality, and then palming off an interpretation,” &c. “We set out with a charge of *suppressio veri*.” “They themselves are guilty of perverting facts and practising on the simplicity of their followers,” “blundering misquotations of the Eirenicon”—“The Mendacity of Janus.”

I have the satisfaction of feeling that, in contrast to the above style, my reply must seem to you *very* temperate in tone.

“Roman Misquotations” was, no doubt, an irritating title. One Pope published a controversial work, with the same title, many years ago. As for the pamphlet you allude to in your next sentence, if it is as bad as you state, it would make a nice little appendix to bind up with Father Harper’s “Peace through the Truth.”

Your next paragraph, which I hope you have now regretted, imputes to me an insinuation that I never dreamed of making and which I will only further notice by reminding you of the motto, “*Honi soit qui mal y pense*.”

(P. 7.) “The preface ended, your letter opens with two assertions. With the first we have clearly nothing to do, and therefore at once turn to the second, on which we have something to say.”

You have (unconsciously, I suppose) been remarking on my letter, as well as its preface, already. With the letter’s first assertion you write, “we have clearly nothing to do.” That first assertion was simply that

"Ritualists (*i. e.* Catholics, see my preface) have to endure a pretty large share of obloquy, misrepresentation, and even persecution." And a few lines lower down I remarked that Dr. Manning and the *Tablet* were amongst our attackers. But although you here state "you have clearly nothing to do with these troubles," you devote pp. 20, 21, and 22 to refuting these charges, and upholding Dr. Manning.

I may pass over the next two pages and a half, as most of it is suicidal argument for a Roman Catholic to make use of against the professors of any religion, true or false. If no differences on points of faith, opinion, and discipline had ever existed in the Roman Communion, then these arguments, or rather these charges, might have been written to some purpose. I simply repeat, in fuller terms than before, that every priest holding the Catholic faith in the Church of England is as certain that he holds the faith once delivered to the saints (and is in union, through the sacraments, with Christ), as certain as any Roman Catholic can ever possibly be. You have indeed mistaken what you call my unhappy illustration from Acts v. 29. Because St. Peter and the Apostles answered the High Priest "we ought to obey God rather than men," it by no means follows that St. Peter or the Apostles regarded the High Priest as a chief officer of the Christian Church. If they did so regard him, your remark holds good; but it would be hardly consistent with Christianity in apostolic purity, much less with Ultramontaniam, which makes St. Peter and the bishops of Rome the infallible heads of the Church.

(P. 11.) "You then tell us it is a matter which does not concern you, 'whether there is more discipline in the Roman Communion than in the Church of England;' yet, in the same paragraph, declare that 'the authority, discipline, and order, and obedience, existing in the Roman Communion, rests upon a basis denounced by Pope Gregory the Great in the most decided language as Antichristian and arrogant.'"

My dear friends, you have omitted the two intervening sentences that occur in this paragraph, and have also left out seven words which alter the meaning of the sentence you last quote *very materially*. I attribute this only to haste.

Next you write:—

"Ritualists are so accustomed to accept the doctrine and practice of the particular clergyman to whom they look, or with whom they hold, that you evidently relied upon your *ipse dixit* being sufficient also for Ritualistic readers."

You have forgotten that on page 9 you treated us to an imaginary conversation, which proved Ritualists did not seem to mind the *ipse dixit* of their own priest or any other he recommended them to consult.

And now for Pope Gregory the Great, my allusion to whose *most decided* language you characterise as "*somewhat vague*" in your Appendix. I have not the opportunity of referring to the originals of the quotations there given from St. Gregory's writings; but, considering what he did write to the Bishop of Constantinople, there is nothing in the two quotations favouring Ultramontane views of papal claims, and one or two sentences rather against them.

Pope Gregory, then, has written as follows:—

"No one of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a term [as Universal Bishop], because plainly, if a single Patriarch is called universal, the name of patriarch is taken from the rest. Wherefore let

your Holiness in your letters *never call any one universal*, lest, in offering undue honour to another, you should deprive yourself of that which is your due." "He endeavours to claim the whole to himself, and aims, by the pride of this pompous language, to subjugate to himself all the members of Christ, which are joined together to the one sole Head, that is, Christ. If this is allowed to be said freely, the honour of all patriarchs is denied. And when, perchance, he who is termed universal, perishes in error, presently no bishop is found to have remained in a state of duty. Stand firm, stand fearless; *presume not ever either to give or to receive letters with this false title of Universal.*" "I exhort and advise that no one of you ever give countenance to this name; ever agree to it, ever write it, ever receive a writing wherein it is contained, or add his subscription; but, as it behoves ministers of Almighty God, keep himself clear from such poisonous infection; since this is done to the injury and disruption of the whole Church, and, as we have said, in contempt of all of you. *For if, as he thinks, one is universal*, it remains that you are not bishops." To consent to this nefarious name, is nothing else but to lose our faith. "*I confidently affirm, that whoever calls himself, or desires to be called, universal Priest, in his pride goes before Antichrist; whoever he is who desires to be called sole Priest, he lifts himself up above all other priests.*" "*Far from Christian hearts be that blasphemous name, in which the honour of all the Priests [Bishops] is taken away, while it is madly arrogated by one to himself.* Certainly, to do honour to the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, this was offered to the Roman Pontiff, *per the venerable Council of Chalcedon. But no one of them ever consented to use this singular appellation, that all Priests [Bishops] might not be deprived of their due honour by something peculiar being given to one.* How is it, then, that we seek not the glory of this name, though offered us, yet another presumes to claim it though not offered?" "If one bishop be called universal, the whole Church falls to pieces if *that one, being universal, falls.*" "Your Blessedness has also taken pains to tell me that you no longer write to certain persons those proud names which have sprung from the root of vanity; and you address me, saying, '*as you commanded,*' which word, '*command,*' I beg you to remove from my ears, because I know who I am and who you are. *For in rank you are my brother*, in character, my father. I did not, therefore, *command*, but took pains to point out what I thought advantageous. I do not, however, find that your Blessedness was willing altogether to observe the very thing I pressed upon you. For I said that you should not write any such thing, *either to me or to any one else*; and, lo! in the heading of your letter directed to me, the very person who forbid it, you set that haughty appellation, calling me *Universal Pope*, which I beg your Holiness to do no more, because *whatever is given to another more than reason requires, is so much taken away from yourself. I do not consider that an honour by which I acknowledge that my brethren lose their own.* For my honour is the honour of the Universal Church. My honour is the unimpaired honour of my brethren. Then am I truly honoured when the due honour is not denied to each one in his degree. *For if your Holiness calls me Universal Pope, you deny that you yourself are what you admit me to be, universal.*" "By this rash presumption the peace of the whole Church is disturbed,

and the grace, poured out upon all in common, contradicted. Surely the Apostle Paul, hearing some one say, 'I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas,' exclaimed, in exceeding horror at this rending of the Lord's Body, by which His members attached themselves, as it were, to other heads, saying, 'Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?' If he then rejected the members of the Lord's Body, being subjected to certain heads, as it were, besides Christ, and that even to apostles themselves, as leaders of parts, what will you say to *Christ, Who is, as you know, the Head of the Universal Church, in the examination of the last judgment,—you, who endeavour to subject to yourself, under the name of Universal, all His members?* Who, I say, in this perverse name, is set forth for imitation, but he who despised the legions of angels joined as companions to himself, and endeavoured to rise to a height unapproached by all, that he might seem to be subject to none, and be alone superior to all? (quoting Isa. xiv. 13, 14.) Surely Peter, the first of the apostles, is a member of the holy Universal Church. Paul, Andrew, John,—what else are they but the heads of particular communities? And yet all are members under One Head. And to comprehend all under one brief expression, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under grace,—all these making up the body of the Lord, are dispersed among the members of the Church, and no one ever wished to be called universal. No one ever chose to be called by such a name; no one claimed to himself this rash appellation, lest, should he claim to himself *the glory of singularity in the rank of the High Priesthood*, he might seem to have denied it to all his brethren. What, therefore, dearest brother, will you say in that terrible examination of the judgment to come,—you, who covet to be called *not merely father, but common father?*"

So, also, St. Leo IX. "The humility of those venerable Pontiffs [the Bishops of Rome,] worthy of all imitation, considering that the chief of the apostles is not found called universal apostle, utterly rejected that proud name, *by which their equality of rank seemed to be taken away from all prelates throughout the world*, in that a claim was made for one upon the whole."

See Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," Part I., and Allies' "Church of England cleared from Schism."

I really do not think my allusion to these words of Pope Gregory can properly be called vague; anyone at all familiar with Roman controversy would at once know what was intended.

On page 15 this sentence puzzles me—

"We may remind you and any who read our letter, that a well-known clergyman, Fellow of an Oxford College, has frequently been received by Father Newman at the Oratory, and has done all in his power to help others to the same end."

Do you mean that some Oxford Fellow of a College, etc., etc., is in the habit of being received into the Roman Communion over and over again by Father Newman, at Birmingham? I hope such a curious circumstance is not a common one in your Communion, but I should like to read Dr. Newman's account of the proceedings.

(P. 16.) "Catholics say, with St. Augustine, '*Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*'"

My dear friends, are you aware that this is a well-known "Roman misquotation." Catholics say nothing of the sort, neither did St. Augustine. I wonder you did not remember this, as it is one of the points in discussion between Father Addis and the Defence Tracts which you allude to on p. 7.

A Roman Catholic shall answer you. See the Messenger Tracts in answer to Father Weininger :

"It is not true that the words, 'Rome has spoken,' occur in the passage in question. Here it is as it stands in S. Augustine's 131st sermon, ch. x. : 'Already on this question (viz., the Pelagian heresy) two councils have sent their acts to the Apostolic See, and the rescripts have come back. The cause is at an end. Would that the error also were at an end.' That is to say, S. Augustine considered, as he says elsewhere, the Pelagian heresy to be so deadly and 'manifest' an error, that there seemed to him no need even of a synod to condemn it. And still more, after the two African Synods and the Pope's assent to their decrees, he thought the matter might be regarded as at an end. But he was mistaken ; for the strife on this question was not ended till many years later, by the decision of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. So that, even if S. Augustine had been right when he said, 'The cause is at an end,' the quotation has nothing whatever to do with the personal infallibility of the Pope."

Do you all agree with the real sayings and acts of St. Augustine? If you did, Papal supremacy and infallibility would have to be given up.

Page 17 is devoted to disprove the truth of my assertion that matrimony is called a sacrament in the Homilies of the Church of England.

"For ourselves, we can only say that when we came to the assertion, 'Matrimony is called a sacrament in the Homilies,' we had not the smallest idea whether it was so or not. With some difficulty the Homilies were procured, and, not knowing our way about the book, we naturally turned to the general index and looked for the word 'Matrimony.' With this result : 'Matrimony not a sacrament, 317.'"

After the above naive confession of "the want of the smallest idea" on the question, I am sorry not to be able to let you off any further remarks on the point. You have not told us whether by the general index you mean that which is to be found at the end of the S. P. C. K. edition of the Homilies, or whether you refer to the table of contents at the beginning of the volume. I do not know, I confess honestly, who drew up the index, whether it is lately added or not. The table *does not* deny matrimony to be a sacrament, but speaks of the "State of Matrimony." I am sorry to appear rude ; I must, however, gently, yet very positively contradict you, and repeat my assertion to Monsignor Capel, that matrimony is called a Sacrament in the Homilies. See the first part of the Homily on Swearing, where this passage occurs, "By like holy promise the Sacrament of Matrimony knitteth man and wife in perpetual love."

"And on reference to that page discovered that the Homily, after giving its own definition of a Sacrament, says there are but two, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord ; and, after pointing out in what respect absolution and orders fail to come within the definition, proceeds, 'Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But, in a general acception, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified.' And then expressly mentions 'washing of feet' as being a sacrament of this kind. So, then, the sentence in your letter might, and in all honesty should, have been, 'Matrimony and washing of feet are called sacraments in the Homilies ;' but that would have been too much for your readers."

I will not say this is another Roman misquotation, because I should not like to have dishonesty imputed to either of you, when charity makes me hope that "haste" only is the reason of this paragraph having been written, and so I content myself with inviting you to print the whole passage in your next edition, beginning at the words, "Now, with like or rather more brevity," down to "Comfort and edification of Christ's Church."

I am afraid such a sentence as you suggest would not have been accurate (I will not say honest). I think if you study this part of the Homily carefully, you will find that it appeals to St. Augustine, St. Bernard de Cæna Domini, and that, while speaking against their teaching, you have also been finding fault with the Catechism of the Council of Trent! See sections ii., iii., part ii. See also Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon, part i., pp. 20, 21, 22.

On page 22 you print an extract or two from Dr. Manning's letter to Dr. Pusey, "The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England," which extracts you say you print in answer to my remark about Dr. Manning being associated with others in attacking the Church of England. I may as well inform the reader of your pamphlet that this letter of Dr. Manning, which your extracts would cause any one to regard as a friendly letter about the Anglican Church, was so violent an onslaught (quite a sword wrapped in olive-branches) that John Keble advised Dr. Pusey to reply to it, and Dr. Pusey felt compelled to speak of this letter as a "*root and branch attack*" on the Church of England.

On page 23 you define "Sensationalism and excitement" in our Church services to be the "feeling that a pang would go through the heart of the Bishop of the diocese, or in wondering if there will be another light or two, or a banner, &c." And then challenge me to prove in what respect the services in churches in your Communion are sensational or exciting. As we do not agree in the meaning of the words, it would be no use in accepting your challenge. Travel a little, and then I doubt if you will adhere to your assertion that the services of the Catholic Church are always the "same in Ritual, and ceremonies as the different festivals come round." Neither in the services of the Churches of the Roman Communion in England will you find this uniformity.

"We have not the slightest wish to doubt the perfect good faith in which you have written this letter, but it is almost impossible to understand such ignorance as is involved in a sentence in the next paragraph, which, by the way, seems dragged in as an afterthought: 'You treat us as heathens, rebaptizing us when we "go over,"' an assertion which can only be met by direct denial, and a clear statement as to how the matter stands." (P. 24.)

Well, my dear friends, I am sorry to appear rude, but, in spite of your not very polite remark about my "ignorance," and your "direct denial," I deliberately re-affirm my statement. You should have quoted *all* my remark, and not a small part of it. I never said that *everyone* who became a Roman Catholic was re-baptized, but I added that such a "sacrilegious proceeding was sometimes stoutly refused to be submitted to." When one considers that it has always been held by the Church that there is but *one* Baptism (see the motto on your own title-page) and

that it is wrong even conditionally to baptise anyone unless there are very good grounds for believing the candidate has never been baptised before, then I say that the baptising, or conditional baptising, of many of the Christians who forsake the Communion of the Church of England is on your part nothing more nor less than a *scandalous, irreverent sacrilege*, and that there is good reason for supposing it to be done simply to throw a slur on the validity of Sacraments administered by Anglican priests. In saying this, I am not relying upon "my ignorance" but upon Question LVI. of the Catechism of the Council of Trent. Question LV. sanctions conditional Baptism where there is a doubt of its previous administration, and adds the formula to be observed, which, by-the-by, you quote inaccurately on page 25.

Question LVI. is as follows: "*Conditional Baptism is not to be administered without some discrimination.*"

"In this, however, some matters in which to the very great injury of the Sacrament, abuses are of almost daily occurrence, demand the previous diligent notice of pastors. For there are not wanting those who think that no sin is committed if they indiscriminately administer conditional Baptism. Nay, more, although they be well aware that the child received private Baptism they hesitate not to repeat its administration in the Church, conditionally making use of the solemn ceremonial. This they certainly cannot do *without sacrilege*, and they contract that stain which theologians call an irregularity, for the conditional form of Baptism, according to the authority of Pope Alexander, is permitted in the case of those only, regarding whom, after diligent inquiry, doubt remains whether they received Baptism aright. In *no other* case is it *even lawful* to administer Baptism to *any one* a second time *even conditionally.*"

I have known cases where parents who were present, the clergyman alive who administered the Sacrament, old servants of the family present, sponsors present, certificates forthcoming, all these ready to bear witness, yet the Sacrament has been administered at the *so-called* submission to the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Burgon, page 383 of his "Letters from Rome," refers to a well-known instance, when a learned English priest had given a written assurance that the Sacrament had been only administered by his own hands. Yet the repetition of the solemn rite was insisted on. I have no hesitation in saying again and again that the general practice of the priests of your Communion in baptising or conditionally baptising the majority of those whom they detach from the Anglican Communion, is most un-Catholic and sacrilegious.

Page 26 is more applicable to Monsignor Capel than to me. You ask me to cite cases, statements, and numbers, illustrative of questionable proceedings on the part of Roman priests in this country, in their zeal for proselytising. I was more precise in my assertions than Mgr. Capel in his sermons, but on this same page you say yourselves bitterness would be the only gain by entering into these matters.

This passage on page 27 shall have a very plain answer—

"As to advising them to act as if they still believed in the church of their baptism, of course they are so advised. What Church, then, are they to act as if they believed in—the Lutheran?"

I know some cases where persons have been received into your Communion, and have been advised by the Priest who received them, to continue to attend at our churches on Sundays, in order to avert suspicion of their having seceded. I cannot write anything much plainer than this, and I call this advice disgraceful for any priest to give.

"We know people, now (Roman) Catholics, who were unspeakably shocked at being told by a clergyman, that if they would but remain in the Church of England, that is, in Ritualism, he would answer for them at the Day of Judgment."

I dare say this clergyman was mindful of Psalm xlix., 7., and if we had his exact words, his meaning would be simply this—"If you remain in that part of the one Catholic Church where God has placed you, and try, with His help, to live the Christian life, you will be saved, and if you do live a godly life in the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church, and find that it is no part of the Church after all, I shall be punished for deceiving you." A poor consolation, I grant. I only hope, my dear friends, that in future no Roman priest will ever say stronger things to pervert a soul than we Anglo-Catholics do to keep it where God wants it to be.

Next you compare me to Mr. Bradlaugh in my method of controversy, when I say I would sooner see a Catholic die in a state of grace than commit the sin of schism. There is after all nothing so shocking in my statement. Would you not sooner hear to-morrow that the Roman priest who received you at your secession was very ill, had received the last Sacraments, and departed in peace, than hear he had left your Communion, and been received into the Greek Church. Surely, it would be better to die a Catholic at one's post, serving God faithfully, than join schism of any kind, and so forfeit grace. (Rome holds Greece to be in schism.) I am not alluding to individual cases; what temptation or light each soul has, God only knows, and some few, in secession, may possibly not have offended God or lost grace, but if any wilfully, hastily, or for any unsound reason or undue cause, get impatient and become unfaithful, well, one must feel more anxious about their souls than about those who are called away to their rest in the midst of faithful patient service.

Page 28. Here you remark on the "incessant numbering of the people" and the almost "commercial spirit" which prevails among Ritualists, and quote a long extract from the "Life of Father Faber" to disprove my assertion that Romanism is dragging.

If numbering does not prevail among Roman Catholics, and if the passage from Father Faber is not, "by way of answering my assertion," founded on the statistics of Mr. Ravenstein, that the Roman gains in perverses are less than they should naturally be from the ordinary increase of the population; I do not see why you quote the passage (p. 29), bristling with numbers as it does. After all, it only asserts a great increase in the number of priests, mission chapels, and religious communities of men and women, and so rather confirms my statement, for if your working agencies increase so fast, the annual number of perverses should increase in proportion, and as the number does not swell in proportion, I may still say "Romanism in England is dragging."

As for the commercial spirit prevailing among Ritualists, it is a charge that comes oddly from Romanists. What with the disendowment of the

Irish Church; sale of indulgences (some people still believe in the *Taxæ*); seats varying in price according to the position in the church; advertisements of music; taking money from heretics and schismatics present during High Mass; lotteries, &c., I think you should remember the proverb about "glass houses and stones."

Page 29. It does not follow at all from my remark "that Absolution is still given to people who will not receive the dogma of 1870;" that therefore, some Roman Catholics are in the habit of making sacrilegious confessions. But as you admit your information as to the existence of such persons is not so good as mine, I need not discuss the point with you.

"Incomplete indeed would your letter have been without an allusion to Pope Honorius. For as Ritualists have certain names which act as a party rally, so the most ignorant and inexperienced clergyman thinks it quite enough, when dissuading any one from submitting to the Catholic Church, to mention the name of Honorius, unless a dose of extra strength be required, when he adds, in a mysterious whisper, 'Forged Decretals.'" Pp. 29, 30.

I am quite aware that the Forged Decretals are still denied to be forged by many of the priests of your Communion; but there is no need to hesitate in asserting them to be forgeries; and though you may regard me as an ignorant and inexperienced clergyman, a description I can easily bear after your numerous hints at worse faults, yet I must confess surprise at your audacity, for in calling any one "ignorant and inexperienced" who alludes to the Forged Decretals, you are condemning the most learned theologians and bishops, and a former Visible Infallible Head of your Communion, Pope Pius VI, who said they were only fit to be burned! Really, my dear friends, you should be more careful. You seem not to have noticed that you condemn Father Addis as well. You recommend his pamphlet to your readers, and in it (p. 35) they will read that the Decretals were questioned in 1431 by Cardinal de Cusa, rejected by Baronius and Bellarmine, and received their finishing blow from the Ultramontane Ballerini!

You then write:—

"You, on this principle, insert four lines, leaving your readers to form their own opinion as to what Honorius did or did not do. Were your own ideas also somewhat hazy on the subject, so that you thought silence was discreet? Or did you know that Honorius was censured not for doing, but for leaving undone? In other words, the Church stood in need of an infallible utterance, and such was not given. Say you, 'The Protestant learning is against Catholics.'"

If you will look at those four lines again, you will see that I said nothing about Protestant learning or any Anglo-Catholic opinion concerning the condemnation of Pope Honorius, but I said that he was anathematised as a heretic by a General Council.

The following extracts and historical facts may convince you that I am not "hazy on the subject," that I have no reason to think "silence on the point discreet," and I think you will regret having given rise to this "dose of extra strength" about poor Pope Honorius. If the following are true historical facts, they can be neither denied or suppressed by honourable controversialists, or "*effaced*," no matter whether Roman, Anglican, or Protestant learning calls attention to them.

"Here let me add a summary of the details of the great fact of Honorius, so that this question may be, in the sight of everyone, a question decided.

"1. Before the sixteenth century no one ever denied that Honorius

was condemned by the Sixth Council. Before that century no one ever uttered a doubt of the authenticity of the acts of the Sixth Council; or that of the letters of Constantine or those of Leo II. Since the sixteenth century no one has ever cleared from the dust the smallest monument raised in favour of Honorius.

"2. In 1608 the collection of General Councils was printed at Rome, by order of Paul V. Amongst the acts of the Sixth Council, Session xiii., subscribed by the legates of the Apostolic See, is found the condemnation of Honorius, 'Projici a sancta Dei Catholica ecclesia, simulque anathematizari Honorium,' and in Session xvi. we find, 'Honorio hæretico anathema.'

"3. In Session xviii. the dogmatic decree signed by Constantine is recorded. Anathema is there pronounced against the heretic Honorius in these terms, 'Sergio et Honorio anathema.'

"4. After which the Fathers address to the Emperor the final declaration, in which the anathema against Honorius again appears. 'Et cum his Honorium, qui fuit Romæ præsul, utpote qui eos in his secutus est.'

"5. The Fathers write to Pope Agatho, and mention Honorius amongst the Bishops condemned. 'Anathematibus interfecimus. . . Sergium, Honorium, Cyrum.'

"6. Constantine accepts the Council by an edict, in which is mentioned Honorius, who was Pope, and who confirmed the heresy. 'Honorius qui fuit antiquæ Romæ Papa, hujus modi hæreseos confirmator.'

"7. The Emperor adds to this some letters to Leo II., declaring his acceptance of the Council. Leo II. replies to the Emperor, and in his letters anathematizes Honorius, as having by a profane betrayal ('profanâ proditiōne') suffered the immaculate Church Apostolic to be defiled.

"8. Yves de Chartres mentions these letters of Leo II. in his Décret, part iv.

"9. Leo II. wrote three letters to Spain. In all three of them he mentions the condemnation of Honorius: 'Qui flammam hæretici dogmatis incipientem non extinxit, sed negligendo confovxit.'

"10. The same Pope wrote, besides, to Erwig, King of Spain, and describes Honorius as having been condemned 'for having consented that the rule of faith should be defiled.'

"11. The Sixteenth Council of Toledo gives an abstract of these letters, in chaps. i. and ii.

"12. The acts of the Seventh Œcumenical Council four times recount the condemnation of Honorius. At the end, in its dogmatic decree, it pronounces anathema against the heretic Honorius.

"13. The Eighth General Council, in its dogmatic decree, anathematizes Honorius. 'Anathematizamus Honorium Romæ.'

"14. Venerable Bede (the historian), almost a contemporary of the Sixth Council, relates that Honorius was condemned by this Council.

"15. The Liber Diurnus in the profession of faith made by the newly-elected Popes, shows us that each time Honorius was condemned by it afresh.

"16. The Liber Pontificalis, in reference to St. Leo II., agrees with the Liber Diurnus, and describes Honorius as condemned by the Sixth Council.

"17. From the Liber Pontificalis are extracted, word for word, for

the Roman Breviary, two instructions for the office of Pope Leo II., in which Honorius appears amongst the heretics condemned by the Sixth Council.

"18. Yves de Chartres in his *Decrét*, part IV., has extracted from the *Liber Pontificalis* the passage relating to the condemnation of Honorius.

"19. Pope Adrian I. approves of the acts of the Seventh Council, and the definitions of faith, which he honours with the name of creed, and in which appears the condemnation of Honorius.

"20. Cardinal Humbert, speaking in a polemical work of the Sixth Council, mentions the condemnation of Honorius.

"21. Anastasius (the librarian), himself a determined defender of Honorius, writes, however, that the Sixth Council pronounced anathema against Honorius as heretical. '*Licet huic sexta sancta Synodus quasi hæretico anathema dixerit et in Dei solius judicio jam positum reprobationis telo confoderit.*'"

"22. Hincmar, contemporary of Anastasius, in his tract upon the Holy Trinity, says that Pope Honorius was condemned by the Sixth Council for 'his opinions contrary to the faith and his guilty assent with the heretics.'

"23. As to the Greek writers, it would be difficult, as well as superfluous, to enumerate all those who speak of the condemnation of Honorius by the Sixth Council, *e.g.*, the Deacon Agatho, Secretary of the Council; Tarasius, who was the life of the Seventh Council; Theodore of Jerusalem, author of the '*Liber Synodicus*'; Nilus, who wrote upon the creeds. It needs not to speak of the others.

"The result of all this, Monseigneur, is that the cause is, indeed, decided, and that upon this point there can be *no longer the least doubt*."

"PERE GRATRY."

The Sixth General Council:—"Having read the dogmatic letters, written by Sergius, formerly patriarch of this God-protected and Imperial city, both to Cyrus, at that time Bishop of Phasis, and to Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, and in like way the letter written in reply by him, *i.e.*, by Honorius to the same Sergius, and having found them to be *altogether alien from the Apostolic teaching*, and the things defined by the holy Synods and all the eminent holy Fathers, and that contrariwise *they follow the false teachings of the heretics*, we altogether reject them, and *abhor them as soul-destroying*. And we have judged that *the very names of those whose impious doctrines we abhor should be cast out of the holy Church of God—i.e.*, of Sergius, formerly Bishop of this God-protected and Imperial city, who first wrote on this impious dogma; of Cyrus of Alexandria; of Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, who also sat in the throne of this God-protected and Imperial city, and were like-minded with those others. *And besides these we have judged that Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, should be with them cast out of the holy Church of God and be anathematized with them, because we have found from the letters written by him to Sergius, that he fully followed his mind in all things, and authoritatively confirmed his impious dogmas.*"

The Seventh General Council (Nic. 11) recited the faith, and related the anathemas of the Sixth. "Further we proclaim the two wills and energies, according to the properties of the natures in Christ, in what way the Sixth Synod in Constantinople proclaimed, rejecting Sergius, Honorius,

Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Macarius, unwillers of godliness, and those like minded with them" (Act 7, defin. conc. viii, 1205 col.).

The Eighth Council anathematized them directly. "We anathematize Theodore, who was Bishop of Pharan, and Sergius, and Pyrrhus, and Paul, and Peter, the impious Prelates of the Church of Constantinople, and *with them Honorius of Rome*, with Cyrus of Alexandria" (Conc. Constant. iv., Act 10, defin. conc. x, 653 col.).—Eirenicon, part III.

Pages 31 to 35 consist of extracts from Dr. Newman's "*Anglican Difficulties*," a work which, while very telling against mere Protestantism, will never disprove the truth of the Anglican Church. Your extracts are in answer to this sentence of my letter to Mgr. Capel.

"What we have seen of the effect of the sacraments, answers to prayer, workings of grace in souls, the death-beds of those God has allowed us specially to minister to, these things *make us feel* the truth we have."

I need not do more than say that the last paragraph of your extracts from Dr. Newman expresses my own thoughts exactly, both as regards your Communion in this land and my feeling of safety in abiding in the Church of England, only, of course, Dr. Newman says it all much better than I could. At the same time, I conclude the great Dr. Newman and you and I agree with this sentence: "Each one, when he regards himself and his own peculiar weakness and indisposition, may entertain fear and apprehension concerning his own grace, inasmuch as no one can know with a certainty of faith which cannot be subject to mistake that he has obtained the grace of God."—Canons and Decrees of Trent, Sess. VI., Ch. ix.

I may remind you that Dr. Newman has written as strong things against Romanism as ever he penned against the branch of the Church he left. The following words he has no doubt long ago regretted; but however brilliant and saintly his intellect and his life, one who writes such strong things at one time and retracts them afterwards is, after all, not an authority of weight in this matter.

"For in truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously. Crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or rather she may be said to resemble a *demoniac*. . . . Thus she is her real self only in name, and, till God vouchsafes to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her."—Lecture III., *Essays on Romanism*, &c.

I am very glad indeed that you confess you ponder with "true sadness" on the state of things which gave rise to my letter. Monsignor Capel's Sermon, which called it forth, was indeed a melancholy affair.

And now, my dear friends, I will not sneer at your peroration in the way you wrote of the conclusion of my letter, but will end by asking you to make all allowance for the tone of my reply to you, as I wrote to Monsignor Capel, not to you; and in writing to you I cannot forget that I am writing to those who were solemnly vowed to build what they now subvert. But if you think I have said anything beyond what might be expected of any one honestly or earnestly defending what he esteems, loves, and works for, I hope, of your charity, you will pardon it.

May the time soon come when we walk together again in the House of God as friends!

APPENDIX.

A. The remarks in "Catholicism and Ritualism," on the divisions existing in the Church of England, are true to a certain degree, perhaps; but even supposing our want of unity was twice as bad as it really is, it is no argument for seceding to Rome. If there never had been any division or want of unity in the Roman Communion, the argument would have had more force; but it is a simple historical fact, that greater and fiercer dissensions on points of faith have existed in the Roman Communion than amongst ourselves,

B. The Books recommended in Appendix B of the letter of Two Roman Catholics are most of them written taking for granted the Church of England is not a part of the Catholic Church, and written as if she did not claim to be so. As for Milner's "End of Controversy," the Immaculate Conception of the B.V.M. and the Infallibility of the Pope are treated as matters of opinion in it! and "Anglican Misrepresentations," by Father Addis, has been replied to in No. 4 of the English Church Defence Tracts. Archdeacon Wilberforce's pamphlet was unanswerably answered by the Rev. F. Meyrick.

Father Addis quotes, in his "Anglican Misrepresentations," a well-known saying of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus. Let me quote the first part of it for him a little more fully from the Catechism of the Council of Trent. On the Roman Pontiff, Question XI. "*Away with envy, let the ambition of the Roman grandeur be gone*, I speak to the successor of the fisherman and the disciple of the cross," &c., &c.

C. Appendix C. of the letter consists of six questions, easily answered. The first three may be disposed of thus: "Supposing what they hint at to be *fact*, it would only prove the Church of England to be in a sad state, requiring the warning, 'repent and do thy first works.' She never sank lower than dioceses in the Roman Communion, where Sees were bought, held under age, and priests ignorant even of the form of Absolution! or how to say Mass!"

To the fourth question:—Yes. See Gray's Statement.

To the fifth question:—Yes.

The sixth question contains a proposition, referring to the times of the Levitical priesthood, I conclude.

CATHOLICISM OR RITUALISM ?

A LETTER TO 'A RITUALIST'

IN ANSWER TO

THAT ADDRESSED BY HIM TO MONSIGNOR CAPEL.

BY

TWO CATHOLICS.

'ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM.'



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1872.

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PREFACE.

THE LECTURES delivered at the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, by Monsignor CAPEL, appear to have produced a decided stir in the Ritualistic camp—'English Church Defence Tracts' from Oxford, article following article in the Ritualistic papers, violent pulpit utterances, and lastly a letter addressed to the lecturer himself by 'A Ritualist.' Probably this party, ever energetic and busy, must have about as much on their hands just now as they can well manage; and this, perhaps, may account for the style of most of the printed matter to which we have alluded bearing, as it does, 'evident signs of haste.' Many words and phrases occur which are not in common use; hence arises an impression that the pressure was so great there was but little time to make choice of weapons. Thus 'bugaboo tales,' 'simple falsehoods,' 'the huckster's blundering cry,' 'wheedling gipsies,' and a string of unproved assertions, may appear effective at the moment, but convey neither assistance to friend nor rebuke to foe. Nor, again, does it appear otherwise than very amusing that the three more advanced Ritualistic papers should each

describe Monsignor CAPEL as of nationality other than his own. The idea seems to have been, 'Call him American, Irish, Italian, anything, only not English.' It must be remembered, too, that all these statements, charges, and accusations are made by those who did not hear the lectures, and can only have seen a very short, unauthorised, and not altogether accurate report. The true answer therefore to 'A Ritualist's letter' and other similar productions will doubtless be made by the publication of Monsignor CAPEL's lectures, which are, it is understood, already in the press. At the same time the writers of this letter considered that some remarks might well be made at the present time by those who were formerly Anglican clergymen, and themselves familiar with that teaching and practice which it is the object of 'a Ritualist' to uphold. In doing this they have no desire to excite more ill-feeling, or increase that estrangement which unhappily exists, but only, if GOD will, to put certain considerations before those whom they so deeply concern, which seem likely to be obscured by 'A Ritualist's Letter.'

CATHOLICISM OR RITUALISM ?

REVEREND SIR,

The letter which you have recently written was no doubt intended to have many more readers than the one to whom it was addressed. You will not, then, be surprised if two Catholics, who once belonged to that party in the Church of England with whom you are now 'proud to be working,' venture to offer some remarks on that which you have deemed it expedient to write.

We do this in the belief that while newspaper articles and newspaper letters have little attention under any circumstances bestowed upon them, and still less when they indulge in coarse abuse and gross personalities, as has been the case with the Ritualistic press of late, your letter is more likely to command attention. It is, we presume, to be regarded as the manifesto of your party, and is rather intended to excite—or we will say sustain—enthusiasm than as an effort to enlighten Monsignor Capel. In times of great political excitement, it is not the profound essays that appear in party periodicals which will turn a borough election, however much they may delight the frequenters of the club or country-house library; for such purposes a speaker is required who should be fluent and respectable, but must before

all things be one who can make unbounded use of assertion, offensive and defensive, and judiciously introduce the customary party watchwords and cries. Your letter, at a time when there is a certain amount of excitement, and perhaps of real thought in some minds, as to the question 'Catholicism or Ritualism'? is admirably calculated to serve the same purpose for the interests of your party, which the electioneering speaker does for interests of a wholly different kind. It is, indeed, not without a smile we come across the old arguments, some of which once at least seemed to us very effective, and we are sure that 'English Church Defence Tracts' may remain unread, books on the validity of Anglican orders neglected, weighty arguments unheeded, and so long as there is any writer or speaker who can handle the subject as you have done, the cause of Ritualism is not to be despaired of.

There is, first, the accustomed appeal to individual names, a preliminary argument which is generally used in this way : 'If Dr. Pusey, and Canon Liddon, and Mr. Carter are content with Ritualism, why should not you be ?' the number of 'Non-contents' being carefully put out of sight.

'We are content to be thought dishonest or arrogant in company with men like Dr. Pusey and the Rector of Clewer, rather than belong to a faction styled insolent and aggressive by Dr. Newman' (p. 7).

Secondly, there is the argument of general success, and the talents and vigour displayed by the party. Thus we have (p. 7)—

‘The greatest intellects, theologians, and scholars amongst our clergy are on our side in this question,’ a statement which we should think even enthusiastic readers of your letter will hesitate to accept.

‘The power of our pulpit is rapidly developing. Liddon’s “Bampton Lectures” are continually cropping up in sermons amongst yourselves,’ *i.e.* in Catholic churches. That the Catholic authors to whom Dr. Liddon would no doubt readily allow he was largely indebted in writing the ‘Bampton Lectures’ should be used also in Catholic pulpits, does not strike us as a very forcible argument for remaining a Ritualist, any more than a rapid development of power in the Wesleyan or Baptist pulpit would, we suppose, suggest to you a move in that direction. ‘The work goes nobly on,’ and then, in conclusion, after half a page of the wonders that are to be discerned under Ritualistic ministrations, there is a final rally on the words, ‘On, on, till the end shall come!’ and so—

‘Charge, Chester, charge! on, Stanley, on!’
Was the last cry of Marmion.

Nor must we pass over the special appeal to—shall we say argument for?—the sentimental section of the Ritualist party: ‘Who would think of leaving Ritualism for Catholicism so long as “one of our number can go off on a mission, week after week, with a worn-out throat and brain, and fill a church as big as your pro-cathedral,” or with this fact before them: “Another tyrant priest is ordered rest for six months, *and half the largest congregation in London*

is in tears"? Who would desert Anglican ministrations when ladies exclaim, "There never are such profound sermons in the poor Anglican Church"? We are indeed, by the treatment that seems necessary from your letter for a portion of the flock, reminded of an Anglican book for confession, that spoke of 'gentle creatures,' and made suggestions as to the disposition of the bonnet on the vestry-table, which at the time appeared absurd, but which your letter seems to prove was 'called for.' We have said that your letter will command attention, and have already given some of our reasons for this opinion. But, before entering upon the letter itself, we cannot but draw attention to a further reason for its probable though transient success. You address those who are not behind the scenes, an expression which is by no means one of insinuation, but shall be exactly explained. The letter is meant to be read by the laity, to influence the laity, and to keep back the laity from the Catholic Church. It appeals, therefore, to those who know little or nothing of the want of unity prevailing among the Ritualist party; to those who know little or nothing of the different standards of orthodoxy believed in by vicars and curates; to those who know little or nothing of the differences of opinion and practice that prevail at the same church; to those who know little or nothing of the distrust the vicar of the church they attend has of another Ritualistic church, believing 'it must end in Rome;' to those who know little or nothing of the internal differences as to '*the truth*,' so that at meetings of clergymen one will look aghast at the utterances of

another ; to those who know little or nothing of the 'Roman luxuries,' 'Manuals of Devotion,' 'Hail Marys,' &c., allowed to one and refused another by the same director; to those who know little or nothing of many of these things, some of which will be mentioned in the course of our remarks on your letter, which we now enter upon in detail.

In the preface you tell us that this letter 'refers only to the conduct of those priests who are active agents in doing the work of "the insolent and aggressive faction;"' and this phrase, alluded to more than once in your letter, is at p. 7 coupled with Father Newman's name.

Nothing is more easy in addressing those who are ignorant of the circumstances that gave rise to a particular phrase than to turn it to account in a matter with which it has nothing to do. But is it quite honest, more especially in those who are so lavish in their remarks as to the dishonesty of their opponents? Some time before the decree of the Vatican Council as to the infallibility of the Holy Father, in a letter not intended for publication, Dr. Newman made use of this phrase. So far as the writers of this letter know, it still remains a matter of doubt to whom the words 'insolent and aggressive' were applied ; but this much is quite certain, that no reference was intended to any work going on in England ; and they venture to think that no one would more regret the use his words have been turned to than he whose honoured name it is now the fashion among Ritualists to make use of so freely.

We do not suppose your letter, though, as you say, 'written strongly,' was intended as a means of 'returning evil for evil,' and are indeed at a loss to know why such words should be used. You believe in your position; you believe that the Church of England is a branch of the Catholic Church, and do all you can to defend it, and at the same time it is to be presumed also do all that is in your power to destroy the belief any that you come across may have, not in particular truths, but in Wesleyanism or any form of Dissent, as a divinely appointed system, using precisely the same words with the same meaning that Catholics do—'*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*' ('Out of the Church no salvation')—and who would blame you? Yet this is all Monsignor Capel has done. He believes that the Catholic Church is that which is in union with the See of St. Peter, *and that alone*, and therefore does all in his power to destroy the belief that any persons have, not in particular truths, but in Ritualism, or in any other form of Dissent, as a divinely appointed system of religion. Why, then, not give credit for the same sincerity in another that you would wish for yourself? Why, then, has every conceivable kind of abuse and contumely been brought into the present controversy? You say later on, 'We are felt to be English gentlemen as well as priests;' and we believe that no one who has been associated with the body in behalf of whom you write would hesitate to say that, with few exceptions, the first part of your assertion is most true. But should outsiders and bystanders judge of your

party by the articles and letters that have recently appeared in the Ritualistic press, what opinion would they form? Nor is this extraordinary style of writing limited to the religious newspapers, for which large allowances are ever made. The 'English Church Defence Tracts' are either written or edited by two Oxford Professors, whose well-known ability would, we should think, have ensured for their Tracts a more careful consideration if there had been an absence of that very strong language which now prevails among Ritualists. As it is, those who read the temperate reply of Father Addis will probably be of opinion, that the strong language of the Tracts is not supported by strong arguments. A recent production by a clergyman and incumbent has, however, the merit of surpassing, by its insolent vulgarity and contemptible ignorance, anything that has appeared in the present, and we should hope in any other controversy.

Your own preface, indeed, concludes with an insinuation that the lecturer made remarks which were not true, and which, if true, were not fitted for all ears. We feel sure, however, that had you been present, however widely you may differ from the conclusions drawn, it would not have occurred to you to suggest that at any time the lecturer had forgotten he was in more senses than one addressing a mixed congregation.

The preface ended, your letter opens with two assertions. With the first we have clearly nothing to do, and therefore at once turn to the second, on which we have something to say. 'They (the

Ritualists) are positive they hold the truth.' This is either a truism, or, unfortunately, most untrue. If you mean the Ritualists believe the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a Catholic truth, you may fairly say, 'They are positive they hold the truth.' But if by 'the truth' is meant all truth, we have some questions to ask. What do you mean by 'the truth'? Do you mean that the Ritualists of St. Alban's hold what the vicar of that church holds, and call it 'the truth;' and that the Ritualists of All Saints hold what the vicar of that church holds, and call it 'the truth;' and so with the different churches? This would be a curious definition of 'the truth,' and cannot, as you must know, be substantiated by facts. Whatever Monsignor Capel, as a Catholic born, may know or think, we, who are ex-Ritualists, are better informed. We know that the necessity of confession is held by some of the clergy at particular churches, and not by all; we know that the very doctrine of the Eucharist, and the way (we speak of essentials) it shall be carried out, has been a cause of difference among those who yet work together; and the phrases 'so extreme,' 'so Roman,' yet linger in our ears, applied, be it observed, to those who are still working in the Church of England. Now, did those who were 'so extreme,' 'so Roman,' hold '*the truth*,' or those who were 'more cautious'?

But perhaps 'they are positive they hold the truth' means that a certain select set are positive on the subject—say the most advanced. Then, in all fairness, we ought to be told the number who have

made this precious jewel their own, and at the same time venture to ask two pertinent questions.

Can you say how long this particular section have been 'positive they hold the truth'? and can you affirm that all the laity that attend these particular churches also 'hold the truth'? For it is quite certain that, while neither the teaching of Catholic priests nor the belief of the laity is ever changing, Ritualistic truth and practice is of a somewhat chameleon nature.

Permit us to place an illustration before you. A person who is desirous to make his submission to the Church is told that he ought to see Mr. ——. The Immaculate Conception is the subject chosen, and Mr. — has ready many quotations from the Fathers, proving conclusively, as he thinks, that the dogma is a modern invention. For a moment it seems that so far at least the day is won. But the enquirer turns the subject, and asks, 'What do you think of the growing practice of almost compulsory auricular confession?' Mr. — replies, 'Advisable—nay, necessary.' 'But,' says the pertinacious enquirer, 'at the time, now two years ago, that my friend B. was thinking of making his first confession, you dissuaded him, on the ground that it was not the practice of antiquity, and then also showed him many passages in support of your assertion.' 'That is so,' says Mr. —. 'Then how do I know,' says the enquirer, 'that this which you now contravene in two years' time may not be added to the articles of your belief?' We appeal to your sense of honesty whether this is not a more than probable case.

Do you not know that the opinions of your recognised leaders are ever changing? Do you not know that the belief as to the discipline of fasting communion even now divides you? Do you not know that at the same church there are clergymen who say the Communion Service in the middle of the day, not having touched food, while the officiant of another day has had his accustomed meal? Do you not know that the 'Hail Mary,' in its integrity, is allowed by some of your Ritualistic clergy, and disallowed by others? Is this not a question of 'truth'? Do you not know that the Intercession of the Blessed Saints is taught and encouraged by some among you, and rejected by others? Do you not know that many of those whose names you put forward and appeal to as leaders, neither teach nor practise that which you call 'the truth;' and that some are spoken of as having 'gone back,' and do not hold so much as they once did? What, then, are your 'deep, firm convictions'?

At p. 6 of your letter you triumphantly draw attention to, as you think, an unhappy illustration of the lecturer, the result of not having heard and only read an imperfect account of the lecture. Curious, however, that after your criticism the same paragraph should contain an illustration which certainly is unhappy. Christ is the Head of the Church, so we believe, and if any chief officer wants us to disobey Him, or be unfaithful to Him, we must do as St. Peter and the Apostles did—'prefer to obey God rather than man.' (Acts, v. 29.) This, as we understand it, is your argument: *The Jews* imposed upon St. Peter, and the Apostles who were *Christian bishops*,

certain orders which they would not obey; our Christian bishops are to us as the Jews, and we will follow our own wills and not obey them.

You then tell us it is a matter which does not concern you, 'whether there is more discipline in the Roman Communion than in the Church of England;' yet, in the same paragraph, declare that 'the authority, discipline, and order, and obedience, existing in the Roman Communion, rests upon a basis denounced by Pope Gregory the Great in the most decided language as Antichristian and arrogant.' Ritualists are so accustomed to accept the doctrine and practice of the particular clergyman to whom they look, or with whom they hold, that you evidently relied upon your *ipse dixit* being sufficient also for Ritualistic readers. It may, however, occur to some, that if this really were the teaching of Pope Gregory, it had been well on so weighty a matter to give the exact words in which the opinion is set forth. In a manner, therefore, to compensate any of your readers who may peruse our letter also, we append two quotations from the works of St. Gregory,* leaving them to form their own inferences as to the drift of that 'decided language' with which you, but not your readers, are familiar. 'Our Prayer Book,' you say, 'is not a book of standing orders on all points of ritual, minor matters of discipline, or non-essentials' (p. 6). Truly, a large matter easily disposed of. You favour us with no examples. What are 'points of ritual'?—vestments? lights? stoles? What are 'minor matters of discipline'?—re-

* Appendix A.

gular confession? fasting communion? What are 'non-essentials'? and if non-essential, why so much pains to follow your own feelings and wills rather than the wishes of your Father in God?

Nor are we able to coincide with your view, for when you were appointed to your particular charge, and others for whom you speak to theirs, this declaration was read by you and by them before the congregation there assembled :

'I, A. B., do solemnly make the following Declaration : I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God ; and in public prayer and in administration of the Sacraments, I will use the form of the said Book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.'

Now, without going at any length into the matter, we cannot but point out that there are in the Prayer Book certain 'standing orders,' as you call them, to which, by this declaration, you gave assent, and against which your acts are a daily protest. There is, for instance, that 'standing order' which is known as the Ornament and Vestment Rubric. Your supreme court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes has told you how this is to be interpreted ; your archbishops and your bishops coincide ; your tradition for 300 years is in accordance. If, then, you protest against this and similar standing orders, whence do you get those by which you are guided?—from the

Early Church ? or the Church of the Middle Ages ? or has not Dr. Newman stated your position on this point very clearly ?

‘In some points you prefer Rome, in others Greece, in others England, in others Scotland, and of that preference your own private judgment is the ultimate sanction.’ *

It is somewhat difficult, in the absence of any information as to what you mean by authority, to answer your challenge (p. 7), and prove that you have no authority from the Church of England for what you teach, and are dishonest in preaching what you do. There are, however, certain questions that are asked every day in your Communion, to which we have never seen any answer, and therefore return to in this letter. What authority do you find in the Book of Common Prayer ? What authority have you from the archbishops and bishops, or the convocation of your Church, to teach adults and children of tender years that it is their absolute duty to ‘hear Mass,’ or ‘be present at a celebration every Sunday’ ? What authority have you for teaching that confession to a clergyman is necessary even for young children ? What authority have you to reserve the Sacrament in any place or under any circumstances, or to give benediction with the Sacrament when reserved ? By what authority do you teach people it is well to ask angels and saints to help them by their prayers ? By what authority do you say the words of administration in Latin, omitting half prescribed in your Prayer Book and using that of the Catholic Church ?

* Lecture V., ‘On Anglican Difficulties.’

By what authority do you teach your children, not that there are two sacraments and more, but *that the precise number is seven*? By what authority do you administer vows to women still living in the world which before now have resulted in grave complications, known to some of your more experienced clergymen? By what authority do you impose fasting communion under pain of mortal sin? By what authority are images allowed and children encouraged 'to bring flowers to Our Lady'? And how, may we ask, do you explain even to yourself the difference between these practices and those condemned in Article XXII., and the Homily against peril of idolatry?

The plea that you yourself may not practise or teach some of these things cannot avail, for you have told us that the Ritualists 'are positive that they hold the truth,' and you cannot mean, therefore, that what is 'the truth' in one case is short of or in excess of 'the truth' in another. Should any of your flock, as perhaps they do, and more assuredly will, come to you and ask what is your authority for these things, how will you answer them? Will you say the Bible teaches these things, or the Early Church is your authority, or 'Dr. Pusey, you know, recommends it'? or will you honestly say of the Church of England as you do of Westminster Abbey (p. 8), that it is in an abnormal condition; and, therefore, much, both in teaching and practice, *must and does depend upon the private judgment of the clergyman whose church you attend*? If, however, the question of authority

should prove too awkward to answer, there is at hand the never-failing conclusion (p. 7), so long as Mr. Carter and Dr. Pusey remain in the Church of England, it is better to be with them 'than to submit to a faction styled insolent and aggressive by Dr. Newman.' But who has asserted the contradictory of your proposition? though we cannot but say, if the insolent and aggressive faction are within the Church, in the One Fold, *it is better* to be with them than two such excellent men as you mention, who are still without the 'Church of their baptism.' Yet, as we have said, and you well know, this is not the question that Monsignor Capel has raised, and is only brought in to divert attention from the true issue. What you mean, and might as well have written is, that it is better to remain with Dr. Pusey and Mr. Carter than to submit to the Roman Catholic Church. If not, you would have no objection to a person being received at Birmingham, and doing all he could to induce others to see the fathers of the Oratory. And as you will insist on 'the insolent and aggressive theory,' we may remind you and any who read our letter, that a well-known clergyman, Fellow of an Oxford College, has very recently been received by Father Newman at the Oratory, and has done all in his power to help others to the same end. See the published correspondence with the Ritualistic clergymen of Birmingham. Has he, then, joined himself to the insolent and aggressive faction; that is, the fathers of the Birmingham Oratory ?

But, say you, Dr. Pusey has disposed of the state-

ment that 'the Thirty-nine Articles deny there being more than two sacraments.' Catholics say, with St. Augustine, 'Roma locuta est causa finita est.' Has the Church of England, either by her bishops or convocation, declared that when Dr. Pusey gives his view the question is settled? The late Bishop of Chichester in a published letter wrote, 'Now whatever Dr. Pusey or any other may say, there can be no doubt that our Anglican Church and system repudiate the private confessional.' But perhaps the defining power has been conferred on Dr. Pusey since that time. If it be otherwise, why may not Low Churchmen declare that the late Dean of Ripon, Dr. Goode, effectually 'disposed of' the theory of any presence of our Lord in the Sacrament, or Broad Churchmen assert that the doctrines of the inspiration of Scripture and the eternal punishment of the wicked had been disposed of by the eminent clergymen who wrote in 'Essays and Reviews'? No doubt you personally may rest satisfied with Dr. Pusey's view; but how are your flock to know that *he is right in his opinion, and the Bishop of London wrong*? There is, however, another authority on which you rely. Bishop Jeremy Taylor says 'it is none of her doctrine;' did he, by the way, say what was? and did it occur to you that for every Anglican divine who held moderate High Church opinions two could be mentioned, at least, who denied them? *and can one be quoted as teaching as the Ritualists of to-day teach*? Truly that which Dr. Newman said of you years ago is as true to-day as when it was written:

‘ You dare not stand or fall by Andrewes, or by Laud, or by Hammond, or by Bull, or by Thorndike, or by all of them together.’*

The Homilies, too, are brought in, and as probably not ten laymen members of the Ritualistic congregations have ever seen that work, or are likely to do so, the proceeding, is a pretty safe one. For ourselves, we can only say that when we came to the assertion, ‘ Matrimony is called a sacrament in the Homilies,’ we had not the smallest idea whether it was so or not. With some difficulty the Homilies were procured, and, not knowing our way about the book, we naturally turned to the general index and looked for the word ‘ Matrimony.’ With this result: ‘ Matrimony not a sacrament, 317.’ And on reference to that page discovered that the Homily, after giving its own definition of a sacrament, says there are but two, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; and, after pointing out in what respect absolution and orders fail to come within the definition, proceeds, ‘ Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But, in a general acception, *the name of a sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified.*’ And then expressly mentions ‘ *washing of feet*’ as being a sacrament of this kind. So, then, the sentence in your letter might, and in all honesty should, have been, ‘ Matrimony and washing of feet are called sacraments in the Homilies;’ but that would have been too much for your readers, who

* Lecture V., ‘ On Anglican Difficulties.’

are accustomed to hear the one spoken of as a sacrament, and never heard of the other as such in their lives. Strange, too, that there should be an Homily entitled: 'An Homily of the State of Matrimony,' in which the word sacrament does not occur from the beginning to the end.

The whole of the next page of your letter may be thus summarised: 'We do not allow our people to go to Roman Catholic churches in England, because the Roman is only part of the *One Church*, and not the part that is "in possession in England." If you would be quiet and look after *the descendants of old Roman Catholic families*, we should not object; but you are aggressive, you are slanderous, and in your churches our people hear the Establishment ill spoken of.' Now, it would be simply impossible in a short letter to enter into the question which would be involved in controverting your statement. 'It is because the Roman is only a part, and not the whole, of the *One Church of God* that we believe it to be wrong to worship in her chapels.'

In these remarks it must suffice to assert our own belief, and there will be appended* a list of some of the many books that have been written in proof of the assertion, that there is but one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which Jesus Christ is the invisible Head, and the Bishop of Rome, His vicar, the visible head. But at the same time there are certain difficulties in your statement which we should be glad to have answered. If possession is the test that you rely upon, then you put aside as not to the

* Appendix B.

point the errors, as they are called, of the Catholic Church. But, as you yourself admit there always have been Roman Catholic families in England, it appears that possession has never been conceded, and that the mustard-tree, though cut down to the very ground, has ever been firmly planted in the soil, waiting for the 'second spring' to rise up again with renewed vigour. And so, as a matter of fact, it has been. We ourselves were recently in a house where, from the time of Elizabeth, the Holy Mass had been offered without interruption, though often visited by soldiers and civil commissioners; and the Church of Stonor, in Oxfordshire, has never passed into Protestant hands at all. But if the Church of England is really the Catholic Church, why would you not 'grudge or regret the existence of Roman chapels for their benefit' (p. 8)? since the allowing of one such place of worship would be raising altar against altar; and the Church of England would from such altars be declared to be no part of the Catholic Church.

In the same page (8) there is an assertion which, however unintentionally, conveys to the uninstructed reader an impression other than true: 'We are allowed (abroad) to enter the Roman churches to worship.' But who is not allowed? That is, there is no allowing in the matter; and you know perfectly well that the Archbishops of Paris, Malines, Cologne, or Vienna have the same estimate of your position as has the Archbishop of Westminster. Nor, to meet this objection, does it do to imply in another

place (p. 12), that as Frenchmen entertain ignorant ideas of England on many social questions, so if the Bishops of France, or Belgium, or Spain, or Germany, were to come to England and see the pretty churches, and the vestments, and the lights—and shall we add *his Grace of Canterbury and his suffragans, their brother bishops*?—they would not be so ignorant of the nature and claims of the Church of England. If this be so, and the Ritualists are so earnest in their desire for unity, why not petition the two primates to invite the Bishop of Orleans and the Archbishop of Malines to a conference?

Having stated your case on ecclesiastical grounds why your people must not go to Roman churches, you proceed to show what they would hear if they did come, with how much truth a little examination will prove; and it will be necessary in this case to deal with your letter line by line. ‘Your one prayer and cry is, “Down with her, down with her even to the ground!”’ If by ‘one prayer and cry is,’ &c., you mean that we say no other prayers, we must venture to differ from you; and if by one prayer you mean we Catholics all *unâ voce* utter this particular prayer, we must equally differ, since there are—as, by the way, you ought to know—a great number of Catholics, and those too you describe as Ultramontanes, the Very Reverend Lecturer himself among the number, who would, humanly speaking, much regret if, at the present time, the Church of England were disestablished, though it might result in numerical gain to the Catholic Church; and in like manner you have the good wishes of most of us in your en-

deavours to retain the Athanasian Creed in its present position and use.

‘Our priests are declared to be no priests at all.’ If by declared you mean that it is an article of faith, you are mistaken, since persons *can be*, and have been, received into the Catholic Church without expressing an opinion one way or the other. ‘Our sisterhoods are foully slandered.’ When? and by whom? We ourselves have certainly never heard any remarks in public or private which would support your assertion. It has been said, and is here reaffirmed, that some of the Anglican sisterhoods are *on a very strange footing as regards episcopal sanction and control*; and the system of confession and direction, *by which one sisterhood here and another there seems to belong to one particular clergyman for his lifetime*, this does seem strange to Catholics, but it is hardly ‘foul slander;’ and we cannot but notice that the ‘foul slander’ of ladies seems to merit more punishment than a slight pamphlet allusion.

‘Our mission efforts pooh-poohed.’ On the contrary, spoken of invariably with kindness. ‘Our penitents told they are yet in their sins.’ All who are external to the Church of God must still be in the sin of schism; yet is it by no means denied, but, on the contrary, asserted, that most sincere repentance for mortal sin has been attained in the Church of England, *as also* among the numerous Nonconformists of this country. ‘The working of God the Holy Ghost is spoken of as excitement, sensationalism, and love of gain or dishonesty at the bottom of it.’ There is a published letter from his Grace the Archbishop of

Westminster to Dr. Pusey entitled 'The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England,' and from it one or two passages may be extracted :

'I will say, then, at once that I rejoice with all my heart in all the workings of the Holy Ghost in the Church of England' (p. 87). 'Never have I allowed anyone who has come to me for guidance or instruction to harbour a doubt of the past workings of grace in them. It would be not only a sin of ingratitude, but a sin against truth' (p. 93). 'I have ever regarded with joy, and I have never ceased to regard with sympathy, notwithstanding much which I cannot either like or respect, the labour of the High Church or Anglo-Catholic party, because I believe that the action and effect are "to strengthen the things that remain, which were ready to die"' (p. 106).

These short extracts are made because there is a special and graceful allusion in your letter to 'Dr. Manning and all his band of attack' (p. 12), but the greater part of one of Monsignor Capel's lectures was on the same subject. For ourselves, we do not think the *working of God the Holy Ghost* is spoken of as excitement or sensationalism; but it does appear to Catholics, whether converts or not, that there is a great deal of excitement and sensationalism among Ritualists. You, it would seem, have the same opinion about Catholics, for at p. 9 you say, 'No, it is far, far better to keep quietly where God placed us, and dwells Himself, than, for love of excitement, music, or you, to run off on Sundays to places of worship in face of the caution to "mark

them that cause divisions, and avoid them." ' These two statements, charge and countercharge, we will examine together, leaving others to judge whether our conclusions be good. There is undoubtedly a large element of sensationalism and excitement in the services of the Ritualistic churches which cannot exist in the services of the Catholic Church, because they are always the same in ritual and ceremonies as the different festivals come round. There is also wholly absent a feeling that a pang would go through the heart of the bishop of the diocese, which rather enhances the excitement, if not the enjoyment, of a Ritualistic function; nor are Catholics on their great festivals in a state of excitement as to whether their parish priest will have 'got a little further, and have another light or two, or a banner, or a crucifix, or possibly clothe himself in a cope. Nor do we suppose a Catholic has ever been heard to say that he cannot go to his parish church because it is so disturbing to devotion, 'always something new,' and yet you must know how often this has been urged even by High Churchmen. Now, we have told you clearly what we mean by sensationalism and excitement, and perhaps in some future letter you will tell us in what respect the services in Catholic churches are exciting or sensational; till you do so we can only say, Not proven.

'Love of gain and dishonesty' are also imputed, you say, to Ritualists by Catholics, and by dishonesty in this passage we understand you to mean personal insincerity. Nor are we able to deny that such has been said, though not, we believe, in the course of the

present lectures. At the same time we are certain, and firmly assert, that neither the one nor the other is alleged against the bulk of that high-minded body of clergy with whom you are associated ; are you equally certain and prepared to assert that there are no cases recognised among yourselves to which these hard words would apply? What of clergymen who hear confessions and never confess themselves? What of clergymen who use arguments to dissuade people from submitting to the Church which they know, if other obstacles were removed, would not for a moment weigh with themselves, since some have not even a shadow of truth? No doubt, as we have said, the great number are sincere, and would scorn such an idea as 'love of gain ;' but for all that we know, and think you must also, that love of gain and personal insincerity are rocks which do cause anxiety to the earnest and well-meaning pilots of the Ritualistic bark.

We have not the slightest wish to doubt the perfect good faith in which you have written this letter, but it is almost impossible to understand such ignorance as is involved in a sentence in the next paragraph, which, by the way, seems dragged in as an afterthought : ' You treat us as heathens, rebaptizing us when we 'go over,' an assertion which can only be met by direct denial, and a clear statement as to how the matter stands. Persons who make their submission to the Church are in their relation to the Sacrament of Baptism of one of four classes :

a. The unbaptized who are baptized.

b. Those who have gone through a form of baptism which beyond *all doubt* was, as regards essentials,

defective and therefore invalid ; these also are baptized.

c. Those who have gone through a form of baptism, but have no certainty that the baptism was valid; such are also conditionally baptized. ' Si tu non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo,' (' If thou art not baptized, I baptize thee.')

d. Those who of their own knowledge, or by the word of others, are assured that they have received the Sacrament of Baptism in a valid manner. Such are not even conditionally baptized; to do so would be sacrilege. One illustration among many shall be given : A clergyman and his children were received into the Catholic Church. The clergyman was conditionally baptized, because he had no certainty, only conjecture, as to the validity of his baptism ; but in the case of his children he was able to affirm that the essentials of the Sacrament of Baptism had been performed, since he was himself the minister; and no baptismal ceremony of any kind was gone through on their reception into the Church. Like much else that the lecturer said, that which you express in this sentence, ' this wonderful tyranny exercised by Anglo-Catholic priests over those who come under their influence,' and then comment upon, has been strangely misunderstood by you and others, who have written on the subject. His statement was very much to this effect : ' You Ritualist clergy, who obey no authority yourselves, yet impose certain doctrines and practices on your flocks which your Church neither commands nor sanctions; you tell your people they may not communicate otherwise than

fasting under pain of mortal sin; you insist upon confession; you individually lay down the law to your people in a way neither bishop nor priest in the Catholic Church would venture to do.' And is it not true? As to the kind of tyranny you suppose was intended, and which from your personal observation you know exists among Catholics, nothing is gained, unless bitterness be a gain, by entering into the question; and we shall, therefore, like you, be silent on the subject, adding, as you do, that within our own knowledge the greatest unkindness and tyranny has been displayed by *some* of your body; but we believe, and wish to believe, it is very exceptional.

At your twelfth page you come to what may be summarised as the method of attack, and manage certainly to asperse the character of the lecturer, and any other priests who are engaged in the work of conversion in this country, and that is all the priests of the Church, so far as in their power lies; yet you do not give us a syllable of proof. How many cases do you know of 'faith shaken in young hearts by *statements abominably false*'? You might have given the statements, or even the instances, or at least the numbers. How many instances do you know 'of slanderous innuendoes at the motives and characters of saintly clergymen'? And has the slander been refuted? How many children do you know who have been bribed to become Catholics?—why not cite cases? If out of consideration to bribers and bribed, names were withheld, some such method as this might have been adopted:

J. D., a boy aged 11, was promised such and such

if he would become a Catholic, and on reception received the same.

The next two charges are of a wholly different character. As to forbidding them (children) to show letters to parents, it would seem *very unlikely* that *any* child has been forbidden; some, under very exceptional circumstances, may have been advised not to do so; but any kind of concealment is, we are inclined to think, much more exceptional than that which is practised by Anglicans about the confessional. As to advising them to act as if they still believed in the church of their baptism, of course they are so advised. What Church, then, are they to act as if they believed in—the Lutheran? Catholics believe ‘one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.’

You believe that ‘half the statements made to settle waverers are believed by those who make them, but some’—do you mean the other half?—‘cannot possibly be uttered except on the principle, Do evil that good may come.’ That is, half the statements made to bring about conversions are lies. Well, well, if you get a few ‘waverers’ to believe this for a month or a year, it will have answered your purpose, and done what you call good; but at what cost? Certainly strength of assertion and careful imitation has carried Ritualism on for a long time; but it becomes a question whether for your own interests you may not overdo the one and the other. We know people, now Catholics, who were unspeakably shocked at being told by a clergyman, that if they would but remain in the Church of England, that is, in Ritualism, he would answer for them at the Day of

Judgment; though it is written, 'No man may deliver his brother, nor make agreement to God for him. For it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.'* And you think it expedient to write that which excites the pity of Catholics, but will probably shock pious Ritualists. A very short time ago a well-known lecturer was going about this country endeavouring to induce people to become atheists, and he considered that an effective way was with appalling blasphemy to invoke God, if there were One, to strike him dead; that man still lives, and we do not suppose that this way of asserting his convictions has won many to his cause. Your assertion that it were better for a person to fall dead after receiving an Anglican sacrament than to become a Catholic, is doubtless made with the same sincerity as Mr. B——'s; it is almost as shocking, and is as little likely to help your cause as was his. Ritualism, say you, is flourishing; 'Romanism' is dragging—that is, not flourishing—and Mr. Ravenstein is your authority. Statistics, and an incessant 'numbering of the people,' most certainly does not prevail among Catholics. We cannot go to any of the more noted churches and ask, How many communicants did you have on Easter Day? how many confessions in Holy Week? and so on, though we well know the almost commercial spirit which prevails among Ritualists. A passage, however, in the life of Father Faber occurs to us which shall be quoted, though not by way of answering your assertion; for whether the cause of Almighty God be

* Psalm xlix. 7.

‘dragging’ or not just now in England, it certainly did for 300 years, and may do again if it be His blessed will :

‘A comparison of the statistics given by the “Catholic Directory” of 1849 with those of the present year (1869) gives the following results: At the former period there were in the London District 97 churches and chapels, there being now 268 ; instead of 156 priests then, their numbers are now 407 ; or, if the country missions are excluded from the comparison, there were in London and its immediate vicinity 42 churches and 84 priests in 1849, against 97 churches and 246 priests now. The difference between the two periods is not one of numbers only ; the fittings, decorations, and vestments of 1849 were very different from those possessed by the majority of the churches now. To take a single instance, the only statue of our Blessed Lady in London was at St. Mary’s, Chelsea. The number of convents has since risen from 15 to 59, and that of religious communities of men from 2 to 30.’*

The assertion that absolution is still given to people who will not receive the dogma of 1870 is only another way of saying that some Catholics make sacrilegious confessions ; for were any penitent honestly to say that he did not believe in the Infallibility Dogma, no priest could absolve him. But as to the existence of such persons we must admit our information is not so good as yours would seem to be.

Incomplete indeed would your letter have been without an allusion to Pope Honorius. For as

* The Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber, D.D., p. 365.

Ritualists have certain names which act as a party rally, so the most ignorant and inexperienced clergyman thinks it quite enough, when dissuading anyone from submitting to the Catholic Church, to mention the name of Honorius, unless a dose of extra strength be required, when he adds, in a mysterious whisper, 'Forged Decretals.' You, on this principle, insert four lines, leaving your readers to form their own opinion as to what Honorius did or did not do. Were your own ideas also somewhat hazy on the subject, so that you thought silence was discreet? Or did you know that Honorius was censured not for doing, but for leaving undone? In other words, the Church stood in need of an infallible utterance, and such was not given. But, whether you know the true story about Honorius or not, Catholics are inclined to suppose that the bishops of the Catholic Church who voted for the Dogma did know all about it. It is very easy for you to tell people that Dr. Pusey, or two Oxford Professors, and some other undeniably learned men, declare that history is against the Church, which, simply stated, means that the productions of men prove that that which God the Holy Ghost has said by the voice of His Infallible Church is false; but does it occur to you that even from a human point of view this argument tells both ways? Say you, 'The Protestant learning is against Catholics;' but at the same time you would, we think, readily admit that the number of really learned theologians and scholars in the Ritualistic body is very small. Thus you have, on the one hand, the learning of those men *who teach as the Ritualists of*

to-day teach, and yet deny the claims of the Catholic Church ; on the other hand, the learning of the Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, the Fathers of the Order of our Most Holy Redeemer, the Fathers of the Oratory. We speak only of England, and say nothing of that large body of secular clergy each of whom was years preparing for the priesthood. Surely the incessant appeal to some dozen—or two, if you like—learned men must appear to you very foolish.

A disbelief in Anglican orders, and consequently in any presence of our Blessed Lord in the Anglican Communion, has been a consolatory thought to those who are most devout to our Blessed Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar, and most frequent in their acts of reparation ; so to us the ‘custos theory’ does not appear ‘absurd ;’ but we can readily admit that it but little affects the great question as to there being One Holy Catholic Church. In like manner it would not have occurred to us that those things on which you rely in your conclusion really touched the question at issue at all, or were such as would help your people to feel sure that they are not living, and may die, external to the Catholic Church. ‘What we have seen of the effect of the sacraments, answers to prayer, workings of grace in souls, the death-beds of those God has allowed us specially to minister to, these things *make us feel* the truth we have.’ For the last time the writers will ask you to read what Dr. Newman says to you on these points, and in doing so desire humbly to express the deep sense of gratitude they have for all he has done for them.

Years have passed away since he made his submission to the Church, and his life has been comparatively hidden; but his influence remains, and will do long after he has passed beyond the reach of cavils and misrepresentations, the simulated sympathy of Protestants, or the generous advice of would-be friends. Many a convert who has never seen Dr. Newman remembers him at Holy Mass as being the one who, under God, has brought him into the Catholic Church. This, then, is what he says in answer to you:

‘Surely you ought to know the Catholic teaching on the subject of grace, in its bearing on your argument, without my insisting on it. *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*. Grace is given for the merits of Christ all over the earth; there is no corner even of paganism where it is not present, present in each heart of man in real sufficiency for his ultimate salvation. Not that the grace presented to each is such as at once to bring him to heaven, but it is sufficient for a beginning. . .

‘As regards, then, the evidences of sanctity in members of the National Establishment on which you insist, Catholics are not called on to deny them. We think such instances are few, nor so eminent as you are accustomed to fancy; but we do not wish to deny, nor have any difficulty in admitting, such facts as you have to adduce, whatever they be. We do not think it necessary to carp at every instance of supernatural excellence among Protestants when it comes before us, or to explain it away; all we know is, that the grace given them is intended ultimately to bring them into the Church, and if it does not tend

to do so, it will not ultimately profit them ; but we as little deny its presence in their souls as Protestants themselves, and as the fact is no perplexity to us, it is no triumph to them.

‘ And secondly, in like manner, whatever be the comfort or the strength attendant upon the use of the national ordinances in the case of this or that person, a Catholic may admit it without scruple, for it is no evidence to him in behalf of those ordinances themselves. It is the teaching of the Catholic Church from time immemorial, and independent of the present controversy, that grace is given in a sacred ordinance in two ways ; viz. to use the scholastic distinction, *ex opere operantis* and *ex opere operato*. Grace is given *ex opere operato* when, the proper dispositions being supposed in the recipient, it is given through the ordinance ; it is given *ex opere operantis* when, whether there be outward sign or no, the inward energetic act of the recipient is the instrument of it.

‘ Let me grant to you, then, that the reception of your ordinances brings peace and joy to the soul, that it permanently influences or changes the character of the recipient. Let me grant, on the other hand, that their profanation, when men have been taught to believe in them, and in profaning are guilty of contempt of that God to whom they ascribe them, is attended by judgments ; this property shows nothing more than that, by a general law, lying, deceit, presumption, or hypocrisy are punished, and prayer, faith, contrition, rewarded. There is no-

thing to show that the effects would not have been precisely the same under the same inward disposition, though another ordinance, a love-feast, or a washing the feet, with no pretence to the name of a sacrament, had in good faith been adopted.

‘But this is not all, my dear brethren; I must allow to others what I allow to you. If I let you plead the sensible effects of supernatural grace, as exemplified in yourselves, in proof that your religion is true, I must allow the plea to others to whom, by your theory, you are bound to deny it. Are you willing to place yourselves on the same footing with Wesleyans? Yet what is the difference? or rather have they not more remarkable phenomena in their history, symptomatic of the presence of grace among them, than you can show in yours? Which, then, is the right explanation of your feelings and your experience; mine, which I have extracted from received Catholic teaching, or yours, which is an expedient for the occasion, and cannot be made to tell for your own Apostolical authority without telling for those who are rebels against it?’

‘Consider the death-beds of the thousands of those in and out of the Establishment, who, with scarcely one sentiment of religion in common with you, die in confidence of the truth of their doctrine, and of their personal safety. Does the peace of their deaths testify to the divinity of their creed, or of their communion?’

Dr. Newman then gives detailed accounts of the

closing scene in the lives of some in the Church of England who were most opposed to what may be called Sacerdotalism, as also of some eminent Non-conformists, and thus concludes his lecture :

‘I wish to deprive you of your undue confidence in self; I wish to dislodge you from that centre in which you sit so self-possessed and self-satisfied. Your fault has been to be satisfied with but a half-evidence of your security; you have been too well contented with remaining where you found yourselves not to catch at a line of argument so indulgent, yet so plausible. You have thought that position impregnable, and, growing confident as time went on, you have presumed to pronounce it blasphemy against the Holy Ghost to doubt of your Church and of its ordinances. Learn, my dear brethren, a more sober, a more cautious tone of thought; learn to fear for your souls. It is something, indeed, to be peaceful within, but it is not everything. It may be the stillness of death. The Catholic, and he alone, has within him that union of external with internal notes of God’s favour which sheds the light of conviction over his soul, and makes him both fearless in his faith and calm and thankful in his hope.’ *

With these words, so worthy of your consideration, the remarks on your letter are brought to a conclusion. May we not, however, give expression to the thoughts that are within us, as with true sadness we ponder on the state of things which has given rise

* Lecture III., ‘On Anglican Difficulties.’

to your letter and ours? The strife is waxing warmer, the contest between belief and unbelief daily becoming more clearly defined, the principle of authority in Church and State yielding to that of lawlessness; and one step taken for the glory of God might, in His providence, change the whole aspect of things as they now are. The submission to the Church of that large body of earnest clergy and devout laity in England, whose words are as a sword against her to whom they yearn, would give in this country an irresistible impulse to the cause of Almighty God.

If all who really desire that their children should be brought up in the fear and love of God, were united under the flag of the Crucified, with their motto, 'One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism,' where would be the cause of secular education? If all who believe and all who desire to believe in Eucharistic truth were together worshipping at the altar of God, what would be the dread of infidelity? If all who have in their midst the 'religious life' were united to those who are seeking after it, what would not be the power of prayer that should ascend like a fountain day and night in behalf of that country the sins of which cry to heaven for vengeance! If all who have the faith of Catholics were united to those who claim the name and would fain have the faith, what would be the fear of disestablishment? Towns would be ministered to and cared for not as now by two bodies, one the Catholic Church in reality voluntary, and the other the Ritualists, very much in the same position; while from the religious houses of the

Catholic Church would go forth a body of men who should care for the scattered villages, so that not a hamlet should be without the offered Sacrifice week-day and holiday, not a child that might not learn, and learning practise, its catechism. To this end so glorious, perhaps so visionary, and yet so perfectly practicable, but one thing is needed on the part of those to whom in all love and humility we speak faith. 'If you have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, you shall say to this mountain, Remove from hence hither, and it shall remove: and nothing shall be impossible to you.' Faith on the part of the clergy to give up influence, position, *and power*; once again to become as little children, for a time even the foremost of them to be learners, and not teachers. Faith too on the part of the laity. Faith that does not stifle doubt, *or allow it to be stifled*, without honest enquiry as to what are the claims of this old unchangeable Church, admitted by themselves to be *the* Catholic Church, save in England, remembering that what they are told is doubt at least may be the pleading of the Blessed Spirit of God. Faith, that shall enable them to give up that individual guidance which may have done much for them, but cannot be to them in place of the One Infallible Church. Faith to break with old associations, old sympathies, uncertain what the new shall be like. Faith, if need be, to give up home, and kindred, and friends to receive even here 'an hundred fold,' and when the things of earth pass away, life everlasting. 'Jesus answered and said, I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because

thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent,
and hast revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father,
for so it hath seemed good in thy sight.'

We remain,

Reverend Sir,

Faithfully yours,

TWO CATHOLICS.

Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1872.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

As our Blessed Lord's promise to St. Peter (St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19), and in him to his successors for all time, is the basis upon which the authority, discipline, order, and obedience of the Catholic Church rests, we are not able to interpret 'A Ritualist's' somewhat vague allusion to Pope Gregory. But if his meaning be that the claims of Pope Gregory (A.D. 590) as to the power and jurisdiction of the Holy See were entirely different from those of Pius IX. (A.D. 1872), then perchance these two passages may help him and others to form a different conclusion.

'For as to what they say of the Church of Constantinople, who can doubt that it is subject to the Apostolic See? And this our most godly lord the Emperor, and our brother the Bishop of the same city, constantly profess. At the same time, if that very Church or any other possesses anything good (*i. e.* in the way of ritual), I am ready to imitate them in the good thing, and that my sons (minors), whom I forbid to act irregularly, should do so too. For he is foolish who thinks that because he is the head (*primum*) he may scorn to learn good which he sees.' (St. Greg. M., lib. ix. Ind. 2, Epist. 12.)

Again: 'As to his (the Primate of Byzacium in Africa) saying that he is subject to the Apostolic See, if any fault is found in bishops, I know not any bishop who is not subject to that [See]. But when their fault does not require [the exercise of this authority], all, according to the rule of humility, are equal.' (Epist. 59.)

APPENDIX B.

The writers of this letter wish it to be understood that it is not to be considered either as a defence of or as furnishing reasons, except incidentally, for submission to the Catholic Church. They wish therefore to furnish a list of books that will afford some help to those who are really enquiring as to whether Catholicism and Ritualism are convertible terms, and are seeking after truth as the pearl of great price: 'The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost,' Archbishop Manning; 'Lectures on Anglican Difficulties,' Dr. Newman; 'See of St. Peter,' T. W. Allies; 'The Invitation Heeded,' Professor Stone; 'Principles of Church Authority,' Archdeacon Wilberforce (written when he was an Anglican); 'End of Controversy,' Bishop Milner; 'Lectures on the Grounds of Faith,' F. Sweeny; 'Anglican Misrepresentations,' F. Addis.

APPENDIX C.

CERTAIN QUESTIONS.

1a. As to teaching.—Were members of the Church of England for a space of 300 years taught that the Communion Service was the continuation of the Sacrifice of Calvary, and that each time the clergyman said the Communion Service a victim was in an unbloody manner offered upon the altar?

b. As to practice.—Was the whole Communion Service, as a matter of fact, used at all *in the majority of churches in England* for 300 years more often than six times in the year?

2a. As to teaching.—Was pardon through the Precious Blood in the Sacrament of Penance taught in the Church of England for 300 years?

b. As to practice.—Can it be asserted as even probable that during that time ten or even five persons in each year used what they considered sacramental confession?

3. Was there any period in the history of the Church before the Reformation when the Bishop of Rome was looked upon by Catholics as he is by the Ritualists of to-day merely as *Primus inter Pares*?

4. Was there any period in the history of the Church when it was considered, as the Ritualists now assert, that authority vested in the Priesthood apart from the Episcopate was sufficient for Church Government?

MODERN THEISM.

BEING

BRIEF NOTES

UPON

A RECENT PUBLICATION,

By the DUKE of SOMERSET, K.G.

(Reprinted from "The Guardian.")

BY

JOHN GIBSON CAZENOVE, M.A., Oxon,
Provost of the Collegiate Church and College, Isle of Cumbrae,
Scotland.



"And I prayed for them, and said, 'I cannot wish you, Sirs, any greater benefit, than that knowing that through this way, wisdom is given to every man, you may assuredly believe with us that Christ is the Christ of God.'"—
S. Justin Martyr.

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TO ALBERT, DUC DE BROGLIE,
LATE AMBASSADOR FROM FRANCE AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S,
THESE PAGES ARE,
WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
AS A SLIGHT RETURN FOR HIS VALUABLE PRESENT TO THE AUTHOR
OF
"QUESTIONS DE RELIGION ET D'HISTOIRE."

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND MODERN SCEPTICISM,

BY THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.

Over all the earth, and more especially among those nations which are the most highly cultivated, there are to be found persons who at least *try* to lead a life which shall stand in something like accordance with belief in a future state.

There is one form of faith, which is the most energetic, the most powerful, and which, like every cause which is truly powerful, is capable of inspiring deep devotedness and unmeasured hate :—

“Segno d’immensa invidia,

D’instinguibil odio,
E d’indomato amor.”

The professors of this faith, if asked on what they rest their hope, all name one and the same holy name. Their religion is known as the Christian religion. *Auctor ejus nominis Christus, qui, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.* Such are the well-known words of one of its heathen assailants, the great historian of the times of the Roman Empire.*

Throughout the following remarks we shall venture to assume, as a proper definition of the Christian faith, the terse phrase of M. Charles de Rémusat : *La Religion Chrétienne, c’est à dire la redemption des hommes par un Dieu fait homme.*† In other words, we assume the truth of the doctrine of the Incarnation, as the central dogma of this faith :—

“This one earth, out of all the multitude
Of peopled worlds, as stars are now supposed—
Was chosen, and no sun-star of the swarm,
For stage and scene of Thy transcendent act,
Beside which even the Creation fades
Into a puny exercise of power.”‡

This creed has now existed for more than 1,800 years. In some sense even a longer period may, perhaps, be assigned to it. For it appeals to so many of the deepest instincts of the human heart,

* Tacitus *Annal.* xv. 34.

† *Revue des deux Mondes* (Tome lxxxv. p. 352), No. for 15th January, 1870, Art. on “Wesley.”

‡ *The King and the Book* has been partially anticipated by Theodoret, though Mr. Browning has probably never looked at the passage. “It is the consummation of God’s care for men. For neither by heaven, and earth, and sea, by sun and moon and stars, by all creation visible and invisible, formed by the Word, or rather, appearing at the Word’s command, is His immeasurable goodness so displayed as by the fact of the only begotten Son, the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person, Who was in the beginning, and was with God and was God, through Whom all things were made, having taken the form of a servant, and being made in the likeness of man.”—Lib. X. de *Providentiâ*, cit ap Petav de dogmat. Theol., Tom. i., Lib. viii., cap. 3. sec. 10.

that the bold expression of Tertullian concerning the naturally Christian soul (*anima naturaliter Christiana*) is felt by many believers to be full of meaning. And in like manner speaks another of its greatest doctors, St. Augustine:—"That which is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients, yea, even from the very commencement of the human race, until Christ came, after which date the true religion, which already existed, began to be called Christian."—*Retractationum*, lib. I., cap. 13.

But dating from the days of the full announcement of this faith, as commonly understood, it is to be observed that it has undergone a strange and varied course of assaults. It has been tried by persecution, by prosperity, by mis-directed, though well-intentioned aid from friends, by mutinies within its own camp, by ingenious and learned criticisms on the part of men of science and men of letters.

Of these assaults some have been the work of misbelief, some of unbelief. The sense in which we are here employing these words will be obvious from what has already been said. We call *misbelievers* those who, like Arius or Nestorius, claimed to be Christians, though they were in fact undermining the great central truth of the system which they professed to uphold. We call *unbelievers* those who, like Celsus or the Emperor Julian, avowedly denied the truth of this faith, in whatever form it might be presented. A leading feature of distinction between the classes has been stated as follows. The *misbelievers*, or heretics, however they might distort the truth concerning the person and office of Christ, yet acknowledged Him as the greatest of teachers, through whom the human race had received its latest and highest religious culture. But the *unbelievers* rejected all.

And thus we find Julian persecuting the great champion of the faith, St. Athanasius, and also depriving a congregation of Ebionites of their endowments, with the characteristically scornful remark, that it must be good for them to practise that poverty which their Master had eulogised. In the observations which we have now to lay before our readers, we shall not have occasion (except very indirectly) to refer to the case of misbelief, but only to that of unbelief.

Of all the forms of unbelief, which for 1,800 years have waged war against Christianity, the most appalling and terrible is that of Atheism. The Atheist has to meet, of course, the mere Theist, and even the Polytheist, as well as the Christian. He has to face the argument drawn from design, an argument urged with force by Socrates, by St. Paul, by Paley, and many more; from the elaborate *à priori* schemes constructed by St. Anselm, by Descartes, by Gillespie, and others; and above all from the questionings and promptings of the conscience that is within him. He seems likewise almost compelled at times to be in a state of war with his fellow-men. For, as Mr. Froude has well remarked, we cannot tolerate those who will not tolerate us: and there is a grave doubt among men whether Atheism is not incompatible with the very existence of civil society. Of old, heathen Athens and Rome certainly at one time believed the two things to be incompatible. The conviction of these two heathen cities has not yet been proved false by the doings of Atheists at Paris in the years of grace 1793 and 1871. And yet, alarming and awe-

inspiring as is the position of the Atheist, it must probably be considered as, intellectually, the least illogical and inconsistent attitude which can be adopted by an adversary of the Christian faith. We say *intellectually*, because we are putting, for the moment, the warnings and protests of conscience on one side.

On one point many members of the Atheistic school in Germany, in France, and in England, are at one with us Christians. They agree with us in believing pure Theism to be an untenable position. They maintain that Voltaire made such admissions in this matter, that logically he ought to have accepted the claims made by Christians on behalf of the existence of a real revelation. And accordingly, they hate and denounce Theism with sad, but only too consistent bitterness. Thus, for example, the French physician La Mettrie (a contemporary of Diderot), who died in 1751, pronounced a belief in God to be equally groundless and profitless:—"The world will never be happy till Atheism is universal. Only then shall we have no more religious wars; only then will those fearfulest of fighting men, the theologians, disappear, and leave the world they have poisoned to return to itself. As for the soul, there can be no philosophy but Materialism. Immortality is an absurdity. The soul, as a part of the body, goes with the body. At death all is up, *la farce est jouée!* Moral—Let us enjoy while we can, and never throw away a chance."* A German writer, Stirner, employed very similar language amidst the tumults of 1848;† as did also his sympathising friend, Arnold Ruge.‡ And if we turn our glances homeward, the same spectacle continually presents itself. The *National Reformer*, edited by Mr. Bradlaugh, is unwearied in its proclamation of the falsity of the position occupied by Deists. Thus, for instance, in noticing the attempts of Mr. Voysey to set up a religion of his own, this atheistic journal inquired in what respect the ex-clergyman had a better basis for the Deism which he had retained than for the Christianity which he rejected? We do not now stop to consider in what way Mr. Voysey might possibly reply. All that we would here urge is, that the question propounded by the *National Reformer* is a most weighty and pertinent one, and that it does need from the supporters of Mr. Voysey and from all who occupy a like position a full and emphatic rejoinder. One word the writer of these lines would add as the result of his own experience. He has had some intercourse with Secularists. More than one of them has said to him, in the course of conversation—"We do not actually deny the existence of God; we only say—'We know not.' But if that existence could once be forced upon us as a conviction, we fully admit that it would be but reasonable to accept the idea of a revelation likewise. We, the Secularists, are accustomed to honour the memory of Thomas Paine; but it is simply as that of a pioneer who was before his time, and who led men in a right direction. We imagine that if

* Schwegler's *History of Philosophy*, chap. xxxii. (In Dr. Stirling's Translation, p. 182.)

† *Revue des deux Mondes* for 15th of April, 1850. See also M. Gratry's *Lettre à M. Vacherot*, p. 149.

‡ M. Gratry in *loc. cit.*

he lived now, he would throw his lot with us. But we do not regard him as having been by any means a consistent thinker. Nay, many of us hold that Paine, retaining as he did belief in God and in a future life, was no match for his opponent, Bishop Watson. To be logical, Paine should have believed either less or more."

To this aspect of the case we must return presently. But it may be well to cast a momentary glance at some of the assaults of which the religion of Christ has undergone the shock.

There are three men who, as Lacordaire has justly observed, won for themselves an undying reputation as the intellectual assailants of the Cross in early times—Celsus, Porphyry, and the Emperor Julian. Then, again, in the Middle Ages, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, there occurred an outburst of unbelief, much more obscure in its history, but betraying a very considerable amount of organisation, more especially in the Universities of France and Italy. Another famous band of sceptics comes to light in the England of William III. and Queen Anne. In a later generation arises the school of Voltaire and the French Encyclopædists. A more recent phase of unbelief is associated with the activity and research of the German mind. Then France again becomes prominent; but whether M. Renan can be said to have eclipsed in celebrity the school of Strauss for more than a moment, is a question which must be left to the decision of another generation.

Against certain thinkers champions of the faith were from time to time raised up. Origen answered Celsus; Cyril of Alexandria criticised Julian; Roscelin (one of the leaders, or at least precursors of the mediæval movement) was met by St. Anselm; Abelard was at least confronted, if not fully answered, by St. Bernard. But in many cases the sceptical movement fell rather by what to human eyes looks like a concurrence of circumstances than by the prowess of any individual combatant. Thus, for example, there was a moment when Paulicianism—a creed which dared "to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion,"* seemed likely to spread and to become a power both in Europe and in Asia. It would be not easy to name any particular doctor of the Church as the anti-Paulician reasoner. But the sword of the Moslem effectually checked an evil far worse than the spread of Mohammedanism: a fact which may, in part, as Döllinger has suggested, account for the permission of the rise of the religion of the Crescent. So too, again, Voltaire met with no Bossuet nor Pascal. Nevertheless, the intellectual scepticism of the day, whatever else it may be, is not the scepticism of Voltaire.

Moreover, the apologies which suit the tone and temper of one age do not suit that of another. Sometimes from imperfect knowledge, the apologists have made use of documents which later investigations have proved to be spurious,—as, for instance, the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Sometimes they have feared to acknowledge the force of some discovery in physical science. Thus, both St. Augustine and St. Boniface seemed to read the effect which might be produced by the acknowledgment

* Gibbon, chap. v.

of the existence of Antipodes. But there are other works of an apologetic character, which have almost ceased to interest us, in consequence of the very success which they achieved. Large portions of the writings of Lactantius and Arnobius are occupied with the dethronement of Mars and Pallas, of Jupiter and Juno. But just because the overthrow of classic Paganism was so complete, grave refutations of extinct worship fall somewhat flatly on the ear. In a less degree, because the argumentation is more subtle, but still in some degree, the study of even the grand work of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, is liable to the same drawback.

But the unfitness of apologies for an age different from that in which they were produced is found to be far more fully realised in the case of the assaults. Men of genius, above all others, in their wish to frame some counter theory, are very apt to make admissions which prove of the greatest advantage to the Christian apologists of another day. Thus Celsus seems to exult in that knowledge of the life of Christ which he has obtained from the Gospel of St. Matthew, and perhaps not from that Gospel only. Well and good: his employment of what he has learnt may seem to us ingeniously perverse; but at any rate we see that by A.D. 177, an unbeliever had no difficulty in acquiring knowledge of the Gospels, a fact of no mean importance when their date is called in question. Julian complains that the wretched Galileans, not content with relieving their own poor, insist upon relieving poor who do not belong to them. He is evidently greatly annoyed at such strange conduct; but what a testimony does he thereby bear to their consistency! But we must pause, or we might fill some pages with the admissions made by unbelievers.

All great literary successes give rise to imitations. Then again, besides the imitations, smaller books are published, which popularise the views contained in larger works, and which generally stand or fall with the success or failure of the great authors. These minor writers are, in fact, somewhat in the position of sharpshooters protected by the heavy guns of a seemingly powerful fortress. If the fort prove less strong than was expected, if it be captured or deserted, the lesser firearms cease to play.

A work of this latter nature is now lying before us. It is just possible, though hardly we think probable, that some future historian of the British Empire may mention, as a characteristic of the times, that in 1872 a small book of a sceptical character was published by a nobleman, who had filled with credit posts of considerable importance in the Government of the country. For a time such a volume may no doubt create some slight sensation. It is not devoid of ability: the views contained in it are stated with terseness and confidence. There is a certain measure of independent thought in the choice between forms of doubt now prevalent and in the combination of views taken by other authors. Moreover, the tone shows a sincerity which inspires respect. It is hardly necessary to add that the position of its author must inevitably attract attention. A reception, which would never have been accorded to an anonymous volume, or to one whose author is a man of little known or insignificant name, will certainly in this country (and possibly in some

other countries of a more democratic character) await the publication which bears upon its title-page the name of one who is a Duke and a K.G.

It is natural to inquire concerning any collection of doubts: how much does the writer ask us to admit, and what measure of belief does he, for his part, still retain? Speaking in a general way, we presume that we may fairly say that the noble author of this little volume would counsel us to retain Theism,—apparently a real and true Theism,—and to hesitate, to say the least, about the acceptance of any recognized form of Christianity.

Now, the question of the tenable or untenable character of pure Theism has often been discussed. But if we wished to direct any seeker after truth to a disquisition on this subject which could be recommended as eminently calm, able, and suited to the needs of our day, we should certainly point to the reply to M. Jules Simon's *Religion Naturelle*, published some twelve years ago by the late Ambassador from France, the Duc de Broglie. An epitome of this admirable paper may be found in the *Christian Remembrancer* for April, 1868. At present we can do no more than indicate the main lines of M. de Broglie's most powerful and unanswerable argument.

Men everywhere proclaim their need of a religion. Now, a religion involves some knowledge of the Creator, some knowledge of man's own nature, some knowledge of the relations existing between the Creator and the creature. That the Being of a God can be proved by reason is a position which both Christians and Theists maintain. But we want to know something more than His existence, than His power and eternity, His willingness to punish the wicked and reward the good. *Is He, or is He not, a God who pardons the penitent?* And further, *is He a Being to Whom we may with any hope and confidence address our prayers?* This latter question was answered in the negative by the eloquent high-priest of natural religion in the last century, Jean Jacques Rousseau. M. Simon is less logical and seems to allow some kind of place for prayer, though his system does not admit the worth of penitence. Hence the unsatisfactory character of Theism as a religion. Even the really great and impressive truths, which it does proclaim, were not able to hold their proper place among the many, without the aid of revelation. If, as many maintain, the Hindoos, the Parsees, and other nations were at one period of their existence monotheistic, the season of such purity of belief was transient, and pantheism and polytheism before long became the popular creeds.

But, singularly enough, starting from a certain date, the primary truths of Theism are found to spread over the civilised world. A man is born in Judæa, and his teaching is allowed to establish doctrines, which the ablest sages of antiquity had failed to impress upon the human conscience. All that natural religion has proclaimed is, from that time, effectively republished.

Here, as M. de Broglie urges, is no ordinary phenomenon.* We have not space to dwell upon his many beautiful remarks on the effects of the Fall and of the Incarnation. But we pass on to an

* The original article is to be found in the second volume of the Duc de Broglie's *Questions de Religion et d'Histoire* (Paris: Levy. 1880).

observation drawn from another paper, the famous document attributed to the First Napoleon.

This Person, since whose birth the truths of natural religion have been widely spread, has been worshipped by millions for eighteen centuries as their Saviour and their God. Let Theists, then, think well upon the St. Helena comment—"There is no God in heaven, if a mere man has been able to conceive and to carry out with complete success the gigantic plan of appropriating to himself supreme worship, by usurping the name of God."

Now, attacks upon the records of religion, of which the mystery of the Holy Incarnation is the central doctrine, may, we fear, be trying and perplexing to many excellent persons who have been brought up to rest in the acceptance of the famous *dictum* of Chillingworth—"The Bible and the Bible only." But those who, happily for themselves, have been taught to regard the Church and the Bible as co-ordinate powers; who, while honouring the Holy Scriptures as able to make them wise unto salvation, have at the same time ever looked to the Church of the living God as the pillar and ground of the truth;—such can afford to wait for the solution of this or that incidental difficulty. The truths enshrined in the glorious Creed of Nicæa remain untouched, even though we may not easily see our way to a precisely chronological arrangement of the details of St. Paul's career immediately after his conversion. The great event of human history, God becoming man and dying for us men and for our salvation, would remain unshaken; even if (we are merely stating an extreme case for argument's sake) it could be proved, that the account of the visit of the wise men from the East did not form a part of the original Gospel of St. Matthew.

Doubts there will be to the end of time; but the phases of unbelief are ever changing. A few short years and the particular points selected by the Duke of Somerset will be out of date. It will be more and more felt that pure Theism is an untenable position for any large masses for any length of time. The weapons employed in this book against revelation will be employed, *mutatis mutandis*, against Theism; and minds of a more logical cast than that of its author will find themselves irresistibly impelled to believe either less or more. Some will sink into Atheism or—which is practically pretty much the same thing—into pantheism: others will rise from the acceptance of the great mystery of the Being of the One God into the recognition of the mystery, in no wise greater, of the Threefold Personality subsisting in the One Essence.

And yet it will perhaps be said—*dolus latet in generalibus*. A critic is bound not merely to assert that a particular position and line of thought will in the long run be found untenable, but to show some specific ground for the rejection of specific arguments.

We believe that it might be fairly replied in the present instance that it appears very doubtful whether the Duke of Somerset's volume contains one single novel argument. Let any man have even a slight acquaintance with the writings of Baur, of Tubingen, of Strauss, and of Renan, and he will at every page, it seems to us, meet with old acquaintances, who are exceedingly

familiar, even if their dress be at moments slightly altered. At one place we did indeed alight upon an assertion so strange, that we thought it must be peculiar to the author. But happening a few days after to refer to Julius Müller's *Doctrine of Sin*, we found that even this notion—of which more presently—had already been set forth by one of the writers whom Müller criticises. Consequently, we might say that we prefer to reserve our criticism for the original authorities.

But, lest this seem to be a subterfuge, we propose to state briefly what occurs to us on some of the leading topics of this book: though we need hardly say that we do not stake our faith in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion on the ability of ourselves, or of any one else, to solve every minor difficulty. For, as Origen sublimely suggests, Christ, who once stood silent before the judge, from time to time repeats that silence.* But the proper moment comes, and then, though no longer through His own lips, yet through some servant appointed by Him, He speaks. Now, for the solution of some of the difficulties of our day, the fitting hour may not yet have struck.

We propose to touch briefly on what is here alleged concerning—(1) the existence of Satan; (2) the Star of the Wise Men; (3) the case of St. Paul; (4) on the leading doctrines of the Christian religion.

1. A Christian man may probably reason with himself somewhat as follows:—I find that my Creator has made various beings very much below me in the scale of creation. Of these only a portion have been seen by me: the existence of many, though it may be made visible, is by the great majority of us accepted upon faith. Only a generation back an eminent man of science, Professor Forbes, was believed to have proved, by a rigid induction, that life did not exist in the ocean below the depth of thirty fathoms. Recent investigations have proved such a conclusion to be utterly erroneous. And though the cases are not quite parallel, yet the fact of abundant lower life, hitherto unknown, helps me to understand, or at least conceive, the possibility of higher life also. Moreover, the great heart of humanity is entirely with me in the acceptance of such belief. It is doubtful if there be one single book, claiming to be sacred, which does not, with the *Zendavesta* and the *Koran*, recognise the existence of both good and evil spirits. Learned men have thrown together passages from the sages of various times and climes. The *Timæus* and the *Banquet* of Plato, the verses attributed to Orpheus, and again to Pythagoras, fragments of Thales, passages in Plotinus and Epictetus, no less than in Philo and Josephus, all speak of beings intermediate between men and the Divinity.† To cite one only. Epictetus says—"God has assigned to each individual man a demon, as his guardian, and entrusted him to this charge, who never sleeps, and cannot be deceived. For to what stronger or more careful protector could He commit each one of us? Therefore, when you shut the doors, and produce darkness within, remember that you can never say that you are alone, for God is

* *Præfatio ad libros contra Celsum*, sec. 2.

† *Petavius de Angelis*, cap. i. (Tom. iii. in *Dogm. Theol.*)

within and your dæmon."* Here Epictetus is employing language like that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But belief in good angels has always been found to imply belief in bad angels also, as the Orphic hymn has it—"The dæmon good, the dæmon ill of men."

But as there are good and bad men, the villains and the benefactors of their race, even so, too, is 'it easy to imagine that angels likewise may be good and bad. And, further, the bad spirits have a real interest in making men think either too highly or too humbly of their powers. If men fear them overmuch, if they forget that the evil angels are after all only creatures, and in no wise rivals of God, they may be led into deeds of superstition and cruelty. But to ignore them altogether is to refrain from looking facts in the face, and "the great duty of life is to face truth."†

Both reason and revelation, the voices of Plato and of St. Paul, teach me to believe in the existence of such a being as Satan. Of course I know that the fashion of the age runs counter to such belief. I know that Herr Roskoff, of Vienna, has written a book to disprove the existence of Satan, and that its substance has been reproduced by M. Albert Réville in the *Revue des deux Mondes*.‡

I know that the Duke of Somerset considers belief in Satanic possession sufficient to negative the claim of any writer to be an authority in matters spiritual. But assertion is not proof. I may rather think, with Mr. Kingsley—"How pleased the devil must be when he hears men speak in this way." And when life is ebbing, what satisfaction, what aid against Satan's wiles will it be to say, in answer to his suggestions of presumption or of despair—"Messrs. A and B and C assured me that you did not exist"? Rather, while I am yet in health of mind and body, will I accept with heart and understanding that paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer which I was taught in childhood, and entreat God "that He will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death."

And once more, speaking for himself, the present writer would fain avow that he entirely recognises the justice of the remarks made by the present Archbishop of Dublin, in his work on *The Miracles of Christ*; that he sees no reason to doubt the reality of such cases of possession as that of the devout Surin; § that he has conversed with a medical man of high ability and great experience in cases of madness, who believes that he has come across this mysterious phenomenon; and that a paper in *Good Words* for February, 1867, by Mr. William Gilbert, entitled "The English Demoniac," appears to him perfectly reasonable and well argued. The Duke of Somerset remarks (p. 17) that the Gospel narratives, "if they are accepted as true, give a solemn sanction to

* *Ap. Arrian. Diss. I. 14.* Cited (with parallel passages) by Dr. Littledale on the Psalms. Vol. III., p. 176.

† Lord Crawford's *Lives of the Lindseys*.

‡ Tome lxxiv., p. 101, No. for 1st January, 1870.

§ See Dr. Pusey's *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 433. It may again be necessary to remind the reader that the question, whether the nuns whom Surin had to exorcise were possessed, is quite independent of the guilt or innocence of Urbain Grandier.

the belief in Satanic possession." Accordingly, we accept the narratives, and the truth of that which they sanction.

2. It is with some reluctance that we touch upon the Star in the East which guided the wise men to Bethlehem. For this point has been discussed between two eminent men of our time, and to that debate we might be content to refer our readers. On the one hand, all that research and ingenuity and sarcasm can effect *against* the truth of the narrative contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew may be seen in that remarkable work of Strauss, which always, we own, in its wild originality, affects us with a sense of awe and even of melancholy grandeur, not wholly unlike that inspired by such names as those of Arius or of the Emperor Julian. On the other hand, that great Cambridge theologian, who did not live to finish his work, has at least left us this section of his reply complete. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Mill's series of tracts against Strauss will be only too conscious of the immeasurable distance between the thoughtfulness and profound learning of that eminent scholar and our fragmentary (and often second-hand) remarks. At the same time, we trust that it may be not thought uncourteous if we add, that great as may be the gap between the tractate of Dr. Mill and our *critique*, there is also a very wide interval—*immense quantum discrepat*—between the work of Strauss and that of the Duke of Somerset.

Strauss begins his attack on St. Matthew's account of the visit of the wise men by showing (as in so many other instances) the untenableness of the *semi*-mythical and rationalising explanations of Paulus and his school. It is one of the real and beneficent achievements of Strauss, that he overthrew those timid half-and-half attempts at solution, which fostered an unbelief fully as injurious as his own, and in reality satisfied nobody. Strauss adopts, of course, the purely mythical view, denies the probability as well as the reality of the massacre of the infants, and accuses St. Matthew's narrative of lending countenance to astrology.

With Dr. Mill we would in reply call attention to the extraordinary agreement between Josephus and the Evangelist, in their portrait of the character of Herod. Dr. Mill might have added, though this is a digression, that there is a no less remarkable concordance between the representations of Pontius Pilate given by these same two independent authorities. As regards the probability of the matter, we know from a remarkable and often over-looked passage in Suetonius's *Life of Augustus* (94), that the Roman Senate actually passed a decree, about the year a.c. 60, to the effect that no male child born in that year should be suffered to live. This resolution was carried in consequence of the alarm excited by a prophecy attributed to the Sibyls about a coming King of the world: and though certain Senators, who were looking forward to births about to occur in their own homes, contrived to get the decree suppressed,—yet the mere fact of its having received the sanction of the Senate is truly significant. For it shows what might happen during such an age, even in the capital of the civilised world; how much more then in Judæa, where it would be enacted on a comparatively small scale so far removed from the seat of central authority. M. Nicolas, from the Christian side, has, quite inde-

pends of Mill, called attention to the importance of this passage. And Strauss, too, feels it, and accordingly is compelled to bracket Suetonius with St. Matthew, and assert that *each* of these writers has given to the world a *mythus*! As regards Herod himself, he was capable, on the showing of Josephus, of almost any atrocity of this character. The man who could slaughter Aristobolus, who could inveigle Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and sacrifice him also to his ambitious schemes; the man who from jealousy could put to death the one object of his affection, Mariamne, and after that her mother and kindred, was not likely to think much of the massacre of a few innocent children. Nor is it easy to regard the traditionary jest of Augustus, recorded by Macrobius in the fifth century, as anything but a reference to some distorted version of the tragedy enacted at Bethlehem:—

“When he heard that among the children in Syria, *within two years of age*, whom Herod, King of the Jews, had ordered to be slain, his own son also had been killed, he said—‘Better is it to be Herod’s hog than his son.’”*

Thus much as regards the possibility of such an event occurring in Palestine in such an age. But still, it *may* be said, and indeed *has* been said long ago, that such a narrative as that of the Evangelist tends to countenance the dreams of astrology. On this point, therefore, it may be well to add a word.

We believe that both in matters of doctrine, and also in reports of public events, an entire falsehood is comparatively rare. The fancies of astrologers, distorted as they are, may have been based on traditional accounts of some real marvels witnessed in the sky. That nature should show sympathy, if we may so speak reverently, with events in the Incarnate life of its Divine Author, is precisely what we should expect. And just as we accept the narrative which tells us of the supernatural darkness, of the rending of the veil of the temple, and of the rupture of the rocks, and of the earthquake at Christ’s death, so too do we consistently believe in the existence of the luminary which shone at His birth. It is certainly more difficult than it may seem at first sight to invent new objections to the Gospel narrative. The view of the matter taken by Strauss, that St. Matthew’s account tends to favour astrology, was answered long ago by St. Augustine in his work against Faustus the Manichæan, and still more elaborately against similar objectors by St. Chrysostom in his sixth Homily on the Evangelist: and a brief but acute summary of their arguments is given by Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*. It was not, says St. Augustine, “one of those stars which from the beginning of creation have kept the course of their orbits, in accordance with the law imposed by their Creator; but at the new event of a Virgin birth a new star appeared (*novo virginis partû novum sidus apparuit*).”† Stars do not, he had previously observed, affect the freedom of men’s wills; and this star, which Faustus made a determinant of Christ’s fortunes, was in reality subject to Christ’s rule.

* A. T. Macrobi Opera—*Saturnalia*, ii. 5—(P. 232, Ed. Lond. 1694). We are particular in giving these references, because we have found it to be an inconvenience in the Duke of Somerset’s book that they are so rarely specified.

† *Contra Faustum* lib. ii. cap. 5.

Lastly, with one of our contemporaries, we would call attention to the fact that St. Matthew's Gospel appeared at a time when it would have been easy for opponents to challenge his assertions. The Duke of Somerset, who appears to think that belief in the star might lay Christians open to the objections of Faustus, admits (p. 28) that these records are early; that certain "chronological testimony appears to refute the theories which ascribe the Gospels to a later period." How is it, then, that among the earliest objectors to Christianity none ever took exception to the incidents or the chronology of the narrative? Celsus, far from doing so, evidently takes pleasure in his knowledge of the Gospels—a knowledge, we may observe in passing, admitted by the Protestant Professor Reuss, of Strasburg*—and with that perverse ingenuity which (as we have said) he frequently displays, attributes the miracles wrought by Christ to the knowledge of magic which He acquired during His sojourn in Egypt.

3. We turn to the case of St. Paul. The Duke of Somerset finds difficulties in reconciling the Acts of the Apostles with the Epistles. He urges that a writer like Paley comes to the question with a preconceived determination to discover harmony. To a certain extent, we admit the justice of this charge. It is undeniable that Christians, and perhaps especially the clergy, are often too much inclined to see that side of the case which they desire to see. And although we do not belong to the school of thought represented by Professor Jowett, yet there does seem to us to be much force in his remarks upon this subject. Speaking of Paley's work in connection with the Epistle to the Galatians, Dr. Jowett observes—"As in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, he shows the tact of an advocate, not the impartiality of a judge. He is admirable in picking out and putting together a portion of the facts, and the reader who has no one to plead the other side to him is satisfied that he sees the bearings of the whole."† And it may be one of the services overruled to good, which Baur and men of his school render to the Church, that they find out difficulties which have hitherto been overlooked, and which ought to be known and fairly looked in the face.

But the writers of sceptical schools make further demands upon us, which we cannot in fairness allow to be just. They practically, if not in so many words, address us somewhat as follows:—"You Christians come to the examination of these questions in a prejudiced state of mind. We, on the contrary, who are sceptics, are entirely impartial. We have no passion, no bigotry amongst us. We seek truth only with a single eye. We do not set out with any determination to find discrepancies between different documents; far from it. We only treat them as we should any other body of evidences concerning secular history."

Now to suppose that, in contests of this nature, the whole of

* *Histoire du Canon* (Strasbourg, 1864).

† *Epistles to Thess., Galat., Romans*. Vol. I., p. 397. (London: Murray, 1859.) Dr. Jowett adds—"I do not make these remarks from any wish to discredit a great name. A strong conviction of the injury which, in the long run, *ex parte* statements must occasion to the cause of Scriptural, or of any other kind of truth (especially when they are quite popular and intelligible), is my only reason for commenting on the portions of the *Horæ Paulinæ* which fall in with the subject of these volumes."

the passion, the prejudice, the injudicial spirit lies on one side only, is to assume a position not warranted by history or by the facts of human nature. Most certainly, sceptics do not give each other credit for this sublime spirit of impartiality. Take, for example, the language of Ewald concerning some of his opponents. He calls a production of Ritter's "a real excrescence of meanness and ignorance." He speaks of "the mean judgment" of a brother sceptic, De Wette.* And Ewald has in turn to submit to an outburst of wild indignation from Strauss, because in his *Life of Christ* he had ignored the very existence of the work of Strauss, which (in company with many German and French sceptics) he probably regarded as antiquated and *une tentative manquée*.† Again, Voltaire is a sceptic, Gibbon is a sceptic. But what is Gibbon's comment upon Voltaire's eulogy of the Sultan Amurath II., who retired to a Convent of Dervishes? "Voltaire admires *le philosophe Turc*: would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery? *In his way Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.*"‡

But the great question is, not whether we are able, with our present knowledge, to reconcile every apparent discrepancy between the Book of Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul, but whether, on the whole, we have before us in these distinct sources of information the portrait of a different man. The Duke of Somerset plainly implies that this question must be answered in the affirmative. But we must, for our part, entirely decline to accept such a description of the Apostle as he would deduce from the Epistles. The Duke of Somerset's "St. Paul, as portrayed by himself," seems to be a man who lays no claim to any dealings with the supernatural, who makes no distinction between Gentile and Jewish converts to the faith of Christ, and who entertains Manichæan views on the subject of matter. Now that St. Paul has not recorded any miracle of healing wrought by himself upon others is true. But it is no less true that in two of those four Epistles, which, as our author observes (p. 51), "the most captious critics have admitted to be genuine," the Apostle declares that he had been caught up to the third heaven, and received abundance of revelations; and that these revelations included even an account of the institution of the holy Eucharist, which we might perhaps have expected him to have learnt from his fellow-disciples.§ Again, the very Epistle which presents the greatest difficulties in the matter of reconciliation with the Acts, that addressed to the Galatians, distinctly implies a difference between the Apostle's treatment of Gentile and of Jewish converts. For St. Paul tells the Galatians (ii. 3) that Titus, *being a Greek*, was not compelled to be circumcised. And, lastly, as for St. Paul cherishing a Manichæan dread of matter, as of something evil, the notion is so strange that we thought (as we have said) for once that the volume before us did contain a novelty. We found, however, that a German writer

* These, with other choice phrases of a like nature, are given in the Preface to Dr. Pusey's *Daniel the Prophet* (second edition).

† We forget the author of this phrase, but he is one of the rationalistic school. We rather think it was M. Bérville.

‡ *Decline and Fall*. Chap. lxvii., note 13.

§ Compare 2 Cor. xii. 12 and 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

cited by Julius Müller had anticipated our author. But when we remember that the Apostle tells us that the mortal bodies of Christians are temples of the Holy Spirit; that the duties of marriage are sanctified; that eating even meat which had been offered to an idol was in itself indifferent, and that at a feast given by heathens Christians should eat without asking questions; that he dwells on the importance of the chief act of Christian worship, which involves the consecration of a certain portion of matter, the hallowed bread and wine; that his theology did not merely involve the assertion of a future life of the soul, but likewise the doctrine of the resurrection of the body;* when all this, we say, is taken into account, we know not in what light the charge of Manichæism against St. Paul can be considered save in that of a gross and palpable absurdity. We have confined ourselves, in the above illustrations, to one single Epistle, the First to the Corinthians. It would be easy, were it necessary, to multiply instances from other portions of St. Paul's writings; but we will content ourselves with one. The noble author of this volume cites a passage from the Second Epistle to Timothy, thereby showing that he accepts it as Pauline. He must, consequently, accept the former Epistle to Timothy likewise. Now, in that Epistle the Apostle, in a famous passage, denounces as one of the worst forms of heresy the idea of forbidding marriage or enjoining abstinence from meats, "which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving." As we can hardly expect our readers, who may not have seen the book, to believe the correctness of our statement, we feel bound to cite the passage:—

"He [St. Paul] taught that the material world, animate and inanimate, was alike impure, and under the dominion of an evil principle."—P. 103.

We feel compelled to ask whether one who can write thus is really capable of appreciating the real character of the Apostle, or the true nature of his doctrine. On the general question concerning the value of Paley's argument, we may again have recourse to some of the remarks of Professor Jowett:—"After making all these deductions, it must be conceded that no author has done so much as Paley in the *Horæ Paulinæ* to raise up a barrier against unreasoning scepticism, and to place the Epistles on an historical foundation. The ingenuity of his arguments, the minuteness of the intimations discovered by him, the remoteness and complexity of his combinations, leave the impression on the mind of absolute certainty in reference to the great Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, and of high probability in reference to most of the others."†

And it certainly deserves to be well considered whether, if all works of history and biography received such treatment as Baur has applied to the Acts and the Epistles, we should not be compelled to give up the very notion of our possession of that faculty of holding communion with the past, which Arnold so justly called one of the divinest portions of our nature. Let (say) the life of Constantine, the death of Julius Cæsar, or any other prominent

* See 1 Cor. vi. 19, vii. *passim*, viii. *passim*, and ix. 27, 28, x. 16, xv. throughout.

† *Epistles*, vol. I., p. 204.

scene of history be thus handled, and the whole may easily be shown to become mythical. But is civilised society prepared for such a result? Rather, is it not abhorrent to the convictions of the human race at large, and of our own generation at least as much as any other? For in whatever departments of thought the nineteenth century may hereafter be pronounced defective, it will, we believe, be allowed to have produced in France, in England, and in Germany, many noble monuments in the way of history.

4. But it is time to turn to the question of doctrine. On this point the Duke of Somerset expresses himself as follows:—

"When, however, it is asked what were the doctrines which produced these inestimable benefits? the reply would probably vary according to the Church or sect which undertook to answer the question. Two prominent and generally acknowledged tenets of Christianity are faith in God and charity between men. Beyond these two there is scarcely another tenet which is not matter of controversy."—(P. 50).

This is, in our judgment, a grievous over-statement. It entirely ignores the striking fact that the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation are proclaimed by the overwhelming majority of those who profess and call themselves Christians, as the fundamental doctrines of the faith; and that by every law of evidence, dissension on other points adds strength to those whereon the dissentients are agreed.

This identity of doctrine may be illustrated in another manner. An author of our day has spoken as follows:—

"What does Christianity assert? What is the groundwork, the base, the substance of its entire doctrine? What is the Gospel, that is to say, the news that it announces to the world? It is that in consequence of an original and hereditary enfeeblement, man—every man without distinction—had lost the power of fulfilling, and even of thoroughly knowing his duty upon this earth, and of assuring the salvation of his soul after his death, and that thus he would have perished without resource if God had not come in human form to reopen to him the sources of pardon, of virtue, and of life."

Now we would fain ask any reader, who does not happen to be acquainted with this passage, to form a guess concerning its authorship? Is there, from internal evidence, any reason why it should not have proceeded from the pen of an Oriental Christian, or a Presbyterian, a Roman Catholic, or an Anglican? Would it not be acknowledged as a fair statement by such writers as the late Metropolitan of Moscow, the honoured Philaret, or by M. de Pressensé, or the late Father Gratry, by Dr. Guthrie or Mr. Spurgeon? As a matter of fact, they occur in page 259 of the second volume of the Duc de Broglie's *Questions de Religion et d'Histoire*, in the course of that reply to M. Jules Simon to which we have already made reference. They are just one out of a hundred testimonies that might be adduced, to show that amidst the many and serious differences between Christians, there still exists what may fairly be called *The Creed of Christendom*.

Here we pause. We have not selected these topics from the volume under review because they were the easiest: far from it. The book is open to assault at almost every page. Two chapters, the tenth and eleventh, which treat of the Septuagint and the Apocrypha, contain a good deal of truth that is well worth con-

sideration, especially at the hands of *ultra-Protestants*. But whatever is good in them seems to us to have been completely anticipated by Mr. Blenkinsopp in his small volume entitled *Development in the Bible and in the Church* (London: Allen and Co. 1869). In one passage the Duke refers in an offhand manner to one of the many theories allowed to be held in the Christian Church concerning the nature of sin. Now, of course, no layman is in anywise bound to become a student of such abstruse questions in theology. Still we cannot but think it desirable that, if they aspire to become teachers of others, they should at least cultivate acquaintance with those two able volumes, which the learned Lutheran, Julius Müller, has specially devoted to this topic, or else to some similar treatise. We cannot see the slightest proof that the Duke of Somerset has given any real thought or study to the subject, and hence, perhaps, his off-hand mode of treating it.

In his opening chapter our author seems to imply that Christianity, in England at least, was much better off at the commencement of the eighteenth century than it is now—some hundred and seventy years later. Then it enjoyed the patronage of such men as Locke and Newton. Now, he says—"Philosophy and science stand aloof in unfriendly attitudes."

Students of Church history can afford to smile over such reasonings as these. Even if the facts stood precisely thus, it would still be true that the Gospel does not depend on the support of a few distinguished men, great as is the service which they have often been permitted to render. But though Locke and Newton have many and great claims to our admiration and respect, yet their attitude towards Christianity is by no means one that we wish to see repeated. We like much better the sentiments of such men as Sir John Herschel, or Principal Forbes of St. Andrew's, or Sir James Simpson, or even of Mr. Faraday. But whether we are to have the aid of such men or not—and we are far from wishing to deny that it has often proved a real blessing to society,—that faith which has outlived a Julian, a Rousseau, and a Voltaire, will also outlive a Renan and a Strauss. If, on the one hand, the year 1700 was really superior to 1872 in this respect—a point which we by no means concede,—on the other hand, it may safely be affirmed that the Anglicanism—to say nothing of other forms of Christianity—of the present age exhibits signs of life in the heartiness and fervour of its congregations, in the work of its Missionary Bishops, in its operations across the Atlantic, in the devotedness of a large and increasing body of laity, which to men of the age of Newton and of Locke would, if they could rise and see it, be simply a source of surprise and of bewilderment.

The Duke of Somerset says—"You Christians have to face certain difficulties." We fully grant it. It seems to us, as Origen and Bishop Butler and others have long ago remarked, that such a state of things is in accordance with the entire analogy of God's dealings with mankind. Difficulties of an intellectual nature correspond with those of a social and practical character. And such is the activity and restlessness of the human mind, that if an angel from heaven were permitted to explain to us the whole of our existing problems in connection

with revealed religion, a fresh crop would almost inevitably be raised up before the conclusion of the year. Nor can we imagine that, men being what they are, a thoroughly plain and simple theology would satisfy the needs of the human heart and mind. Difficulties bring with them many blessings. As St. Augustine is never weary of repeating,* heresies are permitted of God to make us study the Scriptures; they bring out the full mind of the Church; they make doctrines clear and living; they enlarge and strengthen our faith and love. And if much must still be left unexplained, it is not to be forgotten that a certain craving for mystery is a feature of the human mind. A religion which attempts to ignore this fact may suit a few, for there is no limit to individual idiosyncracies; but it never has been, and never can be, the religion of a mighty people.

But matters, says our author, are growing worse. Civilisation is unfavourable to faith. Men can no longer quote as an authentic document the letter of King Agbarus. For our part, we see every reason to rejoice that such is the case. For the moment, indeed, any abandonment of seeming treasures may be a trial; but it is one which ought to be borne cheerfully for the sake of truth, and which will be sure, sooner or later, to bring with it its own abundant recompense. As for such trials being a novelty, the notion seems to us absurd. Our fathers had to bear them in the days of Abelard, and of Luther, and of Bolingbroke. Why should we repine, or be greatly troubled, if our lot is cast in ages such as have gone before?

Several of the problems propounded in these pages are in our judgment no difficulties at all. The noble author seems to us to display a marvellous confidence in the correctness of his own *exegesis* of Scripture. Texts, which learned commentators, both ancient and modern, have thought worthy of much discussion, are interpreted in the most off-hand manner according to that sense which falls in with the general drift of the book; and we are then invited to consider the solution of the difficulty thus created. Thus, for instance, the text about the groaning of creation—treated poetically by Keble and theologically by Bishop Ellicott† in his interesting discourse—*The Destiny of the Creature*—is here simply assumed to contradict the whole of the Epistles to the Corinthians and the rest of St. Paul's Epistles, and to teach Manichæism. So again, if the resurrection of Christ be declared by the Apostle to be the manifestation of His Godhead to the Church, this is to be understood to mean that St. Paul did not believe our Lord to be the Son of God before that event. For our part, we do not expect to find every article of saving faith proclaimed alike by every writer. Critics so different as Estius and Dean Alford justly observe that the first word of the Epistle

* "Juxta illud Apostoli Oportet et hæreses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant in vobis—Multa quippe ad fidem Catholicam pertinentia, dum hereticorum callida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius et intelliguntur clarius, et instantius predicantur."—*De Civ. Dei*, lib. xvi., cap. 2. "Improbatio quippe hereticorum facit eminere quid Ecclesia Tua sentiat et quid habeat sana doctrina."—*Confess.*, lib. vii., cap. 19. There are many like passages in his works. The historian Evagrius employs similar language, also appealing, if we recollect aright, to the language of St. Paul.

† Romans viii. 22.

to the Hebrews *πολυρίπτος* (badly rendered in the Authorised Version) in reality means "in many portions." And as of old, Isaiah and Zechariah and Malachi foretell different events in the Life of Christ, so too St. Matthew and St. Paul and St. John each fill up certain definite portions of the Christian faith.

But I, says our author, am a Theist; and Theism, unlike Christianity, is free from the difficulties which I have been describing. To say that Theism has not precisely the same difficulties as Christianity is, of course, most true. But to say, or to imply, that it has not some others of its own, is to fly in the face alike of metaphysical science and of the teaching of all history.* A Christian can not only perceive that evil brings out many forms of good, but he also sees in the doctrine of the Fall a partial explanation of the mystery, and he knows that his Creator has not stood aloof from it,—but, as the Incarnate Lord, has condescended to share its bitterness. But the Theist must face this problem in all its unexplained nakedness.

We are thankful, of course, that a man should retain his faith in God, though (as we have already said) we think—herein agreeing with many Atheists—that such faith ought logically to lead him onward to the acceptance of revelation.

We admit that the Duke of Somerset is thus far logical, in that, as he utterly rejects the doctrine of the Incarnation, and treats as mythical the life of her whom all generations shall call blessed, he feels that the denial of the one great marvel necessitates the rejection of those lesser marvels which surrounded the cradle of the Infant Lord. But we, Christians, are also on our part consistent in this, that for the mighty effect produced by Christianity we assign a mighty cause—namely, that the Eternal Son became man. Now, compare with this belief the following passage from the work before us:—

"When, however, we pass on from the first mysterious history, and survey the great results, we see the divine and beneficent influence of Christianity impressed in indelible characters on the annals of the world.

"The words said to have been spoken by Jesus on the shores of the lake, on the slope of the mountain, or in his journeyings through Palestine, fermented in the human heart, stirring the deepest feelings and kindling the aspirations of mankind. These words were addressed to ignorant men, by whom their meaning was often misunderstood, and imperfectly recorded. The words were spoken, however, as never man spake, and they were sufficient for the purpose predicted.

"They did undoubtedly convulse the world, and change the whole fabric of human society, supplying a new basis of civilisation, a new framework for human thought, and a new motive for human actions.

"The history of all succeeding centuries testifies to these marvellous results. The overthrow of antecedent religions was the first step to a new creation, and amidst the decay of ancient creeds, and the decline of heathen communities, the dawn of a brighter era reddened the horizon.

"During the darkest period of European history, the organisation of the Church held men together when all other bonds of society were loosened, and in every subsequent age Christianity, though corrupted

* Although Dr. Newman has always seemed to us to undervalue the weight of the argument from design, yet his statement of some of the difficulties of mere Theism is very powerful. See *Grammar of Assent*, pp. 391-2, and *History of my Religious Opinions*, p. 241. We like M. de Broglie's even better.

human error, and distorted by human passions, has nevertheless afforded the only solid security for the permanence of European civilisation, and the only hope for man after the close of his ephemeral existence.

"Thoughts thus crowded into a few sentences necessarily convey a very inadequate notion of the blessings derived from Christianity. If a person tries to imagine the condition of this country under the supposition that the Christian religion had never been bestowed upon mankind, he will find it almost impossible to realise in his mind the altered circumstances by which he would be surrounded.

"The character of the nation, the laws, the institutions, the whole mind of the people would have been more changed than the wildest fancy can conceive.

"The early history of Christianity may be in many respects inaccurate, exaggerated by credulous devotion, and even falsified by legendary traditions; but some divine and indefeasible truths must be contained within its doctrines. These could not have lived through so many centuries, and spread through such various forms of civilisation, if they had not their undying roots in the heart of man."—Pp. 46-7, 8, 9.

Is it really no difficulty to suppose that a given religion has achieved this great and beneficent result, and yet that its central doctrine is a myth? To our mind such a belief is in itself a far greater difficulty, than all those brought together in this volume in order to undermine the authority of the Bible. To have made such admissions as those just cited is honourable to the candour and good feeling of the author. But we doubt whether his brother sceptics will be wholly grateful to him. They will feel inclined to complain, as Voltaire did of Rousseau, that one who can write thus has, after all, a hankering after Christianity. But there are others who will hope that he may yet be induced, by further meditation on the results, to acknowledge the only satisfactory explanation of the cause; and to believe that Christian doctrines have not only "their undying roots in the heart of man," but likewise their eternal source in the mind and will of God.

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See also the *Church Review* of August, 1869.

THE OFFERTORY

FACTS AND FIGURES

FOR THOSE WHO WORSHIP IN FREE AND OPEN
CHURCHES

BY THE

REV. R. R. CHOPE, B.A.

VICAR OF S. AUGUSTINE'S, SOUTH KENSINGTON



"Pay tithes and be rich."—OLD PROVERB

London

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THE OFFERTORY

MY DEAR —

Your kind letter to me opens a subject rather of a public than personal interest. This I hope will explain to you the form of my reply.

I will not attempt to describe what are my feelings * whenever it is my painful duty to tell my people in Church how little their offerings amount to week by week, or year by year. Many years ago, I like yourself "formed high ideas of the assistance we ought to be able some day to give to our poorer brethren in the East (or West) of London." Too foolishly sanguine at the first starting of this West-end Mission, I fondly thought that possibly I might manage affairs better than my neighbours, partly by exclusive labour amongst my own people, partly by economical expenditure under my own personal supervision, though chiefly by abandoning those hateful expedients called "Charity Sermons," adopting "the free and open Church system," and generously trusting to that upon which you and I perhaps too much rely, namely, an "English sense of justice" in those who

* "No high-spirited Englishman is ever the same after a few years of the Offertory censure."—*Canon Robinson, Torquay.*

worship at such Churches as S. Augustine's. I confess now after seven years' experience, that all such day-dreams of affording substantial help to others have vanished,—almost even from my memory, humiliating and disappointing as it is to make this confession.

You kindly say, that you "have often wished to talk with me on the subject of the Offertory." I am glad that you have instead chosen to write. You will thus be able to keep my answer before you—to weigh it well, and show it to inquiring friends. I should not, of course, presume to give you this full reply, for the mere sake alone of setting forward any opinion or crotchets peculiarly my own, much less for the sake of gain or any kind of worldly advantage to myself. I write to you, my parishioner, and a devout worshipper at my Church, fully, because I know that I can tell you what is the mind of the Church and of Christ in this matter. I write to you this reply, after many years, the best of my life possibly, have been spent in the Priesthood; moreover, after much study and laborious thought on this anxious, practical subject. I write to you also with the authority of one (and it is well that you should know this) who was derided for forsaking the calling of a wealthy merchant to become a curate on 40*l.* a year. For all these considerations, I have a right beyond that of any others in this parish to enter fully into this subject with you. But in doing so, let me ask you at the outset to interpret my tone, if it seems

at any time harsh, by the light of these same considerations.

Your "friends who come and stay with you, constantly make the remark ~~that~~ in this rich neighbourhood we must have abundance of money, and an over-sufficient offertory." I do not pause to ask whether this is the case anywhere;—but do your friends judge this to be so by the amount which they themselves contribute? or, by what they see others give? or, by the many others who do not give, but "pass the bag," or, indeed, who will hardly do as much as this? Your friends must have some *reason* for the statement. Perhaps they judge merely and alone by the locality, the equipages, the rich attire, the costly jewels they see. Do they forget that many others in the congregation may be visitors like themselves? You "tell them that it is far otherwise, and then they ask you what the expenses are, and to what amount the weekly offertory reaches, and you feel that if you could give them a ready answer to these questions, they would more readily contribute in Church."

I am sorry that *you* are not informed on this subject, though it is not necessary to measure almsgiving to God's Church by the current yearly expenditure. The Gospel principle is the only one—namely, the Church's rule, a *certain* portion, "according to their ability." But this portion is due only in one's own Church where one worships. Strangers are not required to act upon any such principle at all. On the contrary, when they

return home it is their duty to "reckon with their own parson, and pay him," or into his offertory, what has become due for the weeks which they have been absent. This, I am told, is done in some such districts as ours. Of course every Christian, the *poorest* as well as the richest, should make an offering in God's House, as an act of worship* which differs from an act of charity, that is, giving alms to the poor. You may see the two duties distinctly spoken of throughout the Bible, too plainly to need insisting on.

You suggest, then, "whether a paper might not be placed on the Church doors, stating the lump sum required for the expenses of the services, cleaning the building, lighting, two curates' stipends, organist, bedel, schoolmaster, schools, etc., then the amount of the endowment, followed by the amount of the offertory during the week." "Any person," you think, "seeing this, could easily calculate whether the offertories were approximately up to *what they should be*." For the sake of argument, suppose there were ten persons in a thousand who, on entering Church for prayer or Sacrament, either *could* or *would* make this calculation, do you imagine any two of them would think alike as to the amount the offertories should reach? I know for a fact that of two intelligent and zealous churchmen, one thought that I ought

* "There can be no doubt that it has been the UNIVERSAL CUSTOM of Christians since the apostolic age to offer alms and oblations to the glory of God."—See Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, section viii., "Oblations of the People, AND Offertory."

to receive 150*l.*, the other 500*l.* a year, as vicar. Nursed in the lap of luxury themselves, it is easy for such to prescribe for the wants of others, especially of the clergy, who are supposed to have renounced luxuries and necessities alike, "to spend and *be spent*." But be this as it may, however successful such a plan might be for extracting from wary or unwary pockets a larger amount of silver and gold, it has in it no principle at all, so far as I can see. It is mere caprice and vainglory in alms-giving, a commercial trick altogether unworthy of priest and people. There is no kind of hint anywhere in the Sacred writings, or in the history or canons of the Church, or in our own English formularies, or State laws, that the offerings of the faithful are in any such way to depend on the artifice of the parson "who waits at the Altar." But neither could it, nor a balance-sheet, operate so successfully as you imagine. About this latter, persons will be hardly found to agree even as to the way in which the items should be arranged, as I have myself experienced: and the views of lay persons as to the amount to be expended on stipends, etc., differ materially from those of the clergy who have to deal with the details.

The balance-sheet which I am grateful to you for enclosing in your letter, but little encourages me to return to my practice of issuing such yearly statements. Figures mislead the many. Even commercial men are sometimes deceived by balance-sheets. A perverted use is often made of such

statements.* Women cannot make these "easy calculations" just before stepping into Church; yet congregations are largely made up of the gentler sex. I once spent an evening with a learned Doctor of Divinity in carefully dissecting one such account, where the yearly receipts amounted to 400*l.*—"a good thing for the parson," as a lay friend remarked. We proved almost to demonstration that the vicar must have fared but little or no better than the incumbent on your enclosed account, where I read, item "Deficiency—loss to the vicar, *who has received no remuneration!* 74*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*" Of course, you do not suggest that this is desirable in my case. When I abandoned

* "Free and Open Church Associations" sometimes give "the financial results" of the "Offertory System," in order to show that a larger income is derived from voluntary gifts than from pew-rents and gifts for charity, &c. But the question, "What are the expenses of your Church"—"What *ought* the Offertories to amount to?"—is altogether omitted from such statements. See *Circular issued by the Chester Church Association*. At a quarterly meeting of the E.C.U., in this neighbourhood, "the detailed experiences of all who joined in the discussion amounted to the *certain conclusion that the Offertory had been found to be a failure.*" * * * "Churchmen cannot but feel themselves compelled to accept the foregoing statements as *undeniable.*" *Church Review*. "There is the 'OFFERTORY,' which is urged pretty strenuously in a few places: (I have found it generally means 'Offertory *plus* Advertisements, in the *Guardian*' and other Church newspapers, and *plus* the princely donations *importuned* from a few.) It is not pure 'Offertory' certainly. But if it is to stand alone, is it *successful?* and is it *popular?* In spite of a few hard assertions—(which if substantiated would but reduce the common provision of the Clergy to a mere mendicancy unknown as a rule in the Catholic Church)—yet the people complain even of that in some places, already, as a fearful 'grievance,' and say that they cannot now enter a Church for service at any time, without 'the bag being thrust before them!'" —*Dr. Irons's Speech at Chichester.*

all offers of gain and ease in a money-getting calling, I did not also give up the Gospel of Christ and what the Lord "also ordained."

I will here furnish you with the particulars of my former printed statements, which were circulated and posted up in Church from the first year till 1870. You will not observe much "retrograding," but a *disproportionate* increase, alas! an increase not sufficient to meet *increased expenditure*.

1866. Total for the year 547*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* I put up the iron Church in my own garden at a cost of 500*l.* about, less some 30*l.* or so subscribed.

1867. Total receipts, 637*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* The vicar, *curate*, organist, blower, choir, poor, and all expenses were paid out of this amount, and a school offertory also.

1868. Total receipts, 741*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.* 43*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* of this was paid to the Bishop's Fund and the Diocesan Penitentiary; and all expenses as above.

1869. Total, 1009*l.* 16*s.* 11¾*d.* There were then two curates; and 162*l.* 14*s.* 8½*d.* was paid towards the permanent Church, enlargement of iron Church, schools; and expenses as above.

1870. Total, 866*l.* 6*s.* 7¼*d.* Of this, 112*l.* 16*s.* 6¾*d.* went to the Building Fund, the Enlargement Fund, &c., before providing for all expenses as above. This was the last *printed* statement issued.*

* It is my belief that the sum-total of 1869, *upwards of a thousand pounds!* so far satisfied persons that the offertories fell back the next year. But what is a thousand pounds amongst so many, in the wealthiest suburb, either to give or to receive?

In 1871 the offertories were much the same for the year, namely, 867*l.* 13*s.* 8½*d.*, less 13*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, for "Sick and Wounded," and 16*l.* 5*s.* for the Bishop of Capetown's Mission, before providing for all expenses.

Our current expenses at present amount to not more than 700*l.* a year, *exclusive* of the schools. The endowment is 150*l.* a year, less income tax. There is no parsonage-house, and about a quarter of an acre of glebe producing no income. The fees, of course, amount to but a few pounds a year—a few pounds the Easter dues. All this is perfectly well known to every person who thinks at all on these things. Those who do not, are hardly worth consideration in the matter. I need not say that living, house rent, &c., here are very different from living in the country. But this is nothing to the point. *The* question is, whether there is or is not any principle at all upon which Christians ought to give alms in Church. Before entering upon this, let me further reply, in reference to our own district, that Churchwardens cannot be chosen before the Church is consecrated.* You do not, moreover, say *in what way* "great benefit would be derived if I saw fit to appoint two laymen to assist me in the matter of the Offertory." Would the two laymen themselves give more? Would they wish, do you mean, to take charge of and disburse the whole offertories, and my gain be the saving of personal labour? or would the great benefit arise

* Cf. 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 37, s. xvii.

from their advertising the people out of Church that they ought to give more liberally, because they wanted a larger sum to expend on this or that?* I am glad to think that "the two appointed would be much pleased at being brought into contact with myself every week," but little do persons know how harassing it is to the Clergy to have those of another calling perpetually present in the vestry before and after every service, shaking hands, gossiping about parish affairs, complimenting the preacher, or scolding him,—fresh and frisky themselves, and as much out of tune with the ambassadors of Christ on their day of toil and sacred thought, and in the very midst of that painful and solemn recollection, as I think Sir Walter Scott says, "a feasting is with a fasting man." I am sure, however, that you are actuated by no "spirit of interference" in writing what you have written, and I can assure you that, though I thus write, I never desire "to be relieved from the annoyance of these pecuniary matters." It is a part of Christ's own Gospel. "Prayer and alms† are joined

* "Human nature makes itself felt in these matters; there is in the heart of man a love of seeing something in return for his money, and a reluctance to give freely to a good work, *looking for nothing in return*. The same weakness which allows a man, who will not spend five shillings simply *as an offering to God*, to spend five pounds at a charity bazaar, where he receives in exchange some trumpery article of no use to himself and of the smallest intrinsic value, tempts another man to seek the equivalent of his subscription in the power to direct the minutest details of its expenditure; and it is not an unreasonable supposition that men, conscious of the possession of certain gifts, are not willing to work in the fetters which such direction implies."—'Under His Banner,' p. 424.

† "Without which our faith *would be dead*."—'Wheatly on Common Prayer,' p. 268.

together in the Word of God,"* and the Clergy are ordained to offer them both—to care for them both.† I am sorry to say I have heard a priest own that he "would rather write a sermon than cast up a column of figures." Some clergymen get their wives to make up their accounts and sermons too. I do both myself. When a deacon I had the care of a large clothing club, and it cost me hours of labour sometimes to get the account-book and cards correct to a penny. And rightly was this labour bestowed, or why ever did I study Euclid, arithmetic, and the "dead languages" at the University, if not to train the mind to be accurate in practical matters?

This brings me to consider whether there is any set principle upon which alms should be given, and to whom they should be given. This is easily answered, and it is capable of abundant proof, that Christians are bound by God's Word and the Church to give one-tenth to their own Church as an act of worship. I am aware that this is a most disagreeable‡ statement to make. And I believe that the

* Bishop of Winchester on "Mission Services."

† When I was licensed by the Bishop to this Cure of souls, his lordship did then "invest me with all and singular the rights, members, profits, privileges, and appurtenances thereto belonging." No lay person could relieve me of the responsibility belonging to this part of my sacred stewardship.

‡ "It is a custom of the Church, derived from the old covenant and even intimated by an Apostle, that 'they who preach the Gospel should live of it,' in the same way as the former priesthood lived by Offerings at Sacrifices, and payments like the 'pair of doves' at Purifications. In foreign lands to this day payments are made not only at Marriages but

rubric at the end of the Communion-office is mainly answerable for the amount of misconception that has arisen in men's minds at the present time, both on the duties of Churchwardens and the principle upon which the laity should give to their priests. Who now pay tithes, except in "the loins of their fathers"? I know that the "poor widow"* is still in the Church of Christ, as well as the "rich man."† His ministers can now make the comparison between the two as their Divine Master did when He spoke the words. But the last rubric in the Communion-office has led many persons astray. Unhappily, "the hint was taken from the Scotch Liturgy, though it was not added till the last Review."‡ Christians act, and free and open Church advocates talk, as if this comprised the whole duty of money-gifts to God. Whereas it only contains directions for the alms collected at the "Divine Service." The Church-

at other Benedictions and rites of the priesthood. But who can say that such payments for the discharge of sacred offices are popular among us? The charge, for instance, on Baptism is commonly given up by the Clergy themselves, through fear of its deterring the poor; and as to the rich who make any 'voluntary' payments at such offices, they are but a small minority. I am even told that an agitation is actually on foot against fees of Matrimony. *And one person (himself a man of fortune) told a friend of mine that he always objected to receive anything now for performing spiritual duties!*"—*Dr. Irons's Speech at Chichester.*

* "The pious and self-denying, it is well known, pinch themselves to give much more in 'alms to the poor, and other devotions' than a guinea a-year seat-system would require of them."—*Report of the Offertory Sub-Committee of the Kensington Branch of E.C. Union.*

† S. Luke, xxi. 1, 2.

‡ See 'Wheatly's Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer,' pp. 315, 316, 317.

wardens had a voice in the *disposal* of the same ; but they are not to take possession of any of it, any more than "the ordinary" who is to appoint how it shall *be disposed of*, if the Vicar and Churchwardens disagree. Even in the Scotch rubric, "one-half shall be to the use of the Presbyter, and the *other half* faithfully kept (not by the Churchwardens) for the furnishing of the Church or relief of the poor, at the discretion of the *Presbyter* and Churchwardens." What makes this still more clear, is that, keeping in mind the institution of this Order by the Apostles,* the *deacons* are appointed to receive "the *alms for the poor*, and the *other devotions* of the people,"—and at their Ordination they solemnly promise "to search for the sick and poor, and intimate their names to the Curate (Vicar or Rector), that they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners and others."† I cannot suppose that "the Curate" is further to resort to the Churchwardens for the money. "It is very probable," Wheatly says, "that at the time of receiving the Sacrament were all those large donations of houses, lands, and money made. None (of ability) were allowed to receive without giving something ;‡ and to reject any man's offering was to deny him a share in the benefit of those comfortable mysteries. Our Saviour supposes that we should never come to the

* Acts vi.

† The Ordering of Deacons.

‡ 'S. Cyprian de Oper. et Eleemos.,' p. 304, &c.

altar *without a gift.*"* The pious author of "the Parish Priest's Book," "reminds the Priest that although the Offertory sentences are not appointed to be used, offerings from the Sick are to be encouraged; especially in cases of prolonged illness."†

The rubric preceding this "last" states plainly to whom "the other devotions of the people" were to be given, namely, to their own Priest, Vicar or Rector; precisely as in the old Common Prayer it was ordered, that "upon the offering days appointed, every *man and woman* should pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings." I ask, what are they? To what do they amount? What portion must be given? My full congregation, practically tell me that no offerings are due to me. I do not suppose that a single rich man among my people would admit that his God required him to give his Church a tenth. Say they, we may give what we like, where and when or to whom we like,—for any purpose we please,—in the west or in the east of London, as we prefer, to missions at home or abroad. But putting aside these errors, I ask, "What are the 'duties' here mentioned?" and "then‡ at that time to be paid?" Bishop Stillingfleet § supposes them to be *the tenth*

* S. Matt. v. 23, 24.

† See rubric preceding the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick.

‡ The annual offering days were Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Feast of the Dedication of the Parish Church.

§ P. 252, 'Ecclesiastical Cases.'

of every one's substance. In the second and third of Edward VI., such personal tithes are by Act of Parliament to be paid yearly, "at or before the feast of Easter."

The tenth, then, to the Priest, is the true principle, though it be a minimum* one. Gifts, alms, charity to the poor,† poor's rates, and all such, have nothing whatever to do with this duty. They come not into the account at all. They are acts of charity. Offerings to the Priest are *acts of worship*, as God commanded. The tenth to the Priest, then, is a *minimum* ‡ principle, because Christ heightened the commands of the Law.§ "What is it that can exempt Christians from paying this? From rendering unto God the honour and tribute due unto His Name? Sure they ought rather to exceed than come short of Jews and heathen || in this! * * *

* "Let us give a portion. What? A tenth? The Scribes and Pharisees did this, for whom Christ had not yet shed His Blood. Yet I cannot keep back what He Who died for us said, 'except your righteousness exceed, &c.' Consider what ye do, and *with what means* ye do it; *how much* ye give, and how much ye leave for yourselves; what ye spend on mercy, what ye reserve for luxury."—*S. Aug. Sermon. 85. (35 Oxf. Tr.), quoted by Dr. Pusey.*

† 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

‡ "Few would say that TITHE is sufficient for our population now (even had it been adequate in days when the nation was scarcely more numerous than London is at present); and about half the tithe of land has been taken from the Church and partly given to some of the nobility and gentry, while the other half had become so unpopular that it has been 'commuted.' The Tithe-payer certainly dislikes it still, and the people only smile on it as excusing them from doing anything more for a 'TITHE-paid Clergy.'"—*Dr. Irons's Speech at Chichester.*

§ Compare Exodus xx. 13, with S. Matt. v. 22; and Exodus xx. 14, with S. Matt. v. 28.

|| "It is the custom of the heathen to offer tithe to their gods, e. g.

Exhort both our priests to receive, and the laity to pay, this their bounden duty to God, and at His Altar to offer up tithes.”* I have myself preached on “The Divine right of Christian Priests to receive offerings or hire.” In that sermon I pointed out that S. Paul, for prudential reasons only, merely “to cut off occasion from them who desired occasion,” took no wages of the Corinthians and Thessalonians. He laboured night and day because he would not be chargeable to any of them, yet he tells us that the other Apostles did receive hire, and that he also did at other times and places. “I robbed other churches—taking wages of them, to do you service.” “No man shall stop me of this boasting.” But why boast, if he had only refused to exact what was none of his due? I need hardly say that my conscience does not require me to relinquish this right in Queen’s Gate, though I have never yet *collected* customary “Easter dues”—and by consequence have rarely received any.† And further, to prevent my congregation from sup-

the Arabians and Phœnicians in Asia did so, among whom Melchisedec was king and Priest.” Leslie goes on to show that the sacred rule of religious tithe paying, known to patriarchal times, was almost universal among the various traditions which the heathen had derived from the primitive religion.

* ‘Leslie on Tithes,’ p. 156.

† “Shall we be more successful, then, if we speak of ‘EASTER offerings’? Here one would think High Churchmen and strict Rubricians would be united; for the Rubric (which is the law of the land), at the end of the Communion office requires ‘every Parishioner’ to pay EASTER offerings. Yet I have not heard that a ‘Society of strict Churchmen’ has been formed to ‘carry this out?’—and I believe EASTER offerings are actually unpaid in more than half the parishes of England.”—*Dr. Irons.*

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posing that because they worshipped in a free and open Church, they were at liberty to give or not give random offerings, I preached on the subject, "God did not ordain that His Priests should be merely supported by '*free-will* offerings,'" i. e. "voluntary" in the sense of "arbitrary" gifts.* God has not left Christians to prescribe for themselves the methods of His Worship in this respect.

* 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.—"I take it we have the highest warrant for that in the doctrine laid down in the Scripture that those who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. I do not agree with the mistranslation of the sentence by modern Voluntarism, that those who preach the Gospel should live 'on' the Gospel, and have nothing else to live upon. * * * * * Let me suppose the case of what would be called a tolerably wealthy rector—a man with 500*l.* or 600*l.* a year, who as things go in our Church is better off than two-thirds of his clerical brethren—I want to know on what principle, if the man's parish is a large one, on what principle have the laity a right to ask him to give 100*l.* a year out of his income for the services of a curate? Whom is he serving? He is serving the laity of the parish: he is doing their work. The common notion of a curate is that he is a man whom the rector hires for his own ease and comfort. If the rector wanted to study his own ease and comfort, the law of the land amply secures it to him, so long as he confines himself within the strictly legal obligations of his office. So long as he gives the laity of his parish as much and no more than the law of the land requires him to give in return for his income, he will not be overtaxed in almost any case by the work of his parish. He is legally bound to remain in that profession—that indelible profession which he has adopted, and which you forbid him to degrade by taking any other along with it. He is bound to marry, to bury, to christen, and perform certain services on Sunday, and to go to those among you who are sick and who send for him. There is the legal obligation and there is the legal equivalent, and you have no right to demand from him any more. But you do demand a vast deal more, and you are right. He has to you not only a legal obligation, but the deepest of all moral obligations, the deepest of all religious obligations: in the name of the Divine Master who placed him amongst you, he is bound to spend and be spent for you, not because he receives his salary, but because he has received the command of his Master and yours. You claim that he shall be more than the mere legal performer of the

“ *Even so hath the Lord ordained.*” There must be *a principle in giving.* If the Priests of the Temple were sure of a tenth, and *we* not of a hundredth, or of a thousandth part, or of any certain part,

legal duty ; you require that he shall be the friend and pastor of every one of you ; you require that he shall come to your sick beds, not as you send for him, but as he himself seeks it ; you require that he should do a vast amount of secular duty which might with much gain to the Church and all concerned be done by the laity ; you require all this, and this is his moral obligation to you. Have you no moral obligation to him in return ? You require from him an amount of duty which overtaxes his powers, and with it he cannot keep pace with the proper duties of his parish. Whose business is it, then, to find a curate, not to serve him, but to serve you ? I hope you will forgive me for saying I regard it simply as a mean thing for the laity of any parish to expect to take the work of two men out of one man, and give him only the payment to which one man is entitled. It is, therefore, clearly the duty of the laity to provide curates and helpers, not for the rector, but themselves and their own spiritual good. There is only one thing more I ask you to consider, and that is the principle upon which this aid, which I hope you will admit you are bound to give, is given by the society. I observe one word in the report—only one word—at which I should be disposed to take a slight exception. It is said this aid is to be provided upon the Voluntary system. Now, if the report had said it was to be provided by voluntary payments, I should agree with it ; but I protest most earnestly against the doctrine that payments given voluntarily must necessarily be distributed upon what is called the Voluntary system. The two things are essentially different. A voluntary gift may take the shape of permanent endowments ; the Voluntary system requires the clergyman to be paid by the congregation to whom he ministers, and it makes him the mere slave in things temporal of those to whom he is to be the teacher and pastor in things spiritual. Our whole national system is the result of the Voluntary principle, but there is not a particle of it worked upon the Voluntary system. *The Voluntary system degrades, the principle of endowments elevates, the clergyman. The Voluntary system makes him the slave of the mere fanaticism, passion, and ignorance of his flock ; while the endowed system gives him a standing-ground which elevates him above the passionate influences and mean petty spites of the hour, and enables him to stand a fearless pastor in the face of his people. To sum it up in one word—upon the endowed principle, it is Felix who sometimes trembles before Paul ; but upon the Voluntary system, it is Paul that is for ever trembling before Felix !*—*Bishop of Peterborough.*

how are we provided, *even so as* the Priests of the Temple? * Did the Lord ordain that every man should pay just what he pleased? If so, then Christ ordained here just nothing. Where is the comparison between the Gospel and the Altar? The truth is, that as God has reserved for His worship a seventh portion, *at least*, of our time, so has He reserved for Himself, *at least*, a tenth of our substance. "Of all the principalities in Hell, there is none like Mammon. Therefore God has, from the beginning, guarded us with great caution against this devil. He has commanded him to be sacrificed upon His Altar, and made that *a part of the worship of God.*"†—*Leslie on Tithes.*

Let me here quote from a sermon preached by me last year on Eph. v. 5. "*How easily money hoarded up or misspent makes a man an idolater.*"

"It is that you may know this important truth, that I have endeavoured to declare to you the whole counsel of God on this grave subject. I am

* Lord Chancellor Bacon declares it "a constitution of the Divine law, from which human laws cannot derogate, that those that serve at the altar should live of the altar; that those who dispense spiritual things should reap temporal things, in a proportion not small or necessitous, but plentiful and liberal."

† See also a striking Sermon by Dr. J. H. Newman on 'The Danger of Riches'; and a Sermon on the same subject by Dr. Pusey. "Who will say that not only the want of this Church might not on this very day be supplied, but all other wants of the poor in this place might not be at once easily removed, did we place our God where we set ourselves, His Kingdom and His Righteousness first, ourselves last; would each or even many *give out of the ability* which God hath given them? Rather let us consider our ways, **FIX AT LEAST SOME PORTION**, which shall be always God's."—*Dr. Pusey on 1 S. John iv. 16, 17.*

desirous to instruct you most fully, and I trust, with God's assistance, that I shall impress at least some persons with a higher sense of their duty in this respect as I hold before them the living page of God's Word. It is quite lamentable to know how very few make the Scriptures their rule of life. Who, in these days, take the Saints of the Bible, or the Blessed Jesus for their pattern? Who any more strive to do aught but what is right in their own mind? But most especially so, with regard to their use of the riches or good things which God has bestowed upon them. And yet everywhere is the inspired page telling us in one way or other to 'take heed, and beware of covetousness.' This is Christ's warning, and S. Paul repeats it again and again. '*This ye know*,' is his style of impressing the disciples with the unquestionable truth and importance of His exhortation. And what is this which they knew about 'covetousness'? What is 'covetousness'? It is not only the claiming more than one's due, the gaining an advantage over another, overreaching, selfish, greedy grasping, but it is also, and more literally, the 'HAVING MORE THAN ANOTHER'! What a light this throws upon the Divine warning of Jesus, 'Take heed and beware of covetousness'!

"It occurs to me, brethren, that some who hear these sermons will be inclined to think that I dwell too much and long upon what, after all, is a rather carnal than spiritual subject. That 'filthy

lucre' is not an elevating theme for Lent—that the duty, after all, is not of paramount importance. Are you sure of this? Our Master's Words would surely lead to a very different conclusion. If in these sermons you detect a single sentence advanced which is not a truth of God tested by His Word, then indeed you must pause. But I am persuaded that I do not overrate the importance of this subject, which, after all, is as appropriate to Lent as Prayer and Fasting, though usually placed last of the three. Moreover, so alarming do I consider the responsibility of money, both to rich and poor, that I think the greatest danger possible belongs to this, the really most tryingly spiritual, perhaps, of all the duties which the Christian owes his God. The shop, the office, and the exchange, in our English Babylon, may be surprised to find Mammon thus exalted. But Mammon is here, not to be worshipped, but to be sacrificed; aye, and that too upon the altar of God, as S. Paul intimates, 'for this ye know, that no covetous man, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in Christ's kingdom.' He appears empty before the Lord. He cannot worship God, because he has left his god at home, his money; and *there*, or in his household stuff, or in the mart, or exchange, he falls down and worships his god, of a truth, with all his heart, 'where his treasure is.' And yet, if one poor, wandering, fleeting soul, if but a single

soul be induced henceforth by what I have said, to give to God's Church in the way, on the principle, according to the proportion, laid down for him or her by that God Who knew what was in man, my labour and anxiety will have been well bestowed indeed. It will thus be seen that it is not I who speak, but, as Jesus promised, God Who speaketh in and by me ; so that, though these sayings here brought together be unpopular, being against the carnal mind, they are none the less true, and we can do nothing against the Truth. This word is built upon the Foundation Stone. Try it for yourselves. See how S. Paul builds upon Christ, the Sure Foundation. Thereon is builded the ' woe to the rich,' the express word of Jesus. Thereon is raised the praise of the lone widow and the poor. Commend as you will *fixed* endowments, pew-rents, or offertory, there is no *principle* in these. The Bible, the Gospel, the Foundation is broader and more Catholic. These *as such, as we understand them*, do not enter into our stewardship. It will never be asked you in judgment whether you paid your pew-rents, or put a shilling week by week into the offertory. You will never be asked in judgment whether you lived and got gains in a parish where the old fixed endowment covered all, and your conscience besides. There is no religious principle here. It seems almost absurd to put the matter in this way at all. How could God accept this as our service to Him

Who has bestowed all, and for all time has claimed a tenth as His due and your duty, whether that tenth be little or much, from the rich or from the poor? This is the least His Word requires.* Offerings short of this seem classed with theft† and sacrilege, having no blessing, according to saints and historians of all ages, from Abel the righteous to the present worshipper of God. For myself, I candidly own, that though I could *never* look upon the gift of riches without, in most cases, if not in every case, containing the special danger spoken of by Christ, I did not fully realize until I had given much attention to the subject for long and anxious years, how it could ever be possible to say that a covetous man was an idolater. I now see quite clearly how more than very easily possible this is. I can now understand with my whole heart how great is the sum of this teaching. How rather great is the blessing of being unburdened, and trusting even day by day, if so be, and year by year to Him ‘Who hears the raven’s one cry for all its wants.’‡ How great in return for this loving trust will be the recompense of reward for those whose ‘evil things’ of poverty the world now witnesses and scorns! Great, however, as evidencing also reliance on God, is the exalted feeling of refinement and subdued ecstasy in those who bestow their alms on the

* Mal. iii. 8, 9.

† “*Prædo Dei est, et fur, et latro, &c.*”—*Council of Hispalis, A.D. 590.*

‡ *Dr. Pusey’s Letter to the Bishop of London, 1851, p. 80.*

grand philosophical principle laid down by the Creator. And yet, let me not thus speak as if there were no higher path and steeper ascent for those who would follow Christ. How could I so think, when even of the Egyptians, Moses records that they paid one-fifth of their income to Pharaoh, exempting the land of their Priests, which was not sold during the famine. 'Only the land of the Priests Pharaoh bought not: and they eat their portion which he gave them.'

"Neither must you suppose that it is only from the Pulpit or the Bible that this teaching is inculcated. Society itself, aye, and the commercial classes themselves, own to the latent wisdom of higher generosity than is common in the world. In a journal* unused to a religious tone or theological compliment, recently published, I read, "Will the rich do what in them lies to bridge over that wide gulf between rich and poor, which led one of the most observant politicians of the age to write of them as 'the two nations'? Or when want and disease and misery make the poor man's life a burden to him, will they still leave him to the workhouse, the parson, and the parish doctor? If it is to be this latter choice, then God forbid *that the rich at any rate* should take part in this thanksgiving. In that case, they must learn their lesson in some rougher school—perhaps even have one day recorded against them the verdict of revolted

* '*Echo*,' as to the Thanksgiving Day.

society — ‘weighed in the balances and found wanting.’”

But let me now quote from a Christian writer on what he calls “*A Lost Act of Worship.*” “Men are to be taught (he says) that giving to the Lord is an essential part of Public Worship, quite as essential as singing or praying. They must recognize the alms-bag as an essential part of Church furniture, the putting of money into it as a devotional act,—called in the plain English of the Prayer Book,—‘the *Devotions* of the people.’

“The whole duty of giving has grown dim, the sense of responsibility for wealth dead in the minds of men. The Lord’s Treasury is like a beggar’s dish. The Clergy have grown cowardly about this part of Christian duty. When they urge it, it is with half arguments and cowardly compromises. They have a feeling that it almost degrades them to ‘dun for paltry money’ even in a good cause. So highly spiritual have we all become, that our religion must not even name filthy lucre!

“Meanwhile, there stands that solemn service of the Offertory, clear, bold, uncompromising, making *giving* a solemn act of religion; calling the offered thing by its old name ‘*a devotion*,’ bringing forward this act of piety to the forefront of the most spiritual service of the Church of God; and asking its performance as repentance and faith are

asked, as a preparation for the worthy reception of Christ's Holy Body and Blood."

One step higher. I suppose if there be any man among us who knows the Scriptures as God's revealed Will, that man is the author of a complete commentary on the Bible,* Christopher Wordsworth, the present Bishop of Lincoln. In his Christmas pastoral he says,—“ It needs no spirit of prophecy to foretell that we have a severe and searching trial before us. The uncertainty of the future ought to stir us up to make a good use of the present, and to abound more and more in good works. All our property is held by us in trust from God; and at the Great Day He will require of us a strict account how we have used it. May I be pardoned for saying to the laity, as well as the clergy,—or rather, is it not *a duty to say to them*,—that no owner of property can be said to be acting in obedience to God's Will, *as revealed in His Word*, or to be able to look forward with good hope to the Great Day of reckoning, if he does not set apart a tenth part of his income to the service of God, in the works of piety and charity. No one gives to God what he has not received from Him; and what is given back to Him, Who is the Giver of all, is the only substance which we shall never lose. It will be restored to us with abundant increase hereafter. Being thus rich toward God, we may look forward calmly to all times of trial. All worldly wealth will soon perish, all earthly

* Published at Rivington's.

institutions will pass away ; but treasure laid up in heaven will never fail ; and there is one institution that will never be destroyed—the Church of Christ. (St. Matt. xvi. 18). Let us spend and be spent for it, and then we may have good hope, that for the sake of Christ on Whom it is built, and by Whom it is upheld—we shall have an eternal mansion in that heavenly City which alone has unmoveable foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.”

Instead of adding further words of my own, I conclude with a few extracts from ‘*The Experiences of a Church Plate*,’ by the late incumbent of Christ Church, Worthing. Speaking in the person of that vehicle of offertory, he says, ‘Well do I remember that sermon.* I thought it strange that the good minister should have to plead so earnestly for so small a sum, when there were so many rich people in the Church. But he had not done. I was roused from my reflections by a change in his voice, which had hitherto been sweet and soft, and almost plaintive in its tone. Now it became deep, and slowly and solemnly there rolled through the Church awful declarations of curses, which wait, by God’s decree, upon misspent and withholden wealth. I heard that ‘man was his brother’s keeper whether he would or no’ ; and that wealth would meet men before the judgment seat, and would speak with voices sharp and shrill ; and would bind itself to men for eternity, with molten

* A particular “Charity Sermon.”

heat or gnawing rust; when they would fling it from them with a curse if they could. Down, down, ever deeper, deeper, sinking into abysses of darkness, I fancied I could see them, their hoarded heaps bound tightly to them, and plunging them into unknown depths, as heavy cannon-shot sink a corpse at sea! Our collection was to be made at the door;—already half-a-dozen people had managed to slip off, though the Churchwarden was very quick. On reaching the door, I found that the sunbeam was in reality a figure, and that it now stood beside me. The pen was dipped in the golden ink-horn; the scroll was unrolled, and the recording angel prepared to write. Some of the poor rushed out rudely. * * * * * Do not think, however, that all was dark. No, no; there was a penny that was saved during the week by blowing out the candle and rocking the cradle by the light of the few embers on the hearth; there was another penny that came from overtime at work; and another that had been specially earned for this occasion. And that threepenny piece! I saw the figure by my side look hard at the threadbare man that put it in; and the pen flew rapidly over the scroll like a sunbeam. Well it might: for that threadbare man had pinched himself hard to make up that little coin, and had offered it before the throne in heaven ere he cast it in on earth. The old man's granddaughter now that he was losing his sight, read to him out of the Bible, and as she read with the voice of her dead mother—the old

man's only child—he thought the sweet words were whispered to him from another world; and then he saw, far, far away beyond the stars and clouds, and all that meets the mortal eye—far, far away into the golden city where friends separate no more; and how could he receive all this blessing, and not give all he could to show his gratitude in deeds?

“About two months before, the plate went round from seat to seat, till it came to a lady just as she was singing out with all her might, ‘Fly abroad, thou glorious Gospel!’ The Churchwarden was determined not to let her off, so he kept poking the plate in front of her, while she, on her part, kept singing out, ‘Fly abroad! fly abroad!’ But ah! she gave nothing to help it to fly—singing one thing, acting another! The next individual was a tradesman, and a tradesman he wished to be thought. When he entered upon business, he made up his mind to lay by the tenth of his profits. Happy man! he had always a kind of spring about him at his work. ‘It is a fine thing,’ said I to myself, ‘to act on principle—that’s what does the work in the long run!’ ‘Oilstone’* and his party came on in due time. He gave a sovereign, for the Churchwarden knew him; and he was afraid he would talk if he put in only a shilling; and the sweet pale-faced girl dropped in a new bank-note for 5*l.*, being *one-half* of her birthday present,

* A fictitious name in this writer's supposed drama.

and the footman in red plush looked knowingly at me, as much as to say, 'Well, my friend, how are you getting on?' I wish he had given something; but I found that servants too often think they need not give, as if they had no Master to reward them in heaven. I shall go on at my work until the day comes for all accounts to be made up; then, I believe, I shall have a voice to speak; and I shall see some who made to themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; and some who shall experience throughout eternity those fearful words which I heard the minister read that day, 'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire.' Thus shall it be said to many a rich man, and to many a poor man with but one talent (*but that one unused*) shall come these awful words: 'Cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'"

But leaving this eloquent tract, let me turn your thoughts to words spoken in the cause of Missions, in which you are warmly interested. In a sermon preached by the late Metropolitan Bishop of Cape-town at S. Lawrence, Jewry, we read, "There must be more plain speaking, especially so far as the rich

are concerned, with regard to present shortcomings* as to God's claims upon their substance. The fact is, that our standard as to offerings to God is a miserably low one. It is, in my belief, below that of other religious bodies around us. God requires OF ALL a tenth as a payment to be made to Him. We cannot offer anything as a free-will offering till this debt is paid. Do the Clergy teach their people this? If not, do they not keep back part of the counsel of God, from whatever motive or feeling? It seems to me that the Clergy shrink from this unpleasant portion of their teaching, lest they should be suspected of mercenary motives. For schools, for the poor, for Missions, they† give beyond their proper due, and shrink from pressing their obligations upon others. And it is cowardice that leads to this. If the Church be deprived of her

* It has been objected to me, that at first persons may give liberally to the offertory, but by-and-by when they find out that one pound will do as well as five,—ten shillings as well as twenty,—a shilling as well as half-a-crown, permanent success will fail to be secured. Just this is my experience. When giving week by week is new to fresh comers, they contribute fairly; but in twelvemonths or two years they get tired of giving so frequently; and naturally, because they never gave on any principle. After an unhappy parish meeting in the week, I have known the offertory drop down about 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ on the following Sunday.

† The late Archbishop of Canterbury stated, on May 11, 1868, that of the 500,000 £ . paid to Curates in England and Wales, at least *four-fifths* are contributed by the Clergy themselves, leaving only *one-fifth* contributed by the laity! The present Bishop of Durham, in his first Charge, said he well knew that the clergyman's hand was always in his pocket for the relief of others. "It is one of the evils of the Church at home that so many of the Clergy spend on their parishes and on their schools *far more than they receive for their own services*."—'*Under His Banner*,' p. 428.

property, she will not hold her present position in the land; still less will she recover her alienated children, unless her members give more largely than they now do,* and in a graduated scale, rising in proportion with their wealth. No Church could live disendowed, whose members look contentedly on while poor incumbents pay their curates' stipends to provide additional means of grace for their congregations, as is the fact now in many thousand cases; they themselves having a bare subsistence,—their parishioners abounding in this world's goods. . . . Large sums are contributed for Missions in this land, but where do they come from? From the Clergy, from the poor, from the middle classes. What do our nobility, our wealthy merchants, our landed gentry, give? As classes, very little."

Most deeply do I echo the sentiments of the Archbishop, who, in spite of the money troubles of 1868, said, "As long as I live, I shall watch with deep anxiety and interest the growth of a spirit of almsgiving,—of giving for the glory of God and the welfare of His people. I do hope

* "The financial embarrassment which the Church of England now suffers is mainly owing to a long decay of old munificence, which with too many is a *dereliction of most bounden duty*; and while the ratio of the Church's wealth is constantly decreased, it is pretended to increase her power by frittering her estate, so that, having triumphed over the heavy blows of old rapacity, she is now to incur the danger of having her energies fatally impaired by the ungrateful disloyalty of modern meanness."—See Eccclus. xxxv. 8–10—The tithes of the Law and offertory of the Gospel too.

that we shall be able by the weekly offertory to teach the laity how great a duty and a privilege systematic almsgiving really is."

No reader of God's Word can help being struck with the unceasing injunctions, first in the Old Testament and equally implied in the New, not to "appear empty before the Lord," whilst, by way of warning, Achan is the alarming frontispiece in the older dispensation, Ananias and Sapphira in ours.

I have said (p. 16) that the payment of tithe was universally observed even by the heathen. It is also certain that tithes were paid in the Apostles' days, and in the first ages of Christianity, and were dedicated even by vows in our own country from the earliest times. If it be asked why the Apostles did not plainly demand tithes or build Churches, the answer is simple,—It was not for them prematurely to stir the jealous animosity of the Jewish Priests. They were led by Providence.* At all events, the first disciples obeyed a *literal* command of Christ, when they gave up, not only a tenth, but *all* to the Apostles. And this "devotion of the people" continued many years, as Justin Martyr† and Irenæus‡ witness. S. Cyprian, A.D. 240, complains of the cooling of the charity of

* Surely our offertory texts are enough to the point—1 Cor. ix. 7, 11, 13, 14; Gal. vi. 6, 7.

† 160 years after Christ.

‡ S. Irenæus was a disciple of S. Polycarp, who was disciple to S. John the Apostle.

some, though "he contributed at one time, out of the oblations of the Carthaginian Christians, a hundred thousand sestertiums towards the relief of some Christian captives," and S. Chrysostom, who lived at the end of the fourth century, mentions how the envied affluence of the Church "grew only out of Christian devotion."

This brings me to consider what is possibly an objection in the minds of some. If, say they, we were to pay all our tithes in Church, our Clergymen would be too rich. Though I have not the slightest fear of any such difficulty occurring in this locality, I can say with confidence that the Priests are as fully capable of rightly expending their "professional incomes," and are as likely to do so, as any of those persons to whom they "minister about holy things." This objection proves too much. God's law should be left to work itself. Some persons begin to say (I have no sympathy with the remark) that we have too many Clergy! Perhaps we have too many ill-paid and poorly educated for the Ministry.* Some would have fewer and better men, better rewarded.† There may be something to say for such a view when we know what is the misery

* "The demand for more Clergy is already urgent, but is likely to become much more so. Many causes, doubtless, have contributed to the increasing dearth of qualified candidates for holy orders,—such as the enlarged competition of other liberal callings,—the discouragement of churchmanship, and fear of ecclesiastical learning, among the public; but no doubt *the inadequate remuneration of the Clergy as a body is one cause.*"—*Dr. Irons.*

† S. Luke x. 7.

and destitution of so many of our poor English Priests,* and what are the melancholy revelations of "poor Clergy Relief societies," and how inadequately such subsidiary institutions remedy the evil. They can never remove the reproach. Neither must we forget that the outcry against tithes is *the effort of nonconformists to overthrow the Clergy.*

"Again and again, then, I ask, *how is a National Clergy of 20,000 men to be paid?*—and how can you do with a smaller number, in the midst of a growing population? You call for Clergy; and what do you want?—Your model Clergyman—(even if you dispense awhile with learning—a plan, however, which cannot long last)—must be a good preacher to begin with—he must be acceptable to the sick—kind to the poor—agreeable to the gentry—charitable to the destitute—ready to manage (and often half endow) 'the Charities'—willing to take part of his standard of 'truth' from his vestry, and sometimes his 'ritual' from his Churchwardens; and—PAY HIMSELF!

"Yet England will certainly find out that it is

* "We can have no great missionary movement to meet this (spiritual destitution), without *men*; but we believe we should have many useful men if we would 'give the labourer his hire.' . . . It is notorious, too, that a clergyman in debt is the least pitied of any man, nor has he, commonly, any resource to apply to. A useful clergy *must be a clergy adequately supported*, and the tithe provision alone will meet this, and meet it in a way that will link the interests of all ranks and classes of the people in one. A tithe-paying laity would provide from among themselves an active and painstaking priesthood."—*Sermon on Genesis xiv. 20, by the Rev. Dr. Irons.*

far costlier to leave the work of encouraging and paying her Clergy undone, than to *do it*.”*

Not the smallest objection, then, to the Offertory System, as it is called, is the anxiety which week by week, nay, day by day, falls upon the incumbent. It is urged by one class of objectors, that a small endowment of, say, one or two hundred pounds in no way represents the tithing and oblations of a congregation, and is not an adequate return to the Minister for his time and labours. Upon him devolves the duty of ministering to the necessities of the poor, he is in a measure responsible for all the charities connected with his work—the schools, at perhaps an annual cost of hundreds of pounds—the money interest and augmentation of the various benefits or clubs which may be set afoot in his parish—as well as the responsibility of providing stipends for those who labour with him. They would have us remember too that the key-stone principle of the voluntary plan forbids any spasmodic effort of charity being made, such as special sermons advertised for this or that; its bold watchword, they say, is the Scripture motto of the unflinching Paul, “There shall be no such gatherings!” *Every* Lord’s-day ye shall lay by either all that the Lord has given you over, or *according as* He has prospered you in the week past. That will supply all needs. That shall cover all charities. That

* Speech by Dr. Irons at Chichester.

shall provide things *honest* in the sight of all men. It shall give steadiness to the voice of the Messenger of Peace. It shall give firmness to the hand that wounds but to heal—that may have to apply the caustic of His fearful judgments, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. All this is quite true. But the answer is, Assert God's law of tithe, as I have here attempted to vindicate it.

How unworthy then is the spectacle when a Priest weighed down with the spiritual burden of his people,—early and late, calling no hour his own but that in which he is found at the bedside of the dying, or helping to break the bonds of sins, or counselling the young, or trying to recover the fallen—(one may scarcely refer to those wearing and soul-harrowing hours of prayer and thought, of study, and fervent desire, when line upon line, as moved by the Spirit, the Minister of God prepares his own mind and heart for his solemn utterances to the people)—I say again, how degrading the spectacle when those who labour thus in the Lord are to be worn down by the oppression of worldly things, of which the Apostle with just scorn has said, “If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your worldly things?” Possibly it is in order to be rid of this anxiety that some beneficed persons have bartered their whole offertories to the Churchwardens, or to a self-chosen

committee, and received in lieu thereof a *guaranteed sum* yearly! It sorely puzzles me to know upon what principle or precedent this can be done, whether human or Divine, civil or Ecclesiastical. It seems to me a kind of *simony post factum*, thus to traffic with the "offerings and devotions of the people."

Here in England tithes have been established by all the authority, both ecclesiastical and civil, that this nation could afford, *even up to the present time*. The express vows of Kings and Parliaments, Magna Charta, and all our laws, charge the people, upon their Christianity, to pay tithes.* Had they done so, we should have heard less of the question now so frequently and tauntingly asked, "What has alienated 'the masses' from the Church of their fathers?" Some have made answer, "Pew-rents have done this;" as if the majority of our Churches were pew-rented! It is only in large towns that we meet with pew-rents in Church. I ask, would not the payment of tithes render pew-rents unnecessary? Moreover, why should our forefathers have paid tithes of land, while the wealthy City merchant, the banker, and prosperous tradesman pay none? But even supposing the Church ever maintained so great a hold upon "the masses" as often represented, is not present alienation rather attributable to the inability of the Clergy to relieve the crying want either of

* Righteously advocated by the present "Tithe Redemption Trust."

themselves or the poor*—than to the consequent tax for the poor—and especially to those hateful buildings whose ugliness frowns upon distress of soul or body, called Unions and Workhouses, where pauper governs pauper with no gentle sway, and within whose clammy walls fellow-feeling is numbed, and the love of Christ locked up in the stuffy chapel den from Monday to Saturday? Compare the present state of things to that when the Church was the home of the poor—when they were cared for by the Clergy and Bishops—when there were religious infirmaries for the sick and superannuate—work for the able-bodied—trades for the youths—learning for the more intelligent.—“I doubt not there were faults among the Clergy then. The monks may have been sinners, but their Visitors were no saints!”†

I trust, my dear —, that you will now understand why I cannot possibly set before my people any standard or principle of my own upon which to give alms. I could never do so, under any circumstances. There is the Bible—the Gospel—

* In the past week I might very well have given to *my own distressed people* considerably more than the whole week's offertories amount to. Had such relief been possible, would not hearts bowed with anguish, sorely grieved, have been thereby, “as by the cords of a man,” drawn nearer to the Church—nearer eventually to God?—Many a political economist might say, This is a wrong principle and might pauperize the lower classes. I reply, Yes; on the principle of “Charity Organization” it might, but not on the religious principle of the Church.

† Leslie, p. 163.

the Church standard. Let them take that for their rule. "All that I set in order"—namely, an income for the Vicar, stipends for the assistant Clergy, payments to organist, and choir, and so on—are but self-created arrangements of an arbitrary nature. I can alter them when and as I please. But I cannot alter the Divine principle or rules laid down for almsgiving to God, "ordained by the Lord," whether in any particular case the amount be small or large. Printed statements also, even when understood, tend to lead persons away from the true Gospel principle. For this I cannot be responsible, even at the risk of inconsiderate persons imagining that sermons on this duty of almsgiving are preached for my own sole benefit, and that all the offertories go to the minister. I should not be overburdened with wealth if this were so. Very contrary to this, however, is the case: I am compelled to be very careful, and always anxious how I suffer any increase in the weekly expenses of the Church, &c., much as I desire to make our services more costly and effective.

But I will now mention what presses very much upon my mind and heart in this matter. I have long known that our total offertory receipts do not amount by about one-half to the receipts for pew-rents and charities in other Churches in less favoured, I mean less wealthy, districts. This statement must not be interpreted to mean that

I wish to establish pew-rents in addition to the offertory.* Still there lies the fact before me, unpopular though it be even to mention pews or appropriation,† that upwards of 1000*l.* a year is lost annually to the Church (I do not say by the so-called "offertory system") at S. Augustine's. I speak of facts. I know that in a pew-rented Church as much is given to the offertory as in a "free and open Church," if not more; and naturally so, because, where there are pews, the vicar has a stronger hold upon the congregation, knows their addresses, and can plead vigorously for many different institutions. At Christmas in a *pew-rented* Church not far off, the offertory amounted to 41*l.*, whereas at S. Augustine's the four offertories, on December 25th, amounted to 36*l.* The church was *crowded*, and there were several hundred communicants. The next six offertories after this amounted respectively to 3*s.* 8*d.*; 10*s.* 3*d.*; 13*s.* 7*d.*; 13*s.* 3*d.*; 16*s.* 9*d.*; 10*s.* 3*d.*‡ I am aware that it

* As at All Saints, Notting Hill; S. Philip and S. James's, Kensington; S. Stephen's, Lewisham, &c.

† "The Rev. B. Webb, the vicar, said he was compelled to say that he had lost his faith in what was called the free and open church movement. The services of his church had proved so attractive that it was impossible to make adequate arrangements for the congregations. With the assistance of the Rev. Canon Cook he had gone thoroughly into the matter, and he did not find that it was the practice of the primitive Church to throw open churches indiscriminately to all comers, and in future the seats of S. Andrew's would be to a great extent assigned to the parishioners and communicants."

‡ "The privacy of every man's gift is sacred, but there are among the coins of the great treasury several besides those which bear the imprint of love and faith; there are not only the two mites but the

may be objected that all this is owing to my own fault in not continuing the yearly issue of a statement or balance-sheet. Can it be thought that I am so inconsistent as to complain that the offertories are too small, and yet hesitate to employ so simple a means of increasing them? But besides being bad in principle, the balance-sheet has not increased the offertory* proportionately as our expenses have in-

genteel silver coins of smallest value (or bright farthings), bearing on them the brand of the foolish fraud which would have them pass current with Omniscience instead of the gold that was squandered or grudged; and worse than these, the gifts of the rich men, who make their scanty alms the means of punishing the priest through the poverty of the altar he serves. Surely the man who stints his alms to exhibit the petulance of his displeasure, whatever may be his boasted Churchmanship, sinks to the lowest level of the bigot and the knave, for he makes what should be his charity an exhibition of temper and vindictiveness under the hypocritical semblance of an offering to God."—*Abuses of the Offertory.*

"The table which I subjoin will show you that the money collected at the Offertory has been gradually getting less and less for the last four years. But the expenses do not decrease, and cannot decrease if work is to be done. You will see that we start with a debt of 341*l*. The utmost economy is exercised, so that, if we are not supported by those who have the power and the will to help, some part of our work will have to be given up.

"We get rich-looking people here sometimes of a Sunday morning, but, to judge by their alms, they must spend all their money to put silks and lace on their backs and jewels on their fingers."—*Rev. A. H. Mackonochie.*

* There are printed statements and written lists of the subscribers to the Organ Fund, also to the Lectern and other funds, but I do not find that these public or printed statements help to augment the receipts. Then, again, our parochial schools are almost always in debt, so much so that it is often difficult to determine whether or not we ought any longer to keep them open. Yet this charity has a lay Committee, lay Treasurer, and lay Secretary. I only profess myself to look after the spiritual teaching of the schools, saving that I occasionally give an offertory,—often in church solicit subscriptions. Still they thrive not *financially*. The Inspector's report, the attendance, and teaching, as at

creased. Certainly the sermons I preached last Lent had a great effect in augmenting the funds of the Church. But I cannot be expected to repeat such sermons year by year to the neglect of other equally important teaching. The majority of persons who might read a balance-sheet which has, say, 900*l.* or 1000*l.* total on it, will, I am convinced, be quite satisfied with their share of the voluntary effort, no matter what the expenditure has been, and will, moreover, have had the pleasure of an easier path set before them by their Priest—the path of no responsibility—almsgiving upon no principle at all.

Before concluding, I will briefly allude to the supposed success, first, of those of my brethren whose people swell the sum-total of their offertories by giving all their gifts for Church-building, &c., through the offertory, not unfrequently under the stimulus of a debt of many thousands of pounds on their work! It is certainly most proper, as I have shown, that gifts for Church purposes should be given through the offertory; but still such amounts cannot be reckoned in the general fund for the expenses of the services, maintenance of the Clergy, &c. With regard to the stimulus of debt, I much prefer S. Paul's maxim, "Owe no man anything." As another means of increasing the offertories, it is sometimes hinted that if the Vicar were person-

Church, are all that can be fairly desired or expected. And surely no one can say that there is any lack of business propriety, circumspection, and management, so far as the finances are concerned. The main flaw is that our kind Treasurer is too often or continuously out of pocket for us

ally to solicit subscriptions for this or that—and were more to importune his people by frequent attentions and calling at their houses, things might be more prosperous. I am always glad to bestow so much of my time as I can spare from visits to the sick and dying, and from reading and study in the work of the ministry, to call on members of my congregation when I know their addresses, and that my visits will not be thought intrusive. Still, I can never do so with this view. “I cannot dig—to beg I am ashamed,” even “in a good cause,” as people talk. I do not condemn other Priests who solicit people at their houses.* I only say that I can never do so myself as long as I live. Indeed, when I preach a sermon on almsgiving, it is rarely for any definite object there and then to be assisted, and should prefer not to collect even the usual offertory on such occasions.

In conclusion. It is true, perhaps, that I have experienced at S. Augustine’s certain objections to the offertory system. But what then? Are there not difficulties in the way of all kinds of payments for Church purposes in these unfaithful days? Are there not, for instance, many objections to

* “The want of an endowment (as Sir G. Cornwall Lewis well remarked) necessarily tends to induce a clergyman to use his religious influence in order to gain an ascendancy over the minds of his congregation, and to use that ascendancy in order to gain money.”—*Quoted in the April Quarterly*, 1868.

The four orders of Friars were dependent upon the voluntary alms of the people for support. Therefore these wandering preachers were tempted to cultivate the arts of popularity for the sake of larger alms,

what is called the pew-system? But what of this? The fault of the system lies with those who abuse it, not necessarily in the system itself or those who promote its use. As for my own course in all these matters, "conferring not with flesh and blood," I determined at the outset, to do in this place the truest, highest, and most needed work which God should direct me to do, without troubling myself about *possible results*. For this I humbly pray His guidance still. Single-handed, but with the consent of the Bishop and my two superior Incumbents, I resolved upon this course as that dictated by true faith in God and His Church. Therefore, whatever objections may lie against the Offertory system, which of my own free will I have here adopted,—and I admit there *are* objections, still these, I believe, may and should be removed by faithful worshippers, without having recourse to pew-rents, or appropriation, or bartering the offerings of the people. That there is room for fraud, no one will deny—the Offertory is a private treasury—in the Offertory bag bad silver, foreign copper, bright farthings, no gold, and even pretended sham offerings (putting in the finger and thumb and dropping nothing), are concealed. There is but little to reveal the amount of your offerings except to myself.—Hundreds who worship at S. Augustine's do not give according to their means; still, there is no open plate, no public supplemental list, no frequent

charity sermon, to rebuke their unfaithfulness and sin. They are left to God and their own conscience; and it is best that they should so be left. This is no objection to the system itself, but rather the contrary. It is true, moreover, that there is no rubric, no canon of the Church which authorizes us, either at morning, afternoon, or evening prayer, thus to make collections; but only at the Communion-office—still, I have adopted the “Offertory system” here, as a permissible one, and though there is this frequent temptation to come before the Lord empty, and to pass the bag without contributing, still the same objection might be urged against the frequent daily use of the Lord’s Prayer and frequent fasting, as against frequent almsgiving—namely, that Christians abuse their privileges. Here you have the opportunity of giving to the Lord, in support of the Church, her ministers, her services, her poor, her material fabric; and neither the privacy nor the frequency are real obstacles, but constant monitors and solemn exhorters to your devotion. Indeed, it is better that there should always be, as well as certain known days of fastings, certain places and times of public prayer, the treasury of the Lord always open for your deliberate, premeditated, frequent charity. This is true charity. This the apostolic injunction, “Let everyone of you lay by in store as God prospers you, week by week.”

It is my duty to prepare souls for eternity by

exhorting them to the good work of almsgiving, no less than to all other Christian virtues, and I humbly trust, as I pray God's Holy Spirit to "give me a right judgment in all things," that in this important duty "I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."

Believe me to be,

My dear —,

Very faithfully yours,

R. R. CHOPE.

WILTON HOUSE, HEREFORD SQUARE, SOUTH KENSINGTON,
EPIPHANY, 1873.

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PREFACE.

To a religious, truth-seeking, contemplative mind, the present aspect of Orthodox Christianity is extremely unsatisfactory. The existence of High-Church, Low-Church, Puseyism, Romanism, and many other isms, is sufficient evidence that Orthodoxy is incompatible with truth and progress.

It is a serious fact that, in matters religious, the mass of mankind (unconsciously) prefer falsehood to truth. Thoughtless, unreasoning, credulous, they neither appreciate nor comprehend the utility and beauty of truth; falsehood, gaily attired, is more attractive to them, and receives the homage due to her august rival—plain truth.

Wedded to the belief of special and miraculous Bible inspiration and Bible infallibility, Orthodox Christendom blindly adheres to a system of false creeds.

Writing in the highest interests of humanity, I have endeavoured, in the following pages, to prove that Orthodox Christianity is a huge and pernicious error, alike derogatory to God and hurtful to man.

Not finding among the various Churches of Christendom a name sufficiently comprehensive to express my religious opinions, I have assumed one, which, while it holds fast to true Christianity, allows the utmost freedom of thought: *Rational Christian*.

This denomination may be consistently and satisfactorily adopted by every Christian who submits the doctrines of Scripture to the touchstone of reason.

The reign of universal peace and prosperity is to be realised only by the universal adoption of *rational religion*; *that* will ultimately be the saviour of humanity.

THE AUTHOR.

Canterbury, 1872.

RATIONAL CHRISTIANITY.

RATIONAL RELIGION involves an inquiry concerning Time, Space, Nature, Scripture, Deity. Right conceptions on these matters are of vast importance to the physical, mental, and moral interests of Man. Christendom would have been spared rivers of human blood *had her religion been simply rational*. Myriads of men and women, overwhelmed by the terrors of Orthodox Christianity, have lapsed into despondency, imbecility, and insanity, through misconception of the Divine character. Gross immorality has resulted from, and been fostered by, false systems of religion. The one great want of the world is a Rational, Pure, and Universal Faith; one that shall knit man to man, and nation to nation, in strong ties of religious friendship. To promote the realisation of this great desideratum, I venture on the following brief discussion. A dispassionate perusal of my arguments will, I think, result in conviction of their soundness.

My subject embraces three main points of inquiry,—

First—WAS THE UNIVERSE CREATED?

Secondly—WHAT ARE THE ATTRIBUTES OF DEITY?

Thirdly—WHAT IS RATIONAL, OR TRUE RELIGION?

First: Was the Universe Created?

To elucidate this subject it will be necessary to describe the nature of Time. Time has been variously defined, but I think it may be most forcibly represented by an imaginary straight line, or chain, extending equally right and left through space interminably for ever. The past, the present, and the future are linked together by an unbroken chain. The future of to-day becomes the present and the past of to-morrow. With majestic and eternal silence, time has been ever flowing onwards. It is as natural that time should be without limits, as that infinite space should be without bounds. The idea has prevailed for ages that the line of time may be severed, that time may be really divided, stopped, and annihilated; that it could begin to be, and will have an end. This idea has arisen from a misconception of the nature of time. Because men have divided time into days, months, years, and centuries, they have imagined that any given epoch was a real division of time, forgetting that epochs, like milestones on the highway, are simply meters or indicators, and do not break the line of time. The present popular idea of time is that it began to be, and will have an end; that its birth dates from what is commonly called the "Creation," and that it will expire at a grand and final consummation of all things, when "time shall be no longer." This established opinion is based on express declarations, and the general tenour of Holy Writ. Now, from the very nature of time, it must be co-eval with space, eternal, and therefore uncreated. If, then, two entities exist which have eternally existed, the inference is that a third entity may exist, which, like time and space, is uncreated, viz., matter. I am aware that millions of good Christians consider it impious to doubt the creation of matter; but if it can be shown that the belief in the creation of matter involves an admission far more repugnant to reason and common sense than the simple belief in the eternity of matter, the only reasonable alternative is to accept the latter theory.

It was an axiom of ancient philosophers that "out of nothing nothing comes." To believe that an entity can be evolved from a non-entity, a substance from less than shadow, is to have faith con-

trary to reason and our every-day experience of the laws of matter. Man cannot conceive the *modus operandi*, nor even the possibility of absolute creation,—the production of the vast universe out of sheer empty, universal space. Our intellect recoils from an admission so obviously erroneous and absurd.

We must admit that time and space are uncreated. I think it needs no argument to prove that God also is uncreated, for, by those who believe in God, that proposition is universally admitted to be true. Here, then, we have three distinct eternal entities, the Deity, Time, and Space. I contend for a fourth,—Uncreated Matter.

Orthodox Christendom maintains that matter *was* created, and pins its faith to the first verse of the book of Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." In the beginning! Ponder these words, and mark the extraordinary deduction forced upon us by the literal interpretation of them. The words imply the non-existence of matter up to that period of time designated the "beginning." Admit the possibility of a beginning, and you are involved in a dilemma. On the hypothesis that matter *was* created, the date of creation would have been the first fact in the history of Nature, and would constitute an epoch dividing time past and time future into two equal portions (the past and future of eternity being always equal from any given point of time). It follows then, that, during the whole of this vast, immeasurable, inconceivable moiety of eternity, the Deity was the sole inhabitant of universal space, was practically inactive, asleep, or simply absorbed in the contemplation of the mighty future. Can any reflective mind entertain the idea that the essentially active attributes of the Infinite should lie dormant during a moiety of his existence? That the Eternal God, a being naturally of infinite knowledge and might, should spend one half of his existence, in indolence, total inactivity, is beyond the limits of human credulity; it is therefore far more easy to conceive and rational to believe that universal matter is co-eval with the Deity, and that He has eternally acted upon it. Driven to the choice of one or the other of these two hypotheses, I must, in obedience to the dictates of my reason, adopt the latter; and so strong is the presumption that the universe of matter is uncreated, that demonstration, were it possible, would be unnecessary.

The universe, being uncreated, cannot be annihilated. History affords no evidence of creation or annihilation. We observe in

Nature only *construction* and *destruction*. In Nature we observe numberless objects of exquisite beauty and wonderful mechanism ; but all these objects are the results of pre-existing elements, and when they have fulfilled their appointed destiny they are destroyed, that is, they are decomposed and dissipated, to be used again in new combinations.

Matter being eternal, it possibly possessed inherent properties. Motion may be one of those properties. Matter is never at rest. Whether it be solid, fluid, or gaseous, its atoms are in constant activity, acting and re-acting on one another. Visible matter, so far as comes within human ken, is divided into vast globes, and as "Nature abhors a vacuum," probably they extend through universal space. Now, was this the primordial, or secondary condition of matter ? Have these globes eternally rolled through space as they do now, or were they ever united in a vast confused mass or masses, and subsequently separated and organised by an intelligent being having the requisite power to do so ? The globe we inhabit, examined geologically, exhibits traces of vast changes having occurred on its surface ; and as men of science can convert all solids into fluids or gases, this fact, combined with strong presumptive evidence, leads to the conclusion that our world was formerly in a gaseous condition, and that probably every sphere in existence was formerly, if not originally, in a similar state.

I have said that matter is eternal, and that motion *may* have been one of its attributes ; it may, therefore, be asked ; Is not this attribute of matter sufficient to account for all the phenomena of Nature ? My answer is an emphatic negative. A power exists superior to that of matter,—Mind. Probably the mind of God acts independently of any organisation ; but the mind of man is the result of a combination of matter called brain, and in proportion to the quantity, quality, and configuration of a man's brain, so is his intellectual capacity. All sentient beings have mind, but in different proportions, in this world man having the largest endowment. Reasoning from analogy I presume there may exist more exalted beings than man ; and influenced by the evidences presented to my mind by the general aspect of Nature, I am unavoidably impelled to the fullest conviction that there *must* exist an Infinite Mind,—a God. We find that *man* has considerable power over material and animate Nature. He can compel them to minister to all his ne-

cessary wants and reasonable wishes. By the use of his mental faculties he can dive into the secrets of Nature, reveal and utilise her laws, traverse the air and the sea, employ the lightning as his swift messenger, measure and weigh the stars, build houses and temples, and embellish them with beautiful works of art. If, then, finite man is gifted with such mighty power over Nature, how vast must be His power who formed out of matter that wondrous creature Man, and all the stars of heaven ! Observing that our globe presents evidences of progressive development, that man is still a progressive being, I am led to think that matter, if not primordially, has at one or more times been in a chaotic state, and that it has been the will and pleasure of God, following out the impulses and powers of His nature, to frame the heaven and the earth out of chaotic matter, and people them with intelligent and happy beings.

Matter being visible and tangible, we can investigate its nature and laws. Unorganised matter is under bondage ; it acts from necessity, and cannot act otherwise. It is comparatively inert. It has no volition, intelligence, or constructive power ; it is still more or less chaotic. Acted upon by the mind and hand of man, its rude elements become things of utility and beauty. Cities spring out of the earth, ships speed over the sea, steam engines traverse the land. Acted upon by the will and power of the Almighty, chaos becomes order, the face of Nature resplendent with varied beauty ; man, beast, bird, fish, are formed, instinct with life and bliss. Well may the Psalmist exclaim, " The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." Now, as actions speak louder than words, and man is proverbially known by his deeds, the same may be said of the Almighty. We find that man can do many wonderful things. He can construct a locomotive steam engine, and while he feeds and guides it, it will travel at his bidding ; but he cannot give it life, will, and self-acting power. He can mould exquisite imitations of the lily and the rose, but he cannot invest them with life, and a power of reproduction. His power and skill are limited, he is a finite and dependent being—obviously we must look for a higher being than man to account for the present constitution of the universe. The spider constructs its web, the bird its nest, and man his house. Structures come not by chance, they are the result of design ; and design is an attribute of mind, not of matter. Man is the most intelligent being that we have much knowledge of.

Possibly, "Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep." But we know them not. There may be archangels, and a hierarchy of celestial beings, but they are known only to imagination, poetry, or fiction. Did they exist, their powers would be finite, and we cannot conceive of a power less than infinite, capable of organising myriads of peopled worlds out of chaotic matter.

It may be thought that we rob the Deity of His chief glory by denying him the attribute of absolute creative power. Not at all, because, being the truth, it cannot be derogatory.

It has been asserted that *man* has a creative faculty, and that *e.g.*, a poem is a veritable creation. I dispute the truth of the proposition. A poem is an assemblage of ideas derived from natural objects, &c., piled up in symmetrical order, on the same principle as that employed in the construction of a temple. The materials with which the temple is to be built lie scattered and distant, and must be brought appropriately together ere harmony, beauty, and utility can be realised: so with the thoughts of the poem, they must be collected, arranged, and blended by the industry and art of the poet ere a complete and useful result can be accomplished. The two cases are perfectly parallel, both being results of construction, not of creation. Whence the idea of construction? It is part of our nature, as with the beaver, the spider, the bee, &c. Whence the Divine idea of construction? Equally an attribute of His nature. Was He not the original Designer? Yes, but design is not creation.

I think it will now be admitted that nothing in Nature was created, that is, formed out of nothing. We must, therefore, carefully discriminate between the sense of the two words, creation and formation, the difference being infinite; and when, in future, we say God created this or that, we shall simply mean that he formed or constructed them.

What are the Attributes of Deity ?

The *Infinite* ! How can we know Him ? By His works, by Nature : that is His book, in which He has indelibly delineated His own attributes. Our minds are part of that Nature, and by a steady internal and external gaze, we may gain a satisfactory knowledge of God, our Father. What, then, is God ? Is He an individual person, or three persons in one person, or the essence of matter merely ? a *power* immanent in all nature, a component part of the material universe ? If the latter, he is quite beyond our comprehension and imagination, and not a proper object of religious worship. Such a God would be material and fractional, being divided into as many portions as there are worlds. We can love a Milton, admire a Shakespeare, reverence a Christ, and adore a personal God ; but we could find neither pleasure nor spiritual profit in worshipping the essence of Nature, a mere phantom, an impersonal being. The human mind desires at least the semblance of reality as an object of religious worship, something which it can mentally symbolise, some being who is the archetype of itself : hence God is worshipped by orthodox Christians as an infinite Christ ; he being regarded by them as the perfection of humanity and the highest type of the good God. Better worship the sun than a being who can be likened only to space or a myth, who eludes the grasp of the intellect, the imagination, and the heart of man.

Seeing that man is a religious being, that he has spiritual aspirations, that he is the author of innumerable objects of utility and beauty ; that Nature is full of such objects, and of sentient beings that man cannot possibly be the author of, I am led to believe and feel that the sublime Architect of the universal frame of Nature can be none other than an Immaterial, Individual, Infinite, and Eternal Spirit. We cannot behold him, neither can we see our own minds ; but we can demonstrate that God is, and must be, an individual Spirit, having no equal, being the only eternal " I Am." I will now proceed to demonstrate the above proposition.

Let us mentally revert to the time when the earth was " without form and void,"—and subsequently, when man was about to be formed " out of the dust of the ground." The Almighty is repre-

sented as saying, first, "Let there be light." Here he is spoken of in the singular number; afterwards, when man was to be formed, the language is, "Let *us* make man." This idiom is of Eastern origin, but Western nations have adopted it, and Kings and Queens speak with the plural number *we* in issuing their individual commands. But the above, and some other passages of Scripture, taken literally, imply a plurality of Divine equal personages, and convey false notions of the person and attributes of Deity. We must seek the aid of that sublime gift of God, reason, to settle the question who and what is God?

Man in his infancy and early childhood has no conception of a Deity. Some writers hold that a knowledge of God is interwoven with our mental and moral constitution; but if man had an innate knowledge of God, that knowledge would consist of definite and necessary truths, which would operate with all the force of an instinct, or law of material Nature. The faculty of speech being developed, children would invariably speak accurately of the existence and attributes of the Deity, independently of all outward tuition. Having this intuitive knowledge of God, error in doctrine would be impossible, and universal man would hold the true faith; all external revelation of God to man would have been unnecessary. But we find that man has no ideas but those which are derived primarily from the senses, operated upon by external objects. Imagine the condition of a man born into the world devoid of the faculties of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, feeling. His soul, if he had one, would be a perfect blank, entirely devoid of ideas, and the outer universe and its founder would remain for ever unknown. It follows, then, that man's ideas and knowledge of God are derived primarily from external and various sources, and secondarily from the exercise of reason. Hence one man teaches his children to worship God the Father only, believing there exists no other God; while another man teaches his children to worship a Triune Deity. Whence this difference of faith, and what the necessity for *teaching*, if the knowledge of God be innate? Seeing that one man is a Unitarian, another man a Trinitarian, while a third man professes Atheism, each being true to his honest convictions, it appears impossible to me that man can have any innate knowledge of his Maker.

What, then, is God? a being of simple individuality, or a Trinity

in Unity? I maintain that a Trinity in Unity, or the existence of three Infinite beings, is an absolute and natural impossibility. To avoid ambiguity, let us examine the words in which the doctrine of the Trinity is stated by the Church of England: "Holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, Three Persons and one God. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. The Father Eternal, the Son Eternal, and the Holy Ghost Eternal; and yet they are not Three Eternals, but One Eternal."

The most striking feature of the above declaration of Faith, is the distinct mention of three personalities, each person being equally an eternal God. This, in the plainest English, is what the words state and import. Now, the primary attribute of the Deity is his individuality. Individuality is an attribute of all animate beings. We have read in Aristotle, and in other books, of creatures born with a kind of duality or triplicity of persons in one being; indeed, such a being is at this moment being exhibited in England; but healthy minds have always regarded them with abhorrence, as monster malformations arising from accidental causes. Probably in no particular is man so much the image of his Maker as in his individuality.

We can have no true conception of the Divine nature or essence because we have never seen a being of a like nature; just as, were we informed that an animal of an entirely new species was discovered, without being made acquainted with its form, size, colour, habits, &c., we should not know whether it most resembled a worm or an elephant; in fact, we should have only vague ideas concerning it. So is it with our conception of the Divine nature or essence.

Now, admitting in argument that the doctrine of the Trinity is true, see what it involves. Christ declared that God is a Spirit. Consistently with the Triune doctrine that is No. 1 Infinite and eternal Spirit. If Christ also be God, that is No. 2 Infinite and eternal Spirit. If the Holy Ghost also be God, that is No. 3 Infinite and eternal Spirit. So far the Trinity of persons is clearly made out; but in what possible manner can these three persons be but one person, these three Gods but one God? Now, mentally, travel back to the period which, popularly speaking, immediately preceded the beginning of time, viz., just prior to the first act of

creation. What do you behold? If you are a Trinitarian you behold three persons of the most effulgent majesty, each and all being the Almighty God. You reverently gaze and listen, when lo! Deity moves and speaks; and the awful silence of eternity is broken by the trinal and triune mandate, "Let a Universe be." Now, if the Universe were created by the joint will and action of these three Divine persons, then neither of them can properly be God. An Infinite God must be the one supreme, having no equals. "To whom then will ye liken God, or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One!" If the said mandate issued severally from God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, each being very God and not mere parts of the Deity, then inevitably three universes would have sprung into being; but where shall room be found for the other two when one of them fills space *ad infinitum*?

The social intercourse of man is one of his highest pleasures, sources of happiness and intellectual progress. But social intercourse between three beings of infinite knowledge and power is not a possibility. There must be a *motive* for rational speech and intercourse; a fact to communicate, an inquiry or suggestion to make, the expression of hope, fear, love, hate, wonder, admiration, &c. Apply these remarks to an All-wise, Almighty Trinity, and what possible motive could there be for inter-communication? The knowledge possessed by each would be common to all. Desire for mutual intercourse would be perpetually repressed by the fact that what either might wish to express would be anticipated by the other two. In fact precisely the same thought, feeling, purpose, desire, must be present to each mind at precisely the same moment. In short, each being equally perfect God (which is impossible) there must exist a threefold universe (equally impossible) or none at all. An illustration will add force to these remarks.

Three contemporary poets have each composed a poem, the subject, the language, and title page of each being precisely the same. They have had no intercourse with one another, each being totally ignorant of what the others have written. The three manuscripts of this poem are severally forwarded to the publisher for his perusal, and it happens that he receives them all on the same day. He examines first one, then a second, then the third; compares one with another, and, to his astonishment, finds them all alike in every particular. He exclaims, "This is very extraordinary!" and at

once communicates with the respective authors. On a given day they all stand face to face with the publisher, each claiming to be the author of the entire poem. The publisher is bewildered, and on consideration suggests that it should be published as a joint production, bearing their respective names. They all object, each affirming that *he* is the author of the entire poem.

Now the question is, who, in this case, is the author of the poem? A little reflection will help us out of the difficulty. The poem, until committed to paper, was not really a production. Human thought and material sound are not substantial entities, merely conditions of mind and matter; and had the poem never passed from their brains or tongues to paper or other substance, it had never tangibly existed. Their manuscripts, being the transcript of their ideas, are their real productions; consequently each is the author of a *like* poem, but not the same poem. Had the poem been produced by their joint labour, each contributing a part, then neither of them individually would have been the author of the poem. So far as the interests of man are concerned, one author and one poem would have sufficed: the production of the other two being quite superfluous.

And if the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be three distinct and Almighty beings, each being equally a Creator or author, then it follows, as in the case of the poem, that there exist three universes, the products of their independent wills. But if God the Father only, formed all things, as the Scriptures and reason affirm He did, then there is but one universe, in the formation of which Christ and the Holy Ghost could not have participated.

Geological science has demonstrated that millions of years must have intervened from the commencement to the completion of the formation of our earth. Our globe being but a speck in the mighty universe it is proper to infer that if so long a period was required for its formation, probably myriads of millions of years elapsed from the earliest to the last act of the entire creation. Poetically, "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day;" but when we consider that the creation was conducted on the principle of progressive development, and was not the work of an instant, we must admit that time is as much a reality to God as to man. Now, I ask whether it is reasonable to suppose or believe that, during the vast space of time occupied in the creation, *three*

Almighty persons were engaged in doing exactly the same things, when *one* such being would have been essentially all-sufficient? Philosophy admits no more causes of an effect than are sufficient to account for it; on this principle the doctrine of a Trinity is untenable, one Infinite God being able to effect the creation of all things.

If it be true that three Divine persons constitute the Deity, there must be a natural and indispensable necessity for their existence, and it were easy to assign a reason for it. Nothing exists in vain. The universe, although a "mighty maze," is "not without a plan," and a complete utility of purpose runs throughout the creation. Every thing is necessary,

"From Nature's chain, whatever link you strike,
Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

Necessity is the law of the universe.

The whole material universe has reference to life, and is constituted so as to be perfectly and beautifully adapted to all its multifarious modes of existence. Regarding man as a physical and intellectual being, we find that everything which exists around him is necessary. Light, heat, air, water, earth, are all necessary for the sustenance of his bodily frame; and the recondite nature of matter, with its wondrous combinations and powers, is necessary, and was doubtless designed for the cultivation and gratification of man's nobler faculties. It is worthy of remark that the mental endowments of man are in perfect harmony with his position in the scale of created being, and that attributes of mind that would mar his happiness have been kindly and wisely withheld. I may mention, for instance, full power to control the elements, and the knowledge of future events. These attributes superadded to the mind of man would be fatal to his peace, and the joys of hope.

The existence of a Creator was an absolute necessity, but was it equally, or was it at all necessary, that *three* Creators should exist? If one Almighty being could not beget the creation, neither could one thousand.

It has been seriously argued that man himself is a threefold being, a compound of body, soul, and spirit; and that, being made in the Divine image, he is a representative embodiment of the Divine nature. I reply that the terms soul and spirit are, in the Scriptures,

used synonymously, and imply one and the same thing, viz., man's inner life, or mind; in the same way as the words body, flesh, temple, and sometimes soul, are used synonymously, and denote simply man's physical frame. It is therefore a question of duality only that we have to consider. Suppose man did possess both soul and spirit, that would not constitute him a being of triple or dual individuality, since the soul and spirit would be only parts of the whole person, and not themselves persons individually. It has yet to be proved that man has a soul. Let the man who affirms its existence prove it. The Scriptures *appear* to teach that man has a soul, and spirit likewise; but they also teach, among other false doctrines, that of demoniacal possession, but what sensible Christian of the present age believes that doctrine? I believe man to be a homogeneous and not a complex being; a simple unity, and not a heterogeneous mass of body, soul, and spirit. My belief that man is simply animate matter like the brutes, but with nobler faculties and higher destiny, is based on several admitted facts, the first and chief of which is that the great Christ said after his resurrection, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." Another fact (if it be a fact) is that Christ arose *bodily* from death unto life. Christ died. When a man dies he *is* dead. There lies the whole man, his machinery is worn out, injured, or broken, and therefore he ceases to act. The vital spark has fled. If that spark be the soul, and that soul a living, conscious being, then is the whole man *not* dead, only half dead. The resurrection of a man implies the prior death of that man; and as it is recorded of Christ that he died and rose again, I infer that his death was real and complete, the *whole* Man being dead, and the whole man being therefore material. "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," implies that man is matter. Matter cannot become spirit; but Divine power may so alter and re-model the constitution of man that it shall become a "spiritual body," as St. Paul calls it, immortal, and free from all the ills flesh is heir to.

Man claims to be the only animal possessing a soul, yet all other animals have mind, like man, and many of them are superior to man in one or more of their mental and physical endowments. The spider constructs a web, the bee a cell, the bird a nest, the beaver a dam and a house, and man a church. These several productions are the result of skill and labour, the beast, &c., exhibiting as much

ingenuity as the man ; then why, I ask, should man complacently arrogate to himself the exclusive possession of a soul when he has no positive knowledge on the subject ?

A gentleman of veracity relates, that while walking in his garden he observed a wasp seize a large fly and mount into the air with its prey, but in a moment it descended and set about biting off the fly's wings, which it accomplished. It rose again into the air, but descended as quickly as before, and now it performed the operation of biting off the fly's legs. A third time it took flight, and was quickly lost to view. Now here is a case showing that animals, or some animals, possess reason as well as instinct. The wasp reasoned that its flight would be less impeded by the removal of the fly's wings and legs. If then, man has a soul—after his kind, I say—so have the brutes a soul after their kind. Were man inhabited by a soul, or spirit, that spirit would have a spiritual perception or cognisance of the existence and nature of other souls ; his spiritual eye would behold spiritual beings, just as his bodily eye beholds material beings. But man has no such perception, and, we are bound to infer, no such incorporeal inhabitant. If a heaven of immortal happiness is before us, what matter whether we be material or spiritual ? We have spiritual hopes and aspirations, and the mortal will become immortal. “ It is sown a *natural* body ; it is raised a spiritual body.” More might be said on the subject, but suffice it to remark that man cannot be regarded as representative of a Triune God.

I have said that, regarding man as a physical and intellectual being, every department of Nature is necessary and contributes to his well being. I now observe that, regarded as a religious being, one Creator, one supreme object of worship, a Divine unity, alone is necessary and desirable. I will illustrate this proposition :—

A good man's ardent love towards a true and devoted wife is second only to his reverence and love of God. Fair Eve (Milton's), in reply to Adam, said—

“ My author and disposer, what thou bid'st
Unargued I obey : so God ordains ;
God is thy law, thou mine ; to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.
With thee conversing I forget all time ;
All seasons, and their change, all please alike.”

In civilised life a good wife is indispensable to a man's true happiness, and the possession of such a one as Milton's Eve is desired as his *summum bonum*, and sought for as the object of his highest earthly aspirations. Christianity allows to a man one wife only, as being in accordance with the ordination of Providence. Holy and blissful are the emotions kindled in man's breast by interchange of thought and reciprocity of sentiment with a revered and charming wife. She is his domestic goddess, and while true in his devotion they realise mutually the purest pleasure and happiness. He possesses the prime requisite of domestic life, and his soul is satisfied. Now behold a change.—We will suppose this good man to be allied to three such paragon wives. It is both his duty and desire to pay them equal honours; but in the course of time he feels an irresistible bias towards one to the prejudice of the other two, which they observe with serious concern. As time progresses, the breach widens, the man's peace of mind is destroyed; and he essays again and again to render due homage to each lovely bride, only again to fail. Driven almost to distraction, he either cleaves ardently and faithfully to the one and divorces the other two, or he spends a miserable existence in the vain endeavour to pay due homage and attention to each fair goddess; or he is guilty of a dereliction of duty, and totally abandons them all. The worship of a Triune Deity involves similar results, according to the peculiar constitution and bias of the mind of man.

Simple, pleasurable, hallowing, ennobling is the worship of Jehovah, the God of Christ, the God of Nature; but bewildering, depressing, unsatisfying to a thinking man, is the worship of the God of Orthodoxy. The former is in harmony with his mental and moral nature, the latter repugnant to it.

Reverence and love, more or less, are tenants of every human heart, and culminate in the Christian mind. Our desires tend perpetually to the possession of an object deemed to be one thing needful, whether it be fame, gold, or God. Some seek one, some seek another, but a knowledge of the true God is essential to true happiness and hope of heaven. "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the *only* true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

I have stated that man, regarded as a religious being, requires but one individual Creator and Lord as the supreme object of his

love, reverence, obedience. If Christ and the Holy Ghost be also God, then are there three persons to whom Divine honours should be equally paid; but I appeal to the religious experience of every earnest and thoughtful Trinitarian Christian whether, in his extemporaneous closet addresses to the Deity, he has not been sadly embarrassed how equally to honour, and equally to implore the aid, severally, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Those who worship a Trinity seem to have a strange jumble of ideas about the first person being the Creator; the second person the Divine Saviour; the third person the Divine Sanctifier; as though these several functions of the Almighty were individual prerogatives of a Trinity. So complicated and bewildering is the worship of a Trinity, that orthodox Christians sometimes adopt novel expedients to quiet down their honest scruples. There would be neither doubt nor difficulty in the matter if Christians would reflect upon and obey the injunction of Moses to the Jews:—"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him *only* shalt thou serve."

How beautiful and simple were the prayers which Christ addressed to the one only God, to His Father and our Father, in all which he ignored the existence of himself as the second, or any person of the Trinity. Jesus Christ the eternal God! How strange that God should forget Himself. Consistently with this doctrine Jesus should have prayed to all the persons of the Trinity, even to Himself. Faith in a Trinity involves ideas repugnant alike to reason, common sense, and the human heart. I aver, therefore, that the true interests of man, regarded as a religious being, are better promoted by the worship of God the Father only, than by the worship of three persons all humanly declared and believed to be Divine.

Let us look a little closer into this strange doctrine. The Creator (He who changes not) does change His nature and becomes incarnate. He enters the Virgin's womb, and in nine lunar revolutions introduces himself into the world as a baby. He (the Infinite) is suckled at the Virgin's breast (at the same time sustaining countless globes in their mighty orbits). "He grows (the Almighty grows!) in stature and in favour with God and man." God grows in favour with God. He (God, who has been sent by God) prays to God, does His will, declares to men that he is not God, but the Son of God, fulfils his allotted task, dies, and is buried. The Creator and upholder of the universe lies *dead and buried!!* Is it possible that

any thinking man can verily believe in a doctrine so unnatural, ungodlike, and so opposed to reason and common sense? Trinitarians do believe all this, and the only apology they can and do offer is that it is part of the Revelation of God, though perfectly incomprehensible to *carnal* reason. Do they deny the truth of these allegations? I respectfully invite them to peruse their printed and adopted creeds. In confirmation of my statement, I will quote two or three verses from their devotional hymns :

"Jesus drinks the bitter cup,
The winepress treads alone ;
Tears the graves and mountains up
By His expiring groan ;
Lo ! the powers of heaven he shakes ;
Nature in convulsions lies ;
Earth's profoundest centre quakes ;
The great *Jehovah dies !*"

"Well may Sol withdraw his light,
With the sufferer sympathise,
Leave the world in sudden night,
While the *Creator dies !*"

"Endless scenes of wonder rise,
From that mysterious tree,
Crucified before our eyes,
When we our *Maker* see !"

"'Tis finished ! all the debt is paid ;
Justice divine is satisfied ;
The grand and full atonement made ;
God for a guilty world hath *died*."

The climax of this horrible nonsense is reached by the Papists who worship the Virgin Mary as the *Mother* of God. "Hail ! Mary, Mother of God ; pray for us now and at the hour of death." Now, let us place the more conspicuous features of this doctrine prominently before us, thus :—

Protestant Orthodoxy.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The Mother of God.} \\ \text{The Blood of God.} \\ \text{The Death of God.} \\ \text{The Resurrection of God.} \end{array} \right.$	Romish Orthodoxy.
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Are not such expressions, and such ideas of the Deity positively

shocking? I pass on to the other phases of this strange, and I may add, truly unholy doctrine.

God the Son! the *eternal* Son! Can you conceive anything more irrational than the notion that a son can be of the same age as his father? That the *Son* of God can be co-eternal with God? The Scriptures narrate the birth, life, and death of Christ. Is it credible that this mortal man of flesh and blood was coeval with Him who was "before all things?" It may be replied that the nature of Christ was two-fold, that he was God and man. Impossible! The indwelling of God the Father in Christ, "God manifest in the flesh," could not change flesh and blood into spirit, man into Deity. God was manifest in the flesh, not in Christ only, but in the Apostles also, and it is said wrought miracles by their instrumentality as he did by Christ; but this indwelling of God in the Apostles did not transform them into Divinities. God said of Christ "This is my beloved Son;" now, if this Son were God, he would be a created or begotten God; therefore, no God at all.

All honour and praise to the great teacher, our beloved friend, and brother, the chosen ideal model man of piety and virtue for all time; our hope of a resurrection and blessed immortality: rob him not of his good and great name by investing him with the attributes of Deity, for his real merit is based on his true humanity. Regarded as a *man*, "who was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin," he stands before the world as its greatest exemplar, the centre and focus of all the moral virtues.

Jesus Christ was actuated by human hopes and aspirations. The ultimate object of his life was a happy immortality. A reward for obedience unto death was set before him (fancy the ever blessed God having a reward set before him!): "Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God." Evidently the Apostle did not think that Christ was God, for he tells us that he is sitting at the right hand of God.

The most remarkable fact connected with the doctrine of the Trinity is the total absence of revelation on the subject, either in nature or the scriptures. I take this to be conclusive evidence that it is a human invention. If there were a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, and it were obligatory on man to worship them, and at the peril of salvation to omit the duty, he would have a just and

indefeasible right to expect and demand a full, unmistakable, and satisfactory revelation of the fact. It should be as definite and plain to his understanding as is the revelation of the existence of God the Father. But in vain do we scan the heavens, travel over and delve into the earth, search the Scriptures, or interrogate our inner man for any proof of the existence of a Trinity.

Christians of every denomination, Jews, Mahomedans, and others, are unanimous in their belief of the existence of God the Father Almighty. The question now at issue is, Is He the only God, or are there two other beings who in essence and in attributes are his Almighty compeers? I think I have proved by a little abstract reasoning that the native state of God must necessarily be individual, and that the co-existence of a plurality of omnipotent and eternal beings is an absolute impossibility. Agreed as to the existence of a paternal Creator, I pass again to the Second Person of the orthodox Trinity, God the Son.

Invisibility is an attribute of the Deity. The heavens above and the earth beneath display amazing manifestations of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God. But the worker, the sustainer, the Creator, Him we see not, nor can see, being immaterial, and therefore invisible. "God is a Spirit" is the declaration of Christ. "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have," is also the declaration of Christ made to his affrighted disciples on his first appearance to them after his resurrection. These statements of Christ put into logical form stand thus:—God is a Spirit; a spirit hath not flesh and bones; Christ was a man of flesh and bones, therefore Christ was not a spirit, and therefore not God. There can be no reasonable appeal or escape from this deduction.

A thoughtful perusal of the New Testament will convince any unprejudiced mind that Jesus Christ was what he said he was, a man, and the Son of Man. Being man he could not be God. Every man is a Son of God, and Jesus was not specially and exclusively such. If he were begotten by the Holy Ghost and not by human agency, then would there be a discrepancy between his statement and fact. "I am the Son of Man" would have been untrue if he were not humanly begotten; and he would then have been Son of the Holy Ghost, and son of *woman*, albeit still a mortal man. But as he so frequently called himself a man and the Son of Man, I infer from these and other statements that he was in reality

the son of Joseph, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh ; a real brother-man.

Underived and omnipotent power is an attribute of the Deity. The power of Christ was *derived* and limited. He said, "I can of mine own self do nothing." "All power is *given* unto me in heaven and in earth." "The Father that dwelleth in me *He* doeth the works." He prayed to God for power, but with resignation said, "not my will, but Thine be done." Fully subservient to the will and purposes of God, his power and knowledge were limited to the objects of his mission. It may be asked, "Did not Christ forgive sins, and who can forgive sins but God only?" I reply, that it was an assumed and communicable power. If Christ was God because he forgave sins, then were the Apostles Gods because they also forgave sins. The New Testament abounds with clear evidence that the power of Christ was derived and limited.

Omniscience is an attribute of Deity. Christ, in foretelling a coming judgment (probably the destruction of Jerusalem), confessed that he did not know the date of that coming event. He says, "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the *Son*, but the Father." By his own admission, then, his knowledge was finite.

I have shown that Christ was neither eternal, Invisible, Almighty, nor omniscient. Nevertheless Trinitarians affirm and believe that he is the living God, although there is not one of his many sayings which, rationally interpreted, bear the slightest evidence of his having claimed to be regarded as a divine person. If he were Divine, why did he not proclaim himself to the world in his true and proper character? And what becomes of the fame of his heroism and self-sacrifice as a man, if he were the Almighty God? It vanishes at the touch of omnipotence, and the whole affair of his life, death, and resurrection must have been a delusive sham. Again, we read that "Christ left us an example that we should follow his steps." What a cruel mockery of the weakness and infirmities of poor sinful man to bid him attain to the purity and perfection of an exemplar who was not liable to sin and error! No, reader, Jesus Christ was not the Almighty, but "A *man* of sorrows and acquainted with grief," and equally peccable with thyself; therefore said he, "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and ye shall find rest to your souls." He saw men overwhelmed with trouble and sorrow, and with true brotherly sympathy and regard said, "Come, learn of me."

We read that at the baptism of Christ the voice of God said, "This is my beloved *Son* in whom I am well pleased." We also read that he was the "Express image of his person." Now, when it can be shown that the reflection of a man in a mirror is the man himself, then may it be credible that the Son of God, the *image* of God, is God himself.

Was Jesus Christ a pre-existent being? As a germ only, like other men; not as a person. He was nourished and built up by human food, and as heaven is a world of spirits, Jesus, a man of flesh and blood, was certainly never in heaven prior to his birth and death. Whatever knowledge of the other world he may have possessed was derived from reflection and inspiration, not from personal experience and observation.

There was no necessity that the great teacher by precept and example should be other than an inspired and good *man*. Properly to execute his commission he could be no other. He taught that purity, humility, brotherly love, piety, reverence, were the basis of human happiness, and the ground of hope of an immortal life. Much that Christ did as a man, God could not do as God. Christ ate, drank, slept, suffered, wept, and died. The eternal and unchangeable God could do none of these things. We are accustomed to ascribe Almightyness to God because He can do whatever He wills to do; but the power of God is not less really circumscribed than is the power of man. All animate Beings, whether God, man, or beast, are ruled by inevitable and inflexible law. All the attributes of God are evenly balanced, not one preponderates. His wisdom and power being equal, He never wills to do what He has not power to accomplish. There is and must be perfect consistency in all the acts of God. The miracles ascribed to Christ and his apostles, if actual, were supernatural acts of God, and not deeds of men. No man can perform a miracle. Christ's own words verify this statement. "The Father who dwelleth in me, *He* doeth the works." These facts should be borne in mind in the interpretation of scripture. Any recorded miracle or deed of God which is inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of God, forms no part of Divine Revelation. Passages of doubtful meaning must be made to harmonise with the character and attributes of God, or they must be rejected as false and useless. "God is a Spirit," and "a spirit hath not flesh and bones;" is it not then degrading God to the

level of a man to say that He ate, drank, slept, suffered, wept, and died !

Now if, as I have shown, Christ was not Eternal, invisible, Almighty, omniscient, pre-existent, it is quite clear that he was simply a human being like other men.

When it is considered that tens of thousands would deem it a high honour and the essence of bliss to kiss the great toe of Pio Nono, and that multitudes believe in the divine mission of Joe Smith and Brigham Young, it is not very marvellous that orthodox Christendom has for ages cherished the belief that so extraordinary a person as Jesus Christ must have been a divine person, yea, God himself.

I shall now offer a few remarks on the third person of the orthodox Trinity, God the Holy Ghost.

Mention of God the Father, under various appellations, pervades the Old and New Testaments, but in vain do we search from Genesis to Malachi, and from Matthew to Revelation, for the phrase "*God the Holy Ghost*." This is very extraordinary, if the Holy Ghost be a *person* equal with the Father.

The sanctifying and comforting influences of the Holy Ghost were as much needed from Adam to Christ as from Christ to the present day ; but the Old Testament knows nothing of such a Divine person. Peter says, speaking of the Prophets, that "*Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*." If then the Apostles and Prophets were alike inspired by the Holy Ghost, and the miracles recorded in Scripture were effected by his operation, I say it is very remarkable that all the writers of the Book of Books should ignore a fact of so much importance. Jesus Christ never spoke of *God the Holy Ghost*, and although the Scriptures in speaking of the immaculate conception, state that Jesus was begotten by that supposed person, yet he tacitly repudiated such parentage, and throughout the whole of his mission declares himself to be the Son of Man jointly with the assumption and declaration of being specially the Son of God. There exists a grand misconception on this subject as we shall presently see. Determined to thoroughly sift this subject, I have read the New Testament through with minute attention, marking off in the margin every passage having direct or indirect reference to the Holy Ghost. Having these passages, with their proper contexts, constantly under review, employing

as my interpreter Jesus Christ himself, I have arrived at the following unavoidable conviction, viz., that the Holy Ghost is *not* a person either Divine or human, but is simply the agency, operation, influence and power of God the Father, acting naturally or supernaturally on matter and the human mind. I feel assured that any person who fearlessly and honestly adopts the above simple method of investigating this subject must inevitably arrive at the same conclusion.

The Holy Ghost is variously denominated in the New Testament thus :—"the Holy Ghost," "the Spirit of God," "the power of the Highest," the "Holy Spirit," the "Spirit of Truth," the "Comforter," "the Spirit of the Lord," the "Spirit of Holiness," "Holy Spirit of Promise," the "Holy Spirit of God," but is never once designated *God* this or that.

The idea of a Trinity, and the Holy Ghost being the third person of that Trinity, seems to have originated subsequently to the death of Christ and his apostles ; it evidently did not exist during their lifetime. Christ invariably preached the doctrine of the Divine Unity, and the paternal providence of God ; so did the apostles.

Christ always addressed his prayers to God the Father, and when his disciples desired him to teach them to pray, he taught them to say, not, "O, holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners," but, "*Our Father*, who art in heaven." What remarkable doctrinal simplicity is there in the Lord's prayer, and in fact, in all his prayers. St. Paul says, "To us there is but *one* God the *Father*, of whom are all things ;" and "There is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, the *man* Christ Jesus." The other apostles held the same views as Paul on this subject. Here and elsewhere is plain evidence that Christ and his apostles preached the doctrine of the Divine Unity, and they therefore could not have broached the doctrine of the Trinity. But we have less to do with the origin than with the actual existence of the doctrine. It has been transmitted from age to age by orthodox Christendom down to the present time. I proceed further to show that the doctrine has no existence in Scripture.

One of the greatest miracles recorded in Scripture is the Immaculate Conception. In the Gospel by Luke we read, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the *power* of the Highest shall

overshadow thee." Obviously, the words "Holy Ghost," and "power of the Highest," are here used synonymously. The power of the Highest! Now, what is power? It is not a being or thing, but an attribute of a being or thing. God raised Christ from the dead: it was an act of power, but the power was not a person. A steam engine has power; it may be of 5 or 500 horse power: but the power is not the engine, only an attribute of that machine. Christ declared that all the miracles effected by his agency were done by God the Father. Now, as the first and third person of the Trinity could not have begotten Christ, and both have been his Father, it is evident that Christ did not recognise or acknowledge the personal existence of a Holy Ghost.

When Jesus sent forth his disciples to preach the Gospel, he predicted, or presumed, that they would be brought before governors and kings for his sake; and to allay their fears of embarrassment, he assured them that they should receive miraculous powers of speech. In Mark and Luke it states that the Holy Ghost should "teach them in that same hour what they ought to say;" but in Matthew it says, on the same subject, "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." Clearly enough, then, does Christ ascribe all miracles to the power of God the Father, and to Him only.

The chief object of the mission of Christ, as stated by himself, was to bring "life and immortality to light," and teach man the true knowledge of God. Now, it is worthy of the most serious consideration, that, in stating what was essential to the obtaining of eternal life, Christ does not include a knowledge of the Holy Ghost! "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the *only* true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." In lieu of the eternal God as a basis, orthodoxy has Christ and the Holy Ghost (a Man and a myth compared with Deity), who are worshipped almost to the exclusion of the true and good God.

It may be objected that my arguments are unsound and my views untenable, inasmuch as the Scriptures declare that the Holy Ghost was actually seen descending from heaven like a dove, and lighting on Jesus Christ, thus proving the *personal* agency of the Holy Ghost. This objection is fatal to my opponents. There can be no greater impossibility than that mortal, material man should really *see* the immaterial, and therefore invisible, Spirit of God.

Beside the Scripture declaration that "no man hath seen God at any time," we have the irrefragable evidence of science that the material eye of man cannot behold the immaterial Spirit of God. Optical science demonstrates that vision is produced by rays of light being reflected from material objects on to the organ of vision. The eye is a mirror, and the impression of objects thereon is transmitted to the brain. Now, if God, who is a Spirit, be omnipresent, why is he invisible? Simply because He is a Spirit, and His nature, or essence, having nothing in common with matter, light, which is a material substance, is not reflected from His Divine person. A ghost or spirit has never been seen by mortal man. The objection, therefore, that the Holy Ghost was *seen* descending has no weight. If Jesus was baptized at all, it was by water, and his own holy resolve to do the will of God, and not by the infusion of a Divine person into his soul.

The possession of the Holy Ghost did not necessarily involve the performance of miracles. John did no miracle, although he was filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb. To him the Holy Ghost was a spirit of holiness and energy. John informed the people that Jesus would baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire; meaning, not that he would baptize them with a person and with caloric, but with holiness, energy, and wisdom under the Christian dispensation.

The Holy Ghost is promised in answer to prayer. This is intelligible if by the Holy Ghost is meant the power and favour of God, not so if it mean a Divine person. If God the Father will give us God the Spirit in answer to prayer, why should we not pray to the Holy Spirit for the gift of God the Father? Scripture is silent on this point, but not the voice of enlightened reason. The Holy Ghost, if a person, is inferior to God the Father, and is sent hither and thither in the capacity of a servant.

One or two further observations will, I think, jointly with the foregoing, suffice to convince any reasonable mind how utterly untenable is the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost. In Luke i. 15, it is recorded that the angel Gabriel announced to Zacharias that his son, John the Baptist, should be "filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb," implying that he would be under Divine influence during the whole course of his existence. Ceaseless activity is an attribute of Deity. "He neither slumbereth

nor sleepeth." Now, imagine the Holy Ghost being *personally* present in John the Baptist at his birth, at the age of one hour, one day, one week, one month. The questions naturally suggest themselves, Is the Holy Ghost actively operating on this baby? How? What are the manifestations? Very possibly he differed not from ordinary babies, and was soundly asleep the greater part of his baby life; then of what avail the personal presence of the Holy Ghost? John says, speaking of Christ, "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him." The Holy Ghost could not then be personally present in John if he saw him descending on to another person. John the Baptist, being pre-ordained for a special and important purpose, was constitutionally endowed with the mental and moral qualities requisite to fulfil his appointed mission; hence the declaration, "He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost," &c.

The Holy Ghost is spoken of by Christ and his apostles as the gift of God,—a gift that enabled them to work miracles, to speak foreign languages, and to prophesy: but is also spoken of as being, in some cases, simply a moral quality or acquisition. In Acts xi. 24, speaking of Barnabas, it says, "for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith;" that is, full of holiness of heart and faith in God and Christ. In Acts viii. we read that Simon the sorcerer, in common with many others, was converted to Christianity by the preaching of Philip, was baptized, and received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the Apostle's hands. Now, it is evident from the unholy request subsequently made by Simon to the Apostles, and the indignant reply of Peter, that the possession of the Holy Ghost is sometimes simply possessing holiness of heart, consequent on repentance and sorrow for sin, and that this holy frame of mind is not necessarily permanent. Any person now living, who, by reading or hearing the Word of God, has thereby been induced to enter upon and abide in a course of religious self-discipline, is as much filled with the Holy Ghost as were the generality of the Apostles' converts.

The most proper and satisfactory rendering of the phrase "Holy Ghost" is that given by Christ himself, viz., the "Spirit of Truth." The Spirit of Truth! This is the pith of the whole question. What so valuable to man as truth? What so potent as the "Spirit of Truth" in subduing sin and error, in eradicating vice, ignorance,

misery, and self-degradation from the heart of man, and raising him to that holy and happy elevation, freedom and self-respect, which is the distinctive badge of the true Christian? What so mighty to work moral miracles as the sublime truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

Methinks that Trinitarian saints, who may have gone to heaven, on inquiring, "Where is the Holy Ghost?" must have felt equally surprised and abashed on being informed in reply that "the Holy Ghost, like the kingdom of God, is within you." "Know ye not that ye are the temples of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"

Evidence of the untruthfulness of this doctrine is almost unlimited; nearly every page of the entire Bible contains a refutation of it. The doctrine of the Divine Unity shines forth with the majesty and brightness of the meridian sun. It may be seen by any man whose mental vision is not blinded by prejudice or fear. It may be a hard task to pass at one bound from the dearly cherished doctrine of the Trinity to its opposite, but when truth and conscientious conviction demand it, it must be done, though it involve the plucking out of a right eye. Once pass the Rubicon, and say, "The die is cast," and you will be amazed at the amount of light, satisfaction, and tranquillity which ensues. Love of Christ, and full appreciation of the utility of his great and glorious public life, need not be diminished because we cease to worship him as Almighty God; and we can look forward with the same joyful hope and expectation of meeting him in the world to come.

I think I have now shown that the doctrine of the Trinity is without foundation in reason and Scripture, and that the primary and essential attribute of Deity is his individuality. I pass on to notice briefly the other attributes of God.

He is infinite; his power limited only by natural impossibilities. He could not *create* the universe, but he could, by virtue of his power, build up out of matter the grand family of spheres which ever encircle his throne. He cannot mould an object which shall be at the same time both round and square, but he can clothe a naked universe with a garment of floral beauty, and out of the dust of the ground form a living image of himself. This is my idea of infinite power.

He is infinite in knowledge and wisdom. A man who makes a

watch is perfectly acquainted with all its constituent parts, and can keep it in order. So he who constructed the vast and seemingly complicated machinery of the universe is intimately acquainted with every atom of his works, and causes all things to work harmoniously together for the accomplishment of the purposes of his will.

He is also infinite in goodness. The truth of this proposition is not so self-evident as that of the two preceding. Evil exists in the world, and is rife and rampant. Is it necessary? And was Pope correct in affirming that "whatever is, *is right*?" Physical evil, resulting from lightning, storm, volcanoes, &c., is of course unavoidable, and must be regarded as the immediate act of God. But does not the existence of such evil militate against the doctrine of infinite goodness? If there be no future life for man, then were anguish of body and mind and violent death unmitigated evils; but as "hope springs eternal in the human breast," and as all men desire and look for a happy immortality, and as God would not tantalise his children by implanting in them a false and delusive hope, we are constrained to believe that a happy future awaits all men, in which will be justified the mysterious "ways of God to man." The evils arising from *natural* causes may be necessary or unavoidable, but how infinitesimal are they compared with the evils which man voluntarily or carelessly inflicts upon himself? War, pestilence, and famine might possibly be banished from the globe by a wise individual, national, and international course of action. Man was made to be happy, and were he as good as God, earth would be a very heaven. Why should it not be? It is a lovely world, and man has only to co-operate with God to render it still more so. He has only to obey his instincts and the dictates of reason to realise bliss without alloy. Unfortunately some men love to be sad, though nature invites them to be blithe and happy. Listen to the immortal Dickens. In "Barnaby Rudge" he says:—"Ye men of gloom and austerity, who paint the face of infinite benevolence with an eternal frown, read in the everlasting book, wide open to your view, the lesson it would teach. Its pictures are not in black and sombre hues, but in bright and glowing tints; its music—save when ye drown it—is not in sighs and groans, but songs and cheerful sounds. Listen to the million voices in the summer air, and find one as dismal as your own. Remember if you can the sense of

hope and pleasure which every glad return of day awakens in the breath of all your kind who have not changed their nature ; and learn some wisdom even from the witless, when their hearts are lifted up, they know not how, by all the mirth and happiness it brings." God has done his utmost to make man free and happy, and by the exercise of wisdom, industry, temperance, love, and gratitude to God he may command happiness full and complete. The evils arising from man's ignorance and folly are not necessary ; in relation thereto, whatever is, is *not* right, nor can the condition of man be right until every man, woman, and child has "*mens sana in corpore sana*," and feels that to exist is to be free and happy. The evils arising from the mistakes of man are too often attributed to the mysterious providence of God. I maintain that God is goodness itself, and that man would be universally happy were he universally good. While children, birds, flowers, music, literature, and science exist in the world, God will not want witnesses to testify to his infinite love. Need I say that the proofs of God's infinite goodness are innumerable and patent to all thinking men.

The whole Bible contains no truer statement than this : "God is love ;" and an infinite God must love *infinitely* and eternally.

What is Rational Religion ?

Rational and true religion consists simply in devout gratitude to God for his innumerable blessings, and in love and practical goodness to our fellow men. Religion may be true or false, rational or irrational. False religion is founded on man's ignorance and fear, and engenders erroneous and hurtful views of God's attributes and character. The doctrines of rational religion lie in a nutshell, and may be comprised in the words of the Apostle : " True religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." The doctrines of false religion are legion, and overspread the wide world. A rational Christian will embrace truth, whether it emanate from Zoroaster, Socrates, Plato, Milton, Shakespeare, or Christ ; and will reject error though it be found in the book called the Holy Bible. All truth is holy, and may become any man's prize and property, and no existent book or sect monopolises the whole of religious truth. Doctrines that harmonise with Scripture and clash with reason are false and valueless. The four Gospels of Scripture contain truths of priceless value ; but much alloy is mingled with the pure gold. The Gospel according to nature speaks but one language, and that is pure, rational, and without ambiguity. A rational Christian will cull the flowers and poetry of truth from Scripture, literature, history, science, nature, and enjoy and value the mental feast more highly than his daily bread. Truth, like wisdom, is invaluable, " more precious than rubies." It is the basis of happiness and prosperity to individuals and to nations.

The religion of Christendom is derived from the Scriptures, and orthodox Christendom assumes and believes that those writings were divinely inspired, and regards all their statements as absolute truth. Now, a careful and honest examination of the Bible proves it to be no more divinely inspired than were the writings of Milton or Shakespeare. That great scholar and good man, the late Rev. Theodore Parker, describes the Bible thus :—" Laying aside all prejudices, if we look into the Bible in a general way as into other books, we find facts which force the conclusion upon us, that the

Bible is a human work, as much as the Principia of Newton or Descartes, or the Vedas and Koran. Some things are beautiful and true, but others no man in his reason can accept. Here are the works of various writers, from the eleventh century before, to the second century after Christ, thrown capriciously together, and united by no common tie but the lids of the bookbinder.

“ If we look at the Bible as a whole, we find numerous contradictions; conflicting histories which no skill can reconcile with themselves and with facts; poems which the Christians have agreed to take as histories, but which lead only to confusion on that hypothesis, prophecies that have never been fulfilled, and from the nature of things never can be. We find stories of miracles which could not have happened; accounts which represent the laws of nature completely transformed, as in fairyland, to trust the tales of the old romancers; stories that make God a man of war, cruel, capricious, revengeful, hateful, and not to be trusted.

“ We find amatory songs, selfish proverbs, sceptical discourses, and the most awful imprecations human fancy ever clothed in speech. Connected with these are lofty thoughts of Nature, Man, and God; devotion touching and beautiful, and a most reverent faith. Here are works whose authors are known; others, of which the author, age, and country are alike forgotten. Genuine and spurious works, religious and not religious, are strangely mixed; but yet, all taken together, spite of their imperfections and positive faults, form such a collection of religious writings as the world never saw, so deep, so divine.”

Such being the real nature and character of the Bible, it is unwise and irrational to regard this book as a pure fountain of religious truth. To get a pure faith you must rise higher than the Bible; you must rise to the height of God's attributes, and on them alone found a true religious faith. God is *infinite* perfection. This fact is the basis and corner-stone of all true doctrines. Any doctrine which is at variance with the attributes of Deity is false and pernicious. I shall briefly submit to this test a few of the doctrines of Scripture and the Churches.

First. The dogma of the *fall* of man. Infinite knowledge would have foreseen the probable fall of man, and infinite goodness would have prevented it. God's love, like his wisdom, can have no limit. Subject to this test the doctrine of the fall is quite untenable. The

doctrine of the fall, involving punishment after this life, implies sin against God. I know of but one kind of sin, and that is the sin of man against man. Man cannot offend or injure his Maker, but he can and does injure himself and fellows. Sin is an infraction of law and right arising from error of judgment. Sin is positive or negative. He who steals breaks a human moral law; he who feels no gratitude to God is a negative sinner. Sin, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, is an act that subjects man to the eternal anger of God; the proper meaning of the term implies present punishment for present misdeeds. The doctrine of eternal torments is dreadfully awful: to hold it is a blot on the heart of a Christian, and a stigma on the character of the all-good God. The dogma of the atonement, of election, of salvation by faith, the existence of a personal devil, and many others are equally repulsive to reason and common sense, and are at variance with God's infinite wisdom and goodness.

I now approach a very delicate and important doctrine of Scripture, viz., prayer. What is prayer, and is it necessary? Prayer is the expression of a desire to receive a gift or gifts from God. The poet says,

"Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
Uttered or unexpressed."

Prayer is individual and private; or domestic, social, and public. What is the object of prayer? The "Lord's prayer," as we call it, asks for both temporal and spiritual blessings; daily bread, forgiveness of sins, deliverance from evil, and for the coming of Christ's kingdom of peace and love.

Is prayer necessary? To answer this question satisfactorily, we must consider what is the constitution of man in relation to external objects. We find that man's physical, mental, and moral constitution are each subject to natural laws, and that when he lives in obedience to those laws his whole man is satisfied and happy. We find external objects and arrangements to be beautifully adapted for the supply of man's material wants, and the promotion of his mental pleasures. He has but to be industrious, pure, and good, to render human life happy. "God has *given* to men all things richly to enjoy." "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man; that he may bring forth food out of the earth." The things men pray for are, or should be, obtained

by other means. Were the earth sterile instead of fertile, and almost perpetually yielding an insufficient supply of food, it might not be improper to pray for bread from heaven ; but so long as the earth yields her increase of thirty, sixty, and a hundredfold, man should work, praise, and be thankful, but certainly should not importune God for the possession of what lies before him already *given*. Again, with regard to spiritual blessings, or, as it may be put, righteousness, trust, and peace. These blessings every man should acquire for himself by moral rectitude and by firm reliance on the goodness of God as manifested in the creation. Prayer indicates mental obliquity of vision, and moral weakness. Those who oftenest pray, most often have need of prayer. Let those pray who, without prayer, cannot be righteous ; but there is more dignity and merit in righteousness without prayer. He who is holy from love of truth, and lives in cheerful gratitude to God, is a nobler man than he who is constantly prostrate before his Maker exclaiming *peccavi*. It is not confession that God requires, but reformation ; simple obedience to the laws of nature and the dictates of our moral sense. I may be reminded that Christ inculcated the duty of closet, or private prayer, meditation and communion with God, and that possibly I am a stranger to the spiritual blessings flowing into the soul from such sources. Quite the contrary. Some thirty years ago, I was an active member of an Orthodox Christian Church and know experimentally the good accruing from occasional or frequent retirement from the world. My pleasure and profit, however, were not without alloy, for I frequently suspected that some of the tenets I then held, though scriptural, were yet irrational. Reasoning out the matter fully, I arrived at the conclusions embodied in this essay, and the spiritual liberty and tranquillity I now enjoy in occasional solitude is complete and unalloyed. Prayer is one thing, communion with God quite another thing.

It would be some argument for the necessity of prayer if it could be shown that prayer to God was generally or occasionally answered. I question if any prayer to God has been answered since the creation of man. This may be deemed a bold and rash assertion, but I can show the probability of its truth by both Scripture and history. Jesus Christ was a man of prayer, and enjoined his disciples to pray. The apostles were equally men of prayer, and inform us that "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

Jesus said, "Ask, and it shall be given you ;" "All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer believing ye shall receive." Numerous passages of the New Testament declare that God will always answer the prayer of faith. On the supposition that God blesses mankind in answer to prayer, it is rational to suppose that He would grant the major blessings, even if He withheld the minor ones. Now, what could be a greater blessing to the world than universal peace? And what blessing is so often earnestly and fervently prayed for by Christendom? It is said that angels from heaven proclaimed "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men," as the object of Christ's mission. Now, allow me to remind you that myriads of Christians have day by day for eighteen centuries been supplicating heaven for this one great boon, *universal peace* ; and what is the latest answer to the prayers of these Christian legions? Why (is it credible?), the Franco-Prussian war. Alas! what a gigantic mistake exists on this matter. Mysterious in appearance, it is simple in reality. Men shut their eyes to the simple but great fact that God will not do for men what men can do for themselves. Prayer "availeth much" to an individual if it cause him, by reaction on his mind, to be more righteous ; but it will not avail if presented on behalf of another man or nation, as God evidently listens not to prayers made by proxy.

Prayer is much misunderstood. When a man sincerely prays for righteousness he *is* righteous ; the prayer is unconsciously the offspring of the quality he, at least for the moment, already possesses. The united daily prayers of the saints of two great nations were powerless against the baneful influences of a handful of bold, ambitious, covetous, and crafty men. Had Napoleon, King William, Bismarck, and Moltke been men of sincere prayer, and *prayerless* all Europe beside, the late awful war had been still unborn. Men of sincere prayer are men of good principles ; but the principles beget the prayers. Alas! that the fate of great nations should be entrusted to the keeping and conscience of two or three fallible, peccable men. In future, prayers for "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men," may be withheld, if we but maintain true religion, which is love of God and man, practical morality, and common sense. The peoples of Christendom have the power to prevent war, would they but use it. "War is a game which, were the people wise, kings would not play at." *Vox populi vox Dei* should be every nation's motto, the

voice being that of common wisdom. If the law courts of a nation are equal to the due administration of the nation's legal affairs, why should not international law courts be established for the effectual and satisfactory settlement of international disputes? The sword, cannon, and torpedo are fool's arguments. Is it not time that the jealousy and envy of crowned heads should be abolished, so that they might be sincerely welcome guests at one another's courts? What should hinder true friendship between the world's sovereigns, and through them the people of all nations? Mutual confidence is simply the one thing needful in the matter. Nations may be good and great, but if they tolerate bad rulers and bad government, though the whole Christian world pray for them, the devil will be their master.

Let it not for one moment be supposed that I desire to see our churches and chapels closed as places of no utility. Rather would I see them greatly multiplied. I only wish them to become temples of a purer worship, of true adoration, praise, and thanksgiving; temples in which shall be realised perpetually the fruits of common sense and mental research; a feast of enlightened reason and a holy flow of soul. "Religion never was designed to make our pleasures less," and our pleasures would be purer and greater by the adoption of a new church service, based on simple truth, in lieu of the present cumbrous service of prayers and ceremonies of questionable truth and propriety. What scope there is for some cultivated intellect to frame a new Rational Christian Church service, culled from Scripture, literature, science, and based on the attributes of God, in lieu of the crude and vain fancies of men! Such a service, with the doctrine of the Divine Unity for a basis, would meet the requirements of universal man. The tenor of such service may be aptly expressed by an existing formula slightly altered: "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, *progress* without end. Amen."

The Church of England is a grand and noble institution, and were she to be promptly re-organised and re-established on a broad *rational* basis, the prevailing desire for her dis-establishment would cease, and she might live to become the glory of her country; and, while nominally the Church of England, her doctrines and principles would then entitle her to the more comprehensive and exalted appellation of the Rational Church of Christendom.

To attain this noble elevation she must embrace a genuine and hearty reformation ; no half measures will suffice, for the time has passed when the people of England will be satisfied with a moiety of the truth.

I pass on to comment briefly on one or two doctrines promulgated by Jesus Christ. A Rational Christian sifts the chaff from the wheat, and accepts as Gospel truth only those doctrines which harmonise with reason, conscience, and God's perfections ; all other doctrines are chaff. It will be useful to consider, first, who was Jesus Christ ; and in doing so I shall confine my attention to Scripture biography rationally interpreted.

Jesus Christ was the son of a *poor* carpenter, and that may account for the probability of his having received no scholastic education. His original sayings were doubtless delivered in bold and plain language, which has from time to time received considerable polish at the hands of his literary admirers. He possessed amazing force of character, and herein lay his success as a great reformer. As a lad, his intellect, if not precocious, was much in advance of his years, and early in life he was imbued with the idea that he had a special mission from God to teach moral and religious truth to mankind. In pursuance of this idea, we find him, when at Jerusalem, associating with the doctors of the law, probably to acquire fuller knowledge of the established religion of his country. His parents, whose company he had left without their permission, upbraided him for causing them so much anxiety and trouble, but he justified the apparent impropriety of his conduct, quietly returned home with his parents, and "became subject unto them." He is now twelve years of age, and all we hear of him for the next eighteen years is that he "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." He probably worked at his trade for a livelihood, spending his leisure in earnest study and meditation ; and in frequent communication with his cousin—John the Baptist. He is now a man of thirty years of age, and claims to be regarded as the "only begotten" Son of God and Saviour of the world ; declares that those who believe in his mission shall be saved, while all those who do not shall be condemned to eternal torments. "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not on the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on

him." "I am the way, the truth, and the life." "I am the light of the world."

We shall now see whether his claim to be considered the chief of men, and specially and exclusively God's well-beloved Son, was sustained by his words and actions. The only Son of a perfect God should have the moral perfections of his Father; anger, violence, the wrong use of physical force to effect moral objects, doing evil that good might follow, should form no part of his character. He who stands forth as the world's exemplar should himself be faultless. Christ had determined to establish a new faith in lieu of Judaism; unfortunately for his high claims he could brook no opposition to his opinion and will. Those who, by the force of his arguments, were not convinced that he was the Messiah he stigmatised by the epithets of serpents, vipers, hypocrites, &c.; very harsh and uncharitable expressions for a gentleman: worse, coming from a Son of God.

Jesus could be harsh in deed as well as words.

Witness his expulsion of the money changers from the Temple at Jerusalem. These men were quietly following their usual business avocations in an outer court or portico of the Temple, probably doing no more harm than the officials who receive pay for exhibiting our own Cathedrals, or the tradesmen who are daily transacting business under their very shadow. Suddenly, the luckless money changers are affrighted by a great noise, and the appearance of a powerful man with a scourge of thongs in his hands, with which he lacerates their thinly-clad backs as they flee in consternation. He also (doubtless assisted by his disciples, whom the sequel shows to have been present) "poured out the changers' money and overthrew the tables," causing vast confusion. Altogether this was a harsh, useless, and reprehensible outrage. Whether the disciples, whose minds had not yet been spiritualised, pocketed any of the money is not stated, but if the changers were allowed to resume their money, immense trouble and confusion must have arisen in balancing their individual accounts. This affair was the one great mistake of his public career.

Within the present century the annual chartered fair of Canterbury was held in the Cathedral precincts, within a few feet of that venerable structure. Now, if some intolerant religious enthusiast

of that time had taken a dozen "roughs" into his confidence and pay, and had perpetrated a similar affair to that of Christ and his disciples, it would have been a parallel case; but how cruel, useless, and absurd such a course of action! On what reasonable grounds could it be defended?

Jesus had a habit of *cursing* what was offensive to him. He is hungry, he beholds a fig-tree, he approaches it, it is barren, he is disappointed, and forthwith the tree receives his malediction. Here is another display of passionate anger.

Now, I do not wish the worst construction to be put upon these words and deeds of Christ; possibly they were only the occasional result of ungovernable enthusiasm, and were therefore venial offences.

The foregoing facts are, however, sufficient to prove that Christ was wholly human; a man of like passions with other men, equally liable to fits of anger and error of judgment. His moral character and love to God and man vastly improved, even approached perfection, with growing age, and experience of the trials of the world; and later in life he could, with calm resignation, say, "not my will but Thine be done," and finally, "be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." The Christ of Scripture is a real man. The Christ of Orthodoxy is an ideal God-man.

It is painful to have to allude to the dark side of a friend's character, and it is natural and customary in speaking of a dear departed friend not only to dwell on the more salient points of his goodness and wisdom, but also to carefully conceal or ignore the fact of any moral blemish that may attach to his character; but in investigating the character of an historical personage no such favour should be shown; and when such person claims to have been without sin, without spot or blemish, a special messenger from God, we are bound to scrutinise closely the records of his words and actions. I do not wish to detract from Christ's merits as a great teacher, for I hold the Christian religion to be the best ever offered to the world, and, divested of its errors, a much better is not to be expected or desired. Its fundamental doctrines are supreme love to God as our common Father, and true love to man as our brother. This was the religion of Christ, true, beautiful, good; but as he was not sinless, and taught error as well as truth, I cannot regard him as my spiritual master. He was not perfection, and I owe the full

allegiance of my heart to him only who is the all-wise and all-perfect God.

Such being the character of Christ, it is only rational to infer that, as he was not inspired to an invariably right course of action, neither was he inspired and invested with infallible wisdom. He is clearly in error on many grave doctrines, and entertained the idea that Christians only would be saved. Where is God's justice and love on such an hypothesis? Instead of taking a broad view of God's universal love, he narrowly conceived that all men would eternally perish who did not adopt his creed. If faith in Christ be *essential* to salvation, the whole population of the globe before his time, and myriads of men, women, and children since, have passed into perdition, there to endure eternal pain and grief. Thanks to the law of mental progress, men are now growing wiser than their teachers, and tens of thousands now living have thrown overboard a doctrine which represents God as a merciless, implacable, and unjust judge, rather than as the ever-loving Father and friend.

A few remarks with regard to Miracles. Are they possible, and have they been actual in our world? The former must be admitted; the latter may be denied. The greatest argument against the Scripture or any miracles which are done in little corners of the globe is their total inutility to the mass of mankind, for whose good and enlightenment they are said to have been wrought. Unless every man sees miracles and frequently, those which may have occurred in olden times are valueless to the present and future ages. With regard to miracles, seeing is believing; testimony of no force or value.

The next great argument is that in some of the cases recorded there have been causes without corresponding effects, which implies a natural impossibility. The most important cases on record are those of a bodily resurrection; if these were actual, certain results would inevitably follow. One of these results would be that the persons resuscitated would be able to inform their friends and the world what is the condition of the dead, active or passive, bliss or woe? And so intensely interesting is the subject that any person who had been raised from the dead would be beset by all classes of men anxious to know the awful mystery. Now, to my mind, the witnessing water miraculously changed into wine would be an event

of great insignificance compared to that of talking with a person who I knew had been dead and buried. His words would be treasured in the memory, committed to paper in letters and otherwise, and would promptly become a book published to all the world. It would have required a miracle to suppress the everlasting publication of the startling news from the once dead and buried. But, alas ! what silence when the world should have been talking ; what a blank where there might have been an inestimable prize. Surely the world has been deluded by these Bible stories of miracles, for not one of the multitude of saints, Christ included, who are said to have arisen from the dead, ever communicated one particular of that state of being. True statements by the resuscitated would have had the character and force of revelation, and would have formed part of Scripture ; but Scripture and tradition are alike silent on this great mystery. Here is evidence sufficient to prove that miracles, though much talked about and believed in, have never occurred. The belief in miracles is fast disappearing, and awaits the fate of sorcery and witchcraft.

It is needless to go further into the errors of Scripture ; they may be numbered by scores, but they are pardonable, inasmuch as they are the natural result of the limited state of knowledge in ancient times. I can say truly of the Bible that, with all its faults, I love it still, and so will Christendom for ever. It is an invaluable book ; it has been, and will be, spiritual food for millions. The more it is understood the greater will be its value. It gives vivid pictures of men and manners, their religious notions and sentiments, in very olden times. It speaks of men whose hearts were so holy, and intellects so vast, that their writings, or orations to the people, being prefaced with, " Thus saith the Lord," they were regarded as Divinely inspired messengers and prophets. Its language of adoration and praise is unsurpassed for its majesty and beauty. Its history and religious poetry are fascinating and instructive, its friendly advice and admonitions valuable to men of all ages. It is a charming book when rationally interpreted, and applied to the business of life.

I will now sum up the result of my arguments, and state what I conceive to be a rational, true, and pure faith, worthy of universal adoption :—

1. Time, Space, Matter, and the Deity are uncreated, and therefore, eternal.
2. God built the Universe, and is the Author and Sustainer of the Universal Frame of Nature.
3. God is an individual and not a Triune being.
4. God is a Spirit, and a being of infinite perfection,
5. Jesus Christ was a man only, not a Divine person ; and the phrase "Holy Ghost" signifies not a person, but the influence of God, and the essence or spirit of truth.
6. God rules the universe by inflexible laws, for the general good of his creatures.
7. God has constituted man a free agent, and given him the world for a home.
8. God has ordained man for action, physical, mental, moral, religious, and has provided ample rewards.
9. God has endowed man with reason and conscience—the one to discover truth, the other to impel him to obey it.
10. Man, like his Maker, is an individual being.
11. Man is not a fallen and degraded being, but, like the lion, the horse, the dog, or an angel, is noble and perfect after his kind.
12. Man has no innate knowledge of God.
13. God reveals himself to man only through his works ; and inspiration is knowledge derived from contemplation and the study of Nature.
14. The name of God should ever be hallowed, and man should reverently adore and praise Him for His wisdom and goodness.
15. God, unasked, giveth to man daily his daily bread : food both for the body and mind.
16. Prayer to God for temporal or spiritual blessings is unnecessary, and implies moral weakness, ignorance, indolence, and want of confidence. God has already given to man "all things richly to enjoy," and he has only to stretch forth his hands and open his heart to receive them.

17. God is impartial in the bestowment of his gifts—"He causeth the sun to shine on the just and the unjust."
18. "The heavens declare the glory of God" (his wisdom, power, and goodness), and Nature proclaims his universal love.
19. Man was created to be happy; instinct and reason impel him to the pleasurable conservation of his being.
20. The bad actions of men cannot disturb the serenity or happiness of God; and what is called sin is an infraction of law and right, involving in this life more or less human or Divine certain punishment. Sin never goes unpunished; and man's conscience is his judge and tormentor, and always awards to the offender an adequate amount of retribution.
21. Man being fully punished in this world for all his misdeeds, the justice of an all-wise all-good God must be satisfied; therefore it is irrational to suppose that man will be punished in another world for sins expiated in this.
22. "God is good to all, and His *tender mercies* are over all His works;" therefore if he consign only one man to perdition, the good God will have changed, and become unmerciful, implacable.
23. Reason and conscience revolt at the idea of eternal torments. The happiness of heaven would be destroyed by perpetual sorrow and pity for the doomed, and the once good God would be regarded as partial, unjust, and tyrannical.
24. God is our Father, a parent of infinite love, who, in this world, has provided for his children innumerable sources of pleasure, and having loved us unto death, he will purify us, and love us perpetually in a renewed and higher life, wherein man shall no longer see as through a darkened glass, but shall behold unveiled the true glory of God, and enjoy a happy immortality. A Rational-Christian, having, sooner or later, determined to make the best of this life, will anticipate the future with true resignation, calmness, hope, and faith.

A rational and simple faith like the above honours God, confers spiritual freedom and dignity, renders life pleasurable and useful, and regards death as an entrance into a higher life, wherein man will be purified, sanctified, beatified.

With such a faith England might proselytise and reform the world.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

CHURCH EXTENSION.

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PREFACE.

THE following Paper is reprinted at the expense of "A LAYMAN." His reasons for wishing to see it reproduced in a cheap form are thus given—"The paper on Church Extension has a special *present* interest, and is, I understand, to be followed by others. If this one could be reprinted, at the cost of about 8s. the hundred, and widely distributed *before* the Meeting of Convocation, it might do much good. I observe that *after* men have taken their line it is hard to turn them from it.

The subject will be continued in the February number of *Mission Life* by an article on Church Statistics, and by Letters from the Right Hon. LORD LYTTELTON, the Rev. CANON BLAKESLEY, and "A LAYMAN."

W. WELLS GARDNER.

The March number will contain an article, entitled "Our Great Towns," by JOHN G. TALBOT, Esq., M.P.

CHURCH EXTENSION.

INTRODUCTORY PAPER.

BY THE EDITOR.

QUENE of the noblest vessels in our mercantile navy was a few weeks back lost under circumstances which, if the facts were not entirely beyond dispute, might well seem incredible. She was just leaving a well-known harbour; the night was calm, and the only dangerous reef of rocks within many miles was perfectly well known. Yet for all this, lying-to for a wholly insufficient reason, she was allowed, simply for lack of the order being given to get up steam and move ahead, to drift on to this very reef and become a total wreck.

The fate of the "Rangoon" may serve as an allegory. The ship is the Church of England. The reef on which she is in danger of drifting is one of which she is being daily warned—Disestablishment. The only difference in the two cases is, that whilst one ship was lost at night, the other is in danger of being wrecked in broad day. In both cases those on board make no sign that they are aware of the presence of danger, and all busy themselves with matters which, however engrossing under ordinary circumstances, would not be worth a moment's thought in the immediate presence of serious danger. Here and there some one looks up from his occupation and wonders that they are drawing so near to what he would have fancied were danger signals. But no voice of authority is heard ordering steam to be got up and head-way to be made; so he assumes that it is only his own inexperience which alarms him. At last, when the peril is patent to the most unobservant, a cry is raised. Orders are given loudly enough then; the startled crew strive to execute them; but it is too late; the ship has struck, and the most frantic efforts will not now avail to avert a danger, to avoid which, a short time before, would have been a simple question of the due discharge of ordinary routine duty.

But, to drop the allegory, let us in sober earnest set ourselves to consider—

I. What, at the present time, is the real cause of danger to the Church of England; and

II. How far it may be possible to remove this cause.

I. We believe that the various causes commonly assigned for the com-

parative insecurity of the Established Church at the present time, have very much less to do with the matter than is commonly supposed, and that it is due mainly to the unaccountable manner in which for the last thirty years she has concentrated her efforts on making provision for a minority of her country population, which was already fairly provided for, to the neglect of the large majority of her town population, who were entirely dependent upon the efforts of the present generation. Let us look to the facts of the case.

According to the census of 1861, the population of the country districts of England, including all towns of 2,000 inhabitants, was 7,500,000. To minister in those districts we had no fewer than 10,998 incumbents. In our large towns, on the other hand, there were 19,500,000 of population, but only 2,431 incumbents.*

During the last ten years the population of the country has increased 2,687,884, nearly the whole of this increase having taken place in our towns. Thus we have 7,500,000 of people in our villages, with 10,998 clergy, and some 15,000,000 in our towns, with only 2,431 clergy.

But even these figures do not represent the case quite fairly; for whilst the 7,000,000 in the country have more than four times as many clergy as the 15,000,000 in large towns, they have probably at least ten times the amount of endowments. A large proportion of the town clergy are thus dependent upon pew-rents, and their Sunday ministrations are thereby almost exclusively limited to persons of the upper and middle class. A large deduction must therefore be made from the total number of town incumbents, before we can arrive at the number who are fairly at work amongst the masses of people forming the bulk of this 15,000,000 of population.

It might be expected that the above disproportionate disposition of our clerical forces would have been, at least to some extent, rectified by the larger number of curates serving in towns. This, however, is not the case, the expenditure of the Pastoral Aid and Additional Curates Societies being to a great extent neutralised by the very competition which their system of working developes. Thus, in spite of the aid given by these societies there were only 2,645 curates in our large towns, as compared with 2,495 in country places. In other words, the 15,000,000 in our towns had only just 150 more curates working amongst them than the 7,500,000 in the country; whilst the same deduction from the

* The figures were thus given in the *Times* some three years back:—

Living.	Population.	Clergy.
468	8,000 and upwards.....	1,154
822	4,000 to 8,000	1,814
1,143	2,000 to 4,000	1,858
10,998	Below 2,000	18,046

Of some 24,000 Clergy whose names appear in the *Clergy List*, 12,888 were Incumbents, 4,381 Curates, and the remainder unattached.

value of their services has to be made in consideration of the large majority of town curates who minister in pew-rented churches.

After making every possible allowance for the wider area over which the country districts generally extend, it is, we submit, impossible to give their due significance to the above figures, and not to allow that the great problem which the Church has to solve, and on the right solution of which her very existence as an Established Church probably depends, is, How are we to deal with these vast masses of our town population? and how may we best rectify the disproportion which exists between the number of clergy and the amount of endowments available in country as compared with the same in town districts?

Disestablishment can only result from a gradual loosening of the hold which the Church has hitherto had upon the confidence and affection of the majority of the entire population of the country. As long as our parochial system worked in such a manner as to bring the clergy, in every parish in the kingdom, into constant and familiar personal intercourse with the people, there was nothing to fear. But just in proportion as increased numbers of the people are removed from the immediate influence of the clergy, in that proportion the hold which the Church has upon the national mind must be loosened, and the danger of Disestablishment become more imminent. If the population at the great centres of industry is continually increasing, with a rapidity out of all proportion to the increased number of clergy provided to minister amongst them, Disestablishment only becomes a question of time, and the date at which it is likely to take place may be calculated with almost as much certainty as the hour at which the rising tide will attain to a particular height. Various circumstances may determine the exact date at which the final catastrophe may happen; but happen, under these circumstances, it must and will.

But before we go on to consider the best means which may be suggested for averting the threatened danger, it will help us to understand the whole bearings of the case if we pass in review, as shortly as possible: (a) The causes which have led to the present abnormal state of things. (b) The extent to which comparatively recent ecclesiastical changes have affected the supply and distribution of the clergy.

(a) The length of time during which the Church had continued to keep pace with a continually increasing population, had a natural tendency to make persons, at the beginning of the present century, slow to attach their due importance to the changed circumstances under which this increase of population had begun to take place.

As long as the population increased in country villages, it made comparatively little difference to the clergyman in charge whether he had 800 or 600, or even 1,200, to deal with. The work might be somewhat more laborious, but the old endowment was just as sufficient, or insufficient, for his support as before. When, however, under a changing condition

of national life, the population began to draw off from the old endowments and mass itself in great towns,* the case was very different. For all the good they reaped from the ancient revenues of the Church, these emigrants from their native villages might almost as well have gone to the wilds of Australia or New Zealand. True, the site of every one of these new centres was within the boundary of some ecclesiastical district, but the revenues upon which the new population thus became chargeable, were mostly as a single loaf amongst an army.

Thus for all practical purposes of maintaining the old relations between pastor and people, the new districts were totally destitute of provision for their spiritual wants.

From time to time, during the present century, efforts have been made to rectify this state of things, and as far as church building and the provision of school accommodation is concerned, very substantial evidence of the energy of those who have taken up this work is forthcoming. But not so with regard to the means of maintenance for the clergy. In this respect the provision made has borne no sort of relation to the requirements of the case. Even the recent efforts of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, admirably directed as they have been and thoroughly calculated, as far as they have gone, to meet the emergency, have been far too limited to produce any result commensurate with the necessities of the case.

The upshot of all this has been that as far as two-thirds of the population of this country are concerned, the Church of England has ceased, from sheer lack of men, to do in any effectual manner the work entrusted to her; whilst, as a necessary consequence, she is fast losing her hold upon the national mind, and in spite of the supplementary work of various dissenting bodies, the heathenism of our great towns has become as gross in itself and as revolting in its accompaniments as that of any barbarous people with whom we are acquainted.†

* The manner in which even now the inhabitants of the country districts are flocking to the towns, may serve to give us some idea of the way in which our great towns were originally formed. An illustration may be taken from the preliminary report of the new census. In 1831, Middlesbrough, a town in the North Riding of Yorkshire, had 883 inhabitants; in 1841, they had increased to 5,709; in 1851 to 7,893; in 1861 to 19,416; and in 1871 to 39,434.

† Here, for instance, is the testimony of two clergymen who have laboured respectively amongst the heathen of Madagascar and Burmah. The first, the Rev. J. Holding, says:—"Happy Christian England! This application of the words happy and Christian seemed mockery now, where they had once sounded so pleasant and fair to me when labouring for my Master in a distant and savage land. . . . I received more scoffs and jeers, more insults and abuse, in these English houses than ever I received in the rude cabins of Tamatave or Mahavelona. Vice, the offspring of ignorance and pretended civilisation, met me everywhere. Prejudice against the ministers of the Church, and contempt for all who advocated the sacred cause, was displayed everywhere." The Rev. W. Hazeldine, Vicar of Temple Parish, Bristol, said, in the *Bristol Times*, "There is in Bristol heathenism as dense, as foul, and as repulsive, as ever he saw in Burmah, and there were sights to be witnessed in that city really darker and more revolting than in heathen countries. In many cases marriage ties were little regarded, and drunkenness—the parent of every crime—was seen to an extent which we never saw among the heathen of Burmah and India. The condition of Temple Parish, if fully exposed, would thrill the mind with horror, and pollute it also. None but those who have inquired into the matter, or resided in the parish, could form any idea of the depth of depravity that prevailed."—*Report for 1870, of the Additional Curates Society.*

(b) Of the various ecclesiastical changes which have taken place in comparatively recent times, the Pluralities Act unquestionably stands first in importance.

It is not a little interesting at the present time to look back and see how completely those who opposed this measure were at fault in their estimate of its probable effects.

Chief of these opponents was Mr. Sydney Smith. Regarding the Act as merely a redistribution of Church preferment amongst a body of clergy who would in numbers remain much the same as before, the only result which he anticipated from it was, that whereas a body of 5,000 curates were then very poor for the first half of their professional career, but had a good chance of being really well off in the latter half, the whole profession would for the future be reduced to a dead level of comparative poverty, and that there would be so few prizes left that men would no longer enter into the profession in any numbers.

The whole scheme he considered as one "for turning the English Church into a collection of consecrated beggars." "Fathers and uncles," he wrote, "judging, and properly judging, that the Church is a very altered and deteriorated profession, will turn the industry and capital of their *élèves* into another channel . . . the whole plan is a ptochogomy—a generation of beggars."

Happily, the "prize" theory upon which these arguments were based proved to be as untrue as it was derogatory to the clergy. So far from deterring men from taking Holy Orders, the dreaded abolition of great prizes had the exactly opposite effect, resulting in *an increase in the standing body of the clergy of nearly 5,000 men*. As the curates of non-resident incumbents were absorbed into the ranks of the benefited clergy, and took up their residence as incumbents in the same parishes which, under the former state of things, they would have served as curates, the number of ordinations gradually increased sufficiently to replace them by another body of about the same number employed by *resident* incumbents. Instead of the clergy considering even their reduced "prizes" too small, they voluntarily reduced them still further, and that too by nearly one-half of their average value, in order to meet more effectually the wants of an increasing population and the requirements of a more earnest tone of religious life.

Thus the working of the Pluralities Act established once for all a principle which it is of the utmost importance for us in the present day to keep constantly before our minds, viz., that whatever may be the case in other professions, in the Church the direct contrary to this prize theory holds good—that men do *not* seek to be paid "by lottery;" that it is *not* "the irresistible tendency to hope that they should win the great prizes which tempt men into the ministry;" and further, that a dead level of comparative poverty, so far from

repelling men, attracts them in proportion as it promises them at the same time a speedier settlement in some permanent position, however poorly paid. So long as comparative poverty meant a settled position and a tolerable certainty of securing such small professional income as, when eked out from private sources, would serve to keep the wolf from the door, so long neither "parents and uncles" nor the men themselves who were minded to enter the ministry, were deterred by any merely pecuniary considerations.

It may be urged that Sydney Smith's prognostications with regard to the impoverishment of the clergy have, at least to a great extent, been fulfilled. This is perfectly true. Still it must be borne in mind that this impoverishment has been the result not of the operation of the act, which he anticipated, but of one entirely different to anything which he imagined possible, viz., the increase to which we have alluded in the total number of the working clergy.

As far as the then existing body of clergy were concerned, the Pluralities Act, independently of its ultimate results, seems to have been as great a boon to them as it was to the parishes affected by it. But no sooner did the increased strain upon the existing revenues caused by the addition of 5,000 new men, come to be felt, than the evil effect of creating a fresh body of workers, without creating any fresh provision for them, showed itself. The share which the newly-created body of men took of the common revenues necessarily changed, in many cases, comparative into actual poverty. Though promoted to the dignity of incumbents, those who represented the former body of 5,000 curates were as poor, and in some cases poorer, than before. The only difference in their position was that they had to share their chances of pecuniary promotion with a fresh body of 5,000 anxious expectants; the richer benefices, which had previously sufficed for 5,000 men having now to serve for 10,000.

The result was only what might have been anticipated. A considerable number of those who were ordained, unable to obtain preferment, and unwilling to continue to submit to all the changes and chances of a curate's lot, retired from active work and formed a large standing body of several thousand supernumeraries.* Some remained as curates for twenty or thirty years, some all their lives; whilst all, save the inner circle of 5,000 or 6,000 whom private patronage rendered independent of competition, found their incomes reduced to an amount painfully inadequate to the demands of their position, whilst the number of "clergy charities" designed to mitigate the actual distress to which a large number of the clergy were thus reduced, were multiplied till they numbered nearly 100.

* The number of Clergy whose names appear in the *Clergy List*, but who are unattached, now amounts to several thousands.

Under these circumstances a reaction naturally set in. The relation between the supply of clergy and the demand thrown out for a time by a somewhat artificial stimulus, gradually began to adjust itself, and fewer ordinations took place. Nor, in spite of the very considerable additions made to the available "wage fund" of the Clergy by the better administration of Church property, has any recovery from this reaction yet taken place, the number of ordinations still showing a tendency to keep considerably below that which it had reached some twenty years back.*

From the above considerations, it will appear that though during the present century we have added very largely to the standing body of Clergy, the provision made for this additional number has consisted mainly of a redistribution of *country* livings, and has therefore increased the power of the Church in rural districts, but added comparatively little to its influence in our large towns. In the meantime the population of the country has increased from 8,892,536 in 1801, to 22,704,108 in 1871, "the mere increase of Englishmen since the year 1831 being very nearly equal to the whole of those existing in the year 1801."† Thus our present rural population is about the same as the population of the whole country in 1801. For this part of the people committed to her charge, the Church has, by a judicious redistribution, made considerably better provision than she did formerly. For the newly-created town population she has yet, as we have seen, made no adequate provision—the Clergy of the Church of England remaining essentially a *country* Clergy, the population having become essentially a *town* population. Hence, more than from any other given cause, come the clouds which now darken the ecclesiastical horizon.

II. We have now to consider *the various measures which suggest themselves as likely to help in removing such causes of weakness as we have indicated.*

Assuming that our chief want is more Clergy, and that the main, if not the only obstacle to our obtaining them, is the absence of any adequate provision for their maintenance, we shall content ourselves with considering these measures which seem likely to add directly or indirectly to the sustaining power of our Church revenues.

* SUPPLY OF CLERGY FROM 1850 TO 1870.

1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
622	614	602	632	524	562	576	606	595	615	567
1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	
570	489	516	553	559	588	561	600	561	612	

† Census Report for 1871.

Before attempting this it may be well first to try and define what we mean by this sustaining power of the Church revenues, and to explain in what sense we conceive that the ordinary law of supply and demand holds good in the case before us.

In speaking, then, of the causes which affect the supply of Clergy, we do *not* mean to imply that those who enter the ministry are actuated by merely prudential or pecuniary motives. As a rule, we believe that no class of men think so little of mere questions of £ s. d., and that the ordinary laws of supply and demand act very little, if at all, upon those who are once duly qualified by previous training to enter or abstain from entering the ministry. But they *do* act upon those who have to decide whether they shall or shall not invest in the education of their sons the capital which will alone give them such qualification.

Many circumstances combine to make parents willing to acquiesce in a much smaller rate of professional emolument than any other profession would afford. But after making the fullest allowance for such influences, there still remains the fact that they must and will require to see such a prospect as prudence may fairly demand, of at least a minimum income being attainable. In the long run it will be found that the law of supply and demand, acting thus chiefly upon parents, will render it impossible to get any considerable number of men in excess of those for whom this minimum provision is made. What that minimum is we do not attempt to say, but we may assume that it will vary according to the amount of certainty or uncertainty in its attainment, and according to the nature of the work to which the income is, under various circumstances, attached. Political economists distinguish between an "effectual" and "an ineffectual demand," the former of course implying both a willingness and a power to pay whatever may be necessary to secure the object desired. Probably a country living of £150 a-year and house, would always, in the present state of society, represent an effectual demand for a clergyman who had received a University education. Possibly—and there are not wanting signs that this is the case—£100 a-year and a house would often be amply sufficient. The money value of the preferment is here comparatively little thought of, many other considerations entering into the question. On the other hand, in a large town parish, where expenses, especially for a married man, will be far heavier, an income of £200, or possibly £300, a-year, would most likely be required. These amounts, again, will necessarily vary according to the degree of certainty or uncertainty attaching to the prospect which every man has of attaining by his own exertions to such an income, and the length of time which is likely to elapse before such prospect can be realised. A country living of a mere nominal income and a house, with a certainty of possession under given circumstances, has actually a marketable value. Not only is it an effectual demand for a duly qualified

man, but persons are found willing to pay for the right of succession to it.*

On the whole, then, we should define the sustaining power of the revenues of the Church as the number of permanent spheres of work carrying with them such amount of emolument as, when taken in connection with all the circumstances of the work and position involved, would satisfy parents able to give their sons a University education.

It may seem, at first sight, as if the creation of a new post, to which a man who has already been in Holy Orders ten or twenty years, is at once appointed, is a very indirect way of expressing a demand for an additional candidate for Holy Orders. If any argument were needed to prove that, however apparently indirect, this is the only method by which the object can be attained, we might point to the result of the Pluralities Act, to which we have already alluded. A more striking instance of the manner in which a supply—even in excess of the provision made—is sure to follow what we have termed an effectual demand, it would be impossible to imagine. Whatever may be the case in the future, the Church has never yet practically expressed its want for more clergy *by creating new posts* without at once obtaining them.

In noticing *seriatim* the various methods of increasing, directly or indirectly, the sustaining power of our Church revenues, it may be well to place first those methods which have already been tried, without producing any very marked results. They are—

1. The employment of curates in preference to incumbents, where new permanent workers are required.
2. The augmentation of small country livings.

1. **THE EMPLOYMENT OF CURATES** seems, at first sight, the most economical, the quickest, and the most effectual way of getting the work of the Church done in any particular district. There is in some respects a positive advantage in employing the services of a young rather than an older man. But there is another side to the question. The demand for curates has but a very slight influence, if any at all, on the number of men entering Holy Orders. It does not in any way, either in the position or income offered, represent the minimum provision required for a fresh worker; on the contrary, parents are rather deterred

* The following are specimens selected at random from the prices paid for advowsons sold under Lord Westbury's Act, the incumbents being in each case of advanced age:—

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------|
| A. | Country living, income £170, | price £2,000. |
| B. | " " " £120, " | £2,000. |
| C. | Large and very poor district, income £300, | price £1,500. |
| D. | Country living, income £158, | price £1,800. |
| E. | " " " £70, " | £800. |

from enabling their sons to enter Holy Orders by the prospect of their remaining as curates an indefinite time. All it does, therefore, is to increase the competition amongst the existing body of curates, and so to cause a general rise in the rate of curates' stipends.

Persons often argue as though an increased demand always resulted in an increased supply. Doubtless it does so generally. For instance, an increased demand for lawyers' clerks would, doubtless, lead to an increased supply of them (but *not to an increase in the number of lawyers*).

But the circumstances of the clerical labour-market are purely exceptional. In no other profession is age and experience so entirely at a discount, and a distinct premium set upon youth and comparative inexperience. If such a state of things could be brought about in any other profession, all the conditions of the profession would be quickly modified by it. For instance, if lawyers' clerks were extensively employed *instead* of lawyers, the character and conditions of the profession would quickly adapt themselves to such a change. In the Church system, however, there is no such power of adaptation. Thus it happens that instead of the equalisation between the supply and demand being brought about, as under ordinary circumstances, by an increase in the supply, it is effected mainly by a rise in the price of the services of curates.*

The extent to which this competition for curates' services has already been carried, even now demands the most serious attention. No matter how wealthy a town or suburban district may be, when an additional clergyman is permanently required no permanent provision is made for his maintenance, and the want is met by "employing a curate." To hold their own against this demand, the incumbents of country livings are obliged to make increased efforts to offer higher and yet higher stipends even to the youngest curates. Curates are thus continually drawn off from one place to another, to the great hindrance of the Church's work. A considerable number of places are for longer or shorter periods unable to secure the additional help required, whilst poorer town parishes are hardly enabled to enter into the competition at all by the aid of large subsidies from the Pastoral Aid and Additional Curates' Societies. At the same time the Church at large is entirely deprived of the advantage which, under ordinary circumstances, it would derive from the slightly remunerated services of those who merely regarded their service as curates as a necessary stepping-stone to preferment.

With regard to the working of the Pastoral Aid and Additional Curates'

* Competition might of course go on until the price of curates' labour was so run up that it would constitute an effectual demand, not, perhaps, for more clergy who had received a University education, but for men, not so qualified and willing to enter Holy Orders. On the other hand, however, the process would so impoverish the livings out of which this increased rate of stipend would mainly come, that the sustaining power of the Church revenues would be really less than before.

Societies, it may well be worthy of consideration whether their increasing growth does not of itself necessitate some change in their plan of action. Whilst the Ecclesiastical Commissioners now grant annually to our large towns a capital sum representing £5,000 a-year, those two societies spend upwards of £100,000 a-year. We have seen that the demand for Curates' labour is equalised with the supply almost exclusively by a proportionate rise in the price of labour; the expenditure of this sum on Curates, therefore, simply represents so much money divisible amongst the whole of the existing body of working Curates: in other words, a rise of some twenty per cent. in the stipends of the whole body of Curates, even the very youngest. At the same time, the very competition excited by the attempts to draw Curates at any price into particular places, neutralises the effect, as far as these places are concerned, of all but the last few pounds by which their last "bidding" exceeds that of some other place. Stipends being raised all round the *relative* position of the places where Curates are employed is not affected in a degree at all proportioned to the expenditure.

The case may be put thus:—There are three classes of competitors for Curates' services,—incumbents of country places, of wealthy town parishes, and of poor town districts. The resources of the first two classes are so elastic, and circumstances so much in their favour, that no amount of subsidy given to those of the third class will enable them as a body to outbid the other two. A few parishes may at a vast cost be kept, so to speak, at the head of the bidding; but those which are not fortunate enough to secure the subsidy of any society, will be in a worse position than ever, and the injury done to one set of poor parishes will, in the end, be as great as the benefit accruing to another.

Very different would be the result if this £100,000 a-year were spent in helping to create permanent and independent posts, with an income of, say, £200 or £250 a-year. The independence and permanence of the position would double the intrinsic value of the income provided; and every such post would thus represent a provision for a new worker. And thus the competition excited by so large an expenditure would be neutralised, as it should be, not by a constant rise in the rate of stipends, but by an influx of new men. The demand for more clergy would be expressed in the only legitimate way, and would be sure to meet with a response.

2. We have next to consider THE AUGMENTATION OF SMALL COUNTRY LIVINGS.

The augmentation of small country livings is open to a grave *prima facie* objection. It must be recommended either (1) by the claims of the present Incumbents; or, (2) by the claims of the particular parishes; or, (3) by the requirements of the profession at large. In the first case, if we are called upon to help any particular body of men, it is clear we

are bound to require that they shall be serving where they are most wanted, that is, in our large towns. If the second reason be urged, we see at once that small country parishes have no claim which can for a minute be preferred to those of our great towns. If the interests of the profession at large are to be considered, we are bound to admit that they can be equally well served by making additional provision for Clergy in the great centres of population.

But apart from the priority of claim possessed by our large towns, we have to consider what is the amount of endowment which experience shows will constitute a country living an "effectual demand" for the permanent services of a duly qualified Incumbent. The experience of Lord Westbury's Act, and other considerations, seem to fix this amount at about £50 a-year (see note on p. 11), more or less, according to the particular circumstances of the living. To augment a country living beyond this amount is simply a waste of resources. It is not only strengthening the chain of our Church system at a point where it has never shown any sign of weakness, but it is tempting men without private fortunes to take livings, which would otherwise fall to the lot of those whose private incomes would serve as their endowments.

As a matter of fact, however, nothing but experience will prove either what is the minimum amount of endowment which will suffice for such livings, or how far this minimum amount can be supplied from local sources. The present system of giving aid to such parishes, without any sort of proof that they cannot do without it, leads in a vast number of instances to assistance being given to parishes which it is quite clear, from the amount they have spent on church building and restoration, could, if there had been any real necessity for it, have made up their own endowment to the amount required. To give large sums to country places which have never yet been a single month without the service of one or more clergymen, whilst we refuse it to places where thousands of people scarcely ever see a clergyman, is like lavishing relief upon families who have never known what it was to be in want of food, whilst we refuse it to those who are literally dying of starvation.

The real difficulty of small livings lies in the fact that we try to make them serve as a means of providing for Clergy who cannot really afford to take them, and who are only driven to do so by the absence of any other provision. These men cannot afford to take into account the various indirect advantages of the position which they are thus called upon to occupy, and thus, though they receive an amount of remuneration which experience proves is sufficient to secure the duties of the post being adequately performed, they feel themselves underpaid, and are therefore a source of weakness to the profession at large.

Even if it were desirable to attempt to rectify this evil by a systematic augmentation of small livings, a moment's thought will show

that it would be perfectly hopeless to attempt to do so. Even to add £10 or £15 a-year to all small livings would require an expenditure of some £2,000,000, an amount which for such an object it would be impossible to raise, and which, if it could be obtained, would make no appreciable difference in the sustaining power of our revenues.

The real remedy of this evil is to be found in measures, which for other reasons are urgently called for, and which could be carried out at far less cost, viz. :—

1. A measure for rectifying the present uncertainty of Church patronage, and enabling men to remain as Curates until they can obtain adequate preferment.

2. A measure for giving increased facilities to those who now purchase preferment, to obtain livings with small endowment without purchase.

3. The creation of new town districts endowed with adequate incomes, to which those who had accepted country livings which did not give them a sufficient maintenance might be promoted.

The Church is really a "service" rather than a profession. The artificial conditions on which the bulk of its revenues are administered prevent its adapting itself, as it would otherwise do, to the altered circumstances of the time; when, therefore, it becomes necessary to consider how a larger number of men can be provided for than the old endowments will suffice to maintain, we are driven to adopt artificial expedients to remedy artificial evils. Such would be the two first of the above measures. We have no power of removing the evils which they are proposed to meet. All we can do, therefore, is to apply the first fruits of any increased means placed at our disposal to counteract their prejudicial effects.

1. It will be generally admitted, that *the* weak point in our Church system is *the uncertainty* of promotion. There is uncertainty in other professions, but in no other does the uncertainty seem to partake so much of the character of "chance." Steady work and fair average abilities reduce the uncertainty in other callings to an inappreciable minimum. Not so with a Curate. Just as he seems to be making progress in one place he is unavoidably shifted to another; whilst until the very day that he obtains promotion, he is seldom able to say with any certainty that he is nearer to it than when he started. Unless political economists are greatly at fault in the principles they have laid down, this must exercise an extremely prejudicial influence in the profession.

That it does so there is no doubt. No one can have listened to the reasons commonly given by parents for discouraging their sons taking Holy Orders, without perceiving that this is the great stumbling-block in their way. "*Through the best years of his life* he will have no sort of means of judging what his professional prospects are likely to be," is the gist of all the arguments commonly advanced.

This was very forcibly put by the present Bishop of Salisbury, at a meeting at Winchester, some years ago. "In my own case," he said, "I can answer for it, that the certainty of a son entering Holy Orders being able to gain by his own exertions, if he were really deserving of it, an income of from £200 to £250 a-year, would remove the one great difficulty which I should feel in encouraging him in such a choice, were I unable to give him the wherewithal to live upon."

The only way of meeting the case seems to be by enabling every man who has served well "in the Word and doctrine," and thus earned for himself "a good degree" (*διπλῆς τιμῆς*, a double honorarium), to obtain an income of from £200 to £250 a-year, independently of the time at which he may obtain preferment.

Admitting that he ought not to be compelled to accept a living of less, say, than £200 a-year, and knowing that the livings of larger amount are not sufficiently numerous to provide for the claimants upon them, unless a large proportion of them remain from twenty to thirty years as curates, we should be prepared to make up his income to at least £250 a-year at the end of say fifteen years' service. If it be asked, What test of qualification can we apply? we answer, The only known test of the value of a man's services—the price which they will command. Let us enable every curate of a given standing, who can obtain, in competition with younger men, a stipend, *well above the average amount paid by incumbents*, to obtain an additional income of at least £100 a-year, and we should have rectified at once the evils of the uncertainty of promotion, and have relieved ourselves of the only pressing difficulties connected with small livings: inasmuch as no man could feel it a hardship that he had only a small income, when he had voluntarily relinquished his claim to a better income, specially provided to meet the case of those who cannot afford the luxury of retiring from a curate's life as early as they would naturally desire.

Of course the number of curates remaining as such after fifteen years' service would be largely increased, were a different system of filling up small livings adopted. At the same time, it must be remembered that an additional income given to them would not represent the whole amount of good done by such a provision. Inasmuch as every curate promoted before he attained to the time at which he could claim an increased income, would have been able to calculate upon such a provision as a guarantee against the *uncertainty* of promotion on which we have dwelt.

That, save under very exceptional circumstances, few men who had the means sufficient to enable them to accept a small living, would remain on into middle life as curates, there is no doubt. Thus we should have the best possible guarantee that we were making the most economical use of the money so expended.

The work here suggested has already been commenced by the Curates' Augmentation Fund, from which about 400 curates annually draw an additional stipend of £20 a-year. Few persons would imagine how great a boon even this addition to his income is to a man who has reached middle life, and whose professional income is represented by the average curate's stipend. Still, great as the boon is, such an amount cannot be expected to exercise any appreciable influence on the prospects of the profession,—its very smallness making the additional income seem more like a charity than professional emolument. To raise the grants made by this Society from £20 to £100, at least in the case of curates serving in our large towns, seems to us a measure second to none in its importance.

2. To appreciate fully the advantages likely to accrue from affording increased facilities for men of private means to obtain small livings, we must remember that no fewer than 7,219 of the richest livings in England are in private patronage, and liable to be bought and sold. The annual value of these livings is no less a sum than £2,040,668. Every one of such livings which is sold, represents not only so much money taken from the private incomes of the Clergy, and transferred for the most part to the laity, but one living less available for promotion by merit. It is impossible to estimate exactly the amount of loss which thus accrues to the Church. But it can hardly be set down at less than £300,000 a-year in money, and the withdrawal from all competition, save that of money, of some 1,500 or 2,000 livings, all considerably above the average value. There is hardly room to doubt that the adoption, with regard to small livings, of some modification of the plan adopted by Lord Westbury, would, to a very great extent, prevent the waste thus occasioned. Few persons would sink a considerable capital in the purchase of an advowson, if they could, with as little difficulty, obtain a similar position and sphere of work, with an income which, together with their own property, gave them sufficient to live upon. If such livings can be sold for "twelve years' purchase," *a fortiori*, suitable men could be found willing to serve them were they offered without purchase.

3. The creation and endowment of new districts in our large towns is, of course, of all others the most important branch of the work of Church extension.

But here we are met by a serious difficulty.

It is generally assumed that it is better to have an incumbent and one or two curates in a parish of 6,000 people, than to divide the district, and place either two or three incumbents in charge of the newly-created parishes. Much may be said against this assumption.

The chief advantage of the one Church serving for the larger district has to be set against many manifest disadvantages. The personal

influence of a clergyman in authority, and permanently attached to a particular district, is immeasurably greater than that of one who is here to-day and gone to-morrow ; whilst the heartiness which a man throws into work, of which he hopes himself to see the fruits, is necessarily much greater and more easily sustained than it could be under any other circumstances. The value of the parochial system depends, to a great extent, upon the opportunities which it affords the clergy for personal intercourse with, and influence upon, their parishioners. In the case of a mere temporary worker in a parish, this influence is necessarily very small ; before he really knows anything of the people, he is gone. Yet, under the present system, personal intercourse with the people, in our largest parishes, is to a great extent actually confined to curates, incumbents often finding the general work of superintending an extensive organisation, combined with preparation for their public ministrations, sufficient to tax their strength to the utmost.

The objections generally felt to the greater subdivision of parishes, are often still further increased by the dislike to such subdivision on the part of those already in charge of large parishes. They are generally themselves men of great earnestness and considerable administrative power, and not unnaturally prefer to keep the entire control of the parish in their own hands.

The question we would, however, venture to submit to them is—By retaining a responsibility which legitimately belongs to those who do the work, and by refusing to their fellow-workers any permanent interest either in their work or income, do they not deprive them of that which constitutes a large part of the remuneration which the Church has to offer to her Clergy, and thereby lessen the number of permanent posts which she ought to have at her disposal, and the increase in which will alone secure an increase of her staff of workers ? We must also bear in mind that, as the population of the country increases in our great towns, the subdivision of parishes represents the only method which has ever been suggested for creating such new posts as will constitute an effectual demand for Clergy to minister in these districts. As we have seen, a constantly-increasing demand for curates has not of itself any tendency to add to the numerical force of the working staff of the clergy. If, therefore, the Church is to keep pace with the growing wants of the country, she must be prepared to increase, in proportion to the increase of population, the number of responsible posts available for the permanent employment of additional Clergy. To refuse to do this, is simply to say that the number of Clergy shall be regulated, not by the regular increase of population, but by an arbitrary arrangement of ecclesiastical districts.

The question of the endowment of additional parishes is, doubtless, a serious difficulty ; but not, we believe, so serious as it would at first sight appear. All we require is greater faith in the reproductive power of

money spent in maintaining the "living men." There never was a time when there was greater willingness on the part of the laity to respond to any call made upon them for any great work of Church extension. What has been done in the dioceses of London and Rochester, might probably be done with at least a proportionate result in every diocese in the country. The only difficulty is the unwillingness on the part of the Bishops and Clergy to concentrate their expenditure on providing for the living agents, and to create for them responsible and permanent posts other than curacies. We believe that if the whole of the Bishop of London's Fund had been expended in bringing two or three hundred picked men from rural districts into the poorest parts of the London Diocese, we should still have had just as much spent in the diocese on church and school building as we have had. Experience shows that, taking one man with another, the Clergy in our very poor districts do obtain, through private sources, very large sums to help them in carrying on their work. An average of £3,000 for each man to obtain in ten years would be by no means an excessive computation. We have known as much as £25,000 raised by a single clergyman in that time, mainly through private friends, and without any resort to general begging. At present, instead of concentrating our power, in the first instance, on the living agents, we assume, without any sort of ground for such assumption, that these will, sooner or later, be forthcoming, and so devote a bare tenth or twentieth part of our available means to that which should be our first care. Of the extent to which an incumbent of a poor district attracts round him volunteer workers of all kinds—from his own family, from former parishes, and from the place itself—in a manner which a curate never can do, we do not now speak, but it is a point which should by no means be lost sight of.

On the whole our chief ground for hope of a successful result attending any large effort for the endowment of additional districts, lies in the fact that, though the simplest and most straightforward method of meeting our present difficulties, it has never yet been fairly set before the laity as *the* work of all others which this generation is called upon to undertake. Even if we cannot provide endowments to the extent required, we may at least hope that such appeals as those made to the dioceses of London and Rochester, if made throughout the country, would lead to the establishment of a Sustentation Fund, on a sufficiently liberal scale to enable us to make yearly grants to the full amount required.

Other subsidiary, but by no means unimportant measures of Church extension, we must be content at present merely to enumerate. Such are:—

1. *The endowment of poor town districts with the reversion of country livings.*

Of the 7,000 livings in private patronage, many, if bought at the right time, might be obtained by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for a comparatively small sum. The advantages which would accrue from their annexation to town districts in the manner indicated are too obvious to need any comment.

2. *The notification, by Bishops and other patrons, that promotion to certain specified livings would be made from amongst Curates who had served in particular towns.*

If the towns now selected by the Pastoral Aid and Additional Curates' Societies, as most needing help, were thus selected by any considerable number of patrons, it would at once serve to put such a premium upon service in them, that competition in those places would no longer be between incumbents to find curates, but amongst curates to find incumbents. Stipends would thus fall proportionately, and the amount now spent secure the services of a largely-increased number of workers. At the same time, curates themselves would be more than repaid by the better prospect of ultimate promotion.

3. *The endowment of poor districts with Cathedral preferment.* This plan is, we believe, already adopted in Manchester. That such a measure is admirably calculated both to utilise Cathedral revenues, and to allay the chronic irritation which their present administration excites, there can be little doubt.

4. *The subdivision of at least those dioceses whose population has been trebled or quadrupled during the present century; and the endowment of the new dioceses, say with the revenues now held by the Deans of Cathedrals.*

It may be said that all such measures as we have suggested are more or less Utopian. If it be Utopian to expect that Churchmen of the present day can be stimulated to make an effort adequate to the great interests at stake, then, and then only, we admit the force of the objection. Much that has been suggested is a mere question of organisation, and involves nothing more than an amount of combined action amongst our leaders, which, in such an emergency as the present, we may fairly calculate on. That where additional funds are required, it is not Utopian to expect the laity to respond to any appeal made to them with authority, we have abundant evidence. "Organise, and organise at once,"* is the cry already raised by many of the laity themselves, and nothing disheartens them more than the unaccountable apathy which the Clergy manifest in a crisis fraught with such grave consequences to our Church and nation.†

* Speech of Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P.

† The munificent prizes offered by Mr. W. H. Peek, M.P., for essays on the value of an Established Church, is only one of many signs of the warm interest taken by laymen in the present position of the Church.

To conclude. We would only offer one word of apology to our readers for speaking as plainly as we have done. We are painfully aware how large and many-sided is the question with which we have attempted to deal. All that we have hoped to do is to offer a slight contribution towards the materials for its full discussion—to sketch, as it were, the first rough draft of a case to be submitted to counsel.

That the views expressed may not be seriously in error in some points is, perhaps, too much almost to expect. At the same time, having regard to the little attention which the various points raised have hitherto received, we feel that we may fairly appeal to the kind consideration of those into whose hands these pages may fall to make the fullest possible allowance for that which they conceive to be erroneous, without allowing it to prejudice their judgment on that which may seem worthy of more attentive consideration.

P.S.—Since writing the above we have obtained the following statistics, carefully prepared from the Clergy Lists of 1851 and 1870 :—

	1851.	1870.
Total Number of Curates	3,526	5,737
Curates in Towns of 2,000 population and upwards	1,877, working in 1,341 parishes.	2,896, in 1,860 parishes.

These statistics would seem at first sight to be inconsistent with the returns of ordinations given on page 9, particularly when we remember, that *besides* this addition to the total number of curates, many new incumbencies have been created and filled up during the same period, and that there are a very large number of unattached clergy.

This apparent contradiction in the ascertained statistics was dwelt upon by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in his primary charge in 1864, in the following terms:—"It is certain, from correct statistical returns, that the number of candidates ordained as deacons has diminished in the last ten years on an average of 65 per year. This apparent inconsistency between the known increase in the total number of clergy since 1851 and the known decrease of the number of candidates for ordination in the ratio above mentioned during the same period, can only be accounted for by the increased longevity of the Clergy between the years 1851 and 1861—a fact which the carefully-prepared statistics I have in my possession will clearly prove."

As the tables which the Archbishop gives show that out of 17,621 clergy living in 1851 there were 466 who had attained the age of 75 years, whereas there were only 449 of that age out of 19,195 living in 1861, we cannot see how they could even have appeared to prove the startling assertion above made; they would rather seem to show that the longevity of the Clergy is a tradition of the past, and that the high

pressure under which men, and the Clergy especially, live and work, is beginning to tell seriously upon them.

The real solution of the problem, we have no doubt, is to be found in the working of the Pluralities Act, to which we have alluded. An entirely new body of Clergy was then created. The death rate amongst this body would necessarily be very small for some forty or fifty years, during which time there would therefore *be a constantly-accumulating increase in the number of Clergy*. Until this time has elapsed the rate of mortality would not be very largely in excess of what it was in former times, and would only balance the number of ordinations which took place annually before the passing of the Pluralities Act.

The details of the census of 1871 have not yet been published, but we have little doubt that it will show that we are still accumulating additional Clergy (for whom, much as we want them, we are making very little increased provision) at the rate of at least 150 a-year.

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THE POSITION OF THE LAITY
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE YEAR 1871-2 :

WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THE THEORY
OF
MM. WALTON & SCUDAMORE,

RELATING TO THE
"NORTH-SIDE OF THE LORD'S TABLE."

With the Wood-Cuts from Cranmer's Catechism of A.D. 1548.

PRICE ONE PENNY.



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REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE, PRESENTED TO THE SIXTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND LAYMEN'S
DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

AUGUST 8, 1872.

I. By far the most hopeful event of the past year was the meeting for the promotion of "Church Reform," held in St. James' Hall, on February 15th, 1872, under the auspices of Earls Grey, Lichfield, Lyttleton, and Shaftesbury; the Bishop of Exeter; Sir John Pakington; Lord Charles Russell; the Rev. Canon Barry, D.D., Principal of King's College; the Dean of Westminster, &c., &c. The following resolution, moved by the Rev. Dr. Butler, the Head-master of Harrow, and seconded by T. Salt, M P., was "carried with acclamation," viz. :—

"That it is desirable to give the Laity in Parishes, by means of a representative organisation, some voice in the introduction of changes in the Church Services within the law, and facilities for taking further part in the local administration of the Church."

Dr. Butler said—

"One most important question in which the great mass of the people were intimately concerned was the appointment and duration of the Clergyman's tenure. This was a point upon which no wise man would desire to dogmatise; but when we considered that by the existing system it was possible for a man at a very early age to be placed in command of a vast Parish, and intrusted with the spiritual care of his Parishioners; that he might remain there 40 or 50 years unless he was guilty of gross misconduct; and that his position was as secure as that of any order of property in the land. What an enormous power we were giving to one or two men as compared with the vast mass of the people. He knew the increasing importance of liberty in our Parishes, and could testify that the feeling was very widely spreading that the power which the Clergyman exercised ought to be more limited and more controlled."

And he asked—

“Was it, or was it not, true that some of the Clergy were disposed to look with jealousy, or, at all events, with some misgivings as to what would be the result if, in the Parishes committed to their charge, they were aided or interfered with by a body of Laymen *possessing legal rights?*” (1)

II. Dr. Butler's question must be answered in the affirmative. The clerical speakers at the Nottingham Church Congress, (October, 1871) with but one exception, opposed the granting of any legal powers to the Laity in “Church” matters, although one of them (Prebendary Clerk) admitted that “The apathy of the Laity—

“In a great measure results from the possession of absolute power by the Clergy. The Clergyman may do as he likes, so it is commonly said; and when he takes anything in hand—unless he wants money or the Bishop's faculty—he may consult his Parishioners, or not, just as he pleases; and, when he has consulted them, he may take their advice or act in opposition to it; and hence it comes to pass that the Laity, feeling they have no real power, speedily show that they have no real interest in what is done.” (2)

The only remedy which at all found favour with the Clergy at Nottingham was the formation of “voluntary” Councils, in which Laymen might “make-believe very much,” like children playing at “baby-house.” But Earl Cathcart, with soldier-like bluntness, expressed the feeling of the Laity when he said— (3)

“The Clergy were made for the Laity, and not the Laity for the Clergy. They desired Lay co-operation, but could not get it. He would not go to a Parochial Council unless he had a *locus standi*, because the Incumbent might say, ‘as long as you say *Amen* like the parish clerk you shall stay; but the moment you say No! No! you may walk out.’”

The reasons for insisting upon a *legal* recognition and sanction for Parochial Councils were well summarised by the Rev. W. H. Fremantle :— (2)

(1) *London Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1872.

(2) *Guardian*, Oct. 18th, 1871.

(3) At the Conference held at Scarborough by the Abp. of York (*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 18th, 1871) the York Convocation unanimously adopted the Report of their Committee on Lay co-operation which laid down these principles.

“1st. That the Clergy can claim no right to legislate for the Church alone without the assent of the Laity.”

“3rd. That there is—no existing duly organised assembly in this country in which the Laity are effectually represented, &c. *Guardian*, Feb. 28, 1872.

"First, legal power alone will beget an adequate share of responsibility. English Churchmen have been accustomed to a system established by law. At present the law ignores Lay action except in the limited sense reached by the powers of Churchwardens. Any Parishioner stepping beyond this limit feels that he is but giving gratuitous advice. The advice is consequently seldom given; thought and energy are not called out, and where action is taken by Laymen it is taken at random, its responsibility lying not with the Laymen but with the Incumbents."

"But observe further that the Incumbent's position is fenced in by law on every side. If a council exists merely by his sufferance, it has just that unreality which takes the heart out of Lay action. Even if a council be set up by contract, and the contract be held to be binding, on the principle that *conventio vincit legem*, yet it ceases on the passage from one incumbency to another, and all assurance of continuity and permanence is denied to the Parish; and in the Parishes in which the Clergyman opposes the scheme it can never be brought into action at all."

"It is said by the opponents of legislation that voluntary councils must first be instituted to give us the necessary experience. Some experience, no doubt, is gained in this way, but we have probably obtained nearly all that is to be had. It is clear that the one thing needed, even for a real experiment, is the power which gives the share of responsibility, and which the law alone can bestow. In the matter of education, or the institution of reformatories, which are somewhat analogous, had there been no action of the central power of the State voluntary effort would have been wholly inadequate; and in the Church, though the central power may rightly wait till some demand is expressed for the exercise of power, and the rudiments of organisation begin to appear, yet efficient action can only be taken where power is given by law."

"The opponents of legislation also urge that it is wrong to give power to parishes before dealing with the dioceses and provinces—in short, that the simple proposal now before us should await the reconstitution of the whole Church system of the country. But the whole course of legislation in England has been contrary to this. Where a distinct evil exists, and a distinct remedy can be proposed, legislation has taken place. . . . What is proposed for the parishes is simple, definite, and easily carried into effect; and whatever light can be gained on the possibilities of a fuller Church organisation, would be best gained by the establishment of Parochial Councils throughout the country," viz, by the "Permissive Bill" of Lord Sandon.

III. It seems that the Bishops desire to exclude the Laity from all legal right of redress. Lord Shaftesbury's "Ecclesiastical Procedure Bill" was thrown out at the instance of the Bishops by a majority of ten, in a thin House, consisting of but thirty-eight Peers. The Bill provided that any three *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England resident in a diocese should have the right—*on finding satisfactory security for the payment of costs*—to initiate proceedings against a clergyman who publicly outraged the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England. The Bishop of Peterborough, in a speech sparkling with Irish wit, claimed for the Bishops "the

right to decide *when and where the law should be enforced*," and urged that "the Bishop is the commanding officer of the Clergy, and it is only reasonable that with him should rest the enforcement of the strict *laws of the profession*." He declared that "it is utterly absurd to complain of the Bishops because they have been unwilling to move themselves in prosecutions to uphold or declare the laws of the Church." In support of this claim to shelter the lawlessness of the clergy under the dispensing power of the Bishop, all the "spiritual" Peers present, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, voted with the Bishop of Peterborough" (4). So, too, at the Reformation, the "spiritual" Peers resisted all "lay interference," and not a single prelate voted for the adoption of the English Prayer Book when it was finally substituted for the Missal and Breviary in the reign of Elizabeth. (5)

IV. A private understanding appears to have been arrived at between the Bishops and the wire-pullers of the Priest-party to prevent any enforcement of the law against the latter. Thus the Executive of the "English Church Union" boasts that all attempts to enforce the Purchas Judgement "have proved futile, and some of the Bishops have *stated that they do not consider it desirable to carry out*" (6) that decision. The *Church Times* claims for its clients that, "as matter of fact, there are none of them who are not at this moment *acting with the fullest episcopal sanction*." (7) Moreover, it is well known that the decision of doubtful and disputed points of Ritual—*i.e.*, points which have *not* been ruled by the courts of law—is vested (not in the parish Priest, but) in the Ordinary. Indeed it is the very *use* of a Bishop to regulate such matters; and as Sir R. Phillimore has pointed out— (8)

"On the supposition that the matter was one in which he [the Bishop] could exercise his discretion, he could clothe his order with the character of a monition, and that a disobedience to such monition would subject the person disobeying to the penalties of contumacy."

(4) *Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1872.

(5) Froude's *Hist. England*, vi., 194. Stephens' *Eccl. Statutes*, i., 364.

(6) Annual Report of E.C.U., in *Manchester Courier*, June 20, 1872.

(7) *Church Times*, May 17, 1872.

(8) Phillimore's Report of the Arches' Judgment in *Martin v. Mackonochie*.

Yet our Bishops habitually refuse, like the Bishop of Manchester, to exercise Ordinary "discretion," and thus virtually hand over the Laity to the absolute caprice of the Clergy.

V. "The degradation of the office of Churchwarden by the gradual encroachment of the Ecclesiastical Courts," to which we adverted in our last Report has advanced another step. Mr. Chancellor Harcourt Vernon, in giving judgment in *Marshall v. Andrew*, said—

"He had thought it was expedient that the Minister should have the key, because the Churchwarden, otherwise, might do something which the Minister might object to. [*Sic*] In the case before the Court at present, he thought that the Churchwarden had no authority to meddle with the ornaments placed there and under the authority of the Rector." (9)

The effect of this decision of the Consistory Court of York, taken in conjunction with that of Sir R. Phillimore in *Richings v. Cordingley*, (10) is that the Ecclesiastical Courts will not permit Churchwardens to remove furniture which has been illegally introduced (not even, it would now seem, *illegal* ornaments) except under the express direction of the Ordinary, or by a process of litigation. On this point we may refer to the "Address" published by our association in 1865, wherein the doctrine was laid down that "Even the Churchwardens have no legal right to introduce or remove any ornament without the consent of the Bishop, whose officers they are, and who is *the* judge as to the fitness of any alteration." We now repeat (11) that "Probably nothing would do more to check the spread of Ritualistic innovations than the decision of a single case in which (without questioning the legality of the ornament itself) the separate question of the legality of making alterations without the consent of the Vestry or the faculty of the Ordinary, which are distasteful to those for whose benefit the Church exists, should be definitely decided."

VI. It would even seem (on the high authority of the Bishop of Manchester) that if a Parson chooses to possess himself of the

(9) *Manchester Courier*, July 21, 1871.

(10) Discussed in our "Review of Church Events in 1868-9" p. 10.

(11) "Church Reform," p. 7.

Offertory bags, and to give them out to non-parishioners, to the exclusion of the parishioners' Warden, he is quite within his legal rights. "For," said the Bishop, "I do not know that the Churchwardens have an absolute right in the collection of alms, this being ordered to be done 'by the Deacons, Wardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose.' It is not stated, and I am not aware that it has ever been decided that the 'fit person' must be a parishioner; nor who is to judge of his 'fitness;' nor, again, who is to 'appoint' him for that purpose. It is probable, however, from analogy, that *the Minister would be entitled to appoint.*" (12)

VII. The Rector of St. John Baptist's, Hulme, recently told the parishioners' Warden that he should not, in future, allow him to take any account of the alms collected at any service except the Communion Service. The Churchwarden applied to the Bishop of Manchester for protection. But the Bishop promptly replied, (13) "It appears clear that the Churchwardens have no voice in the disposal of the money when it is collected for a special purpose (not unlawful), pursuant to a special announcement." Hence it would seem that our Parish Churches are as much the private place of business of the Parson as any Proprietary Chapel, the enterprising owner of which "turns over a good deal of money." For, an Incumbent may apply, at his own sole and unfettered "discretion," the whole money collected throughout the year from "his" congregation, provided he has the wit to make a "special announcement" of his intention. And thus by a stroke of the Episcopal pen, revenues amounting in the aggregate to many thousands (perhaps to millions) yearly, are placed at the disposal of the Clergy!

VIII. The *Bennett* judgment verifies the statement in our first address (1865) that "against false doctrine in the abstract there is *practically* no remedy." (14) In the *Bennett* judgment the

(12) Letter to Churchwarden Andrew, May 22, 1872.

(13) Letter to Churchwarden Andrew, May 10, 1872.

His Lordship relies upon the judgment given in the Queen's Bench, in *Oliver v. O'Neill*, reported in the *Ecc. Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1867.

(14) Layman's Remedy, p. 14.

Privy Council declared that "the Church of England does not by her Articles or Formularies teach or affirm the doctrine of the Respondent ;" and "that she has deliberately ceased to do so." But it was held that the effect of the Church "striking out and deliberately ceasing to affirm" pre-Reformation doctrines, was "*NOT* that it becomes unlawful to maintain them." (15) So that, as the *Times* remarks, (16) "It is now established that a Clergyman of the Church of England may teach any doctrines within limits which only extreme subtlety can distinguish from Roman Catholicism on the one side, from Calvinism on another side, and from Deism on a third. Consequently, when a new Incumbent is appointed to a parish, the inhabitants must wait with anxiety to learn what their new religion is to be ;" and, it not unfairly adds, "It has hitherto been understood that the National Church taught the National Religion ; but if it teaches almost any religion that may please the Clergy, it may be questioned whether the nation can be called upon to support the establishment."

IX. In the transition from the Parochial System to Congregationalism, which is everywhere going on in our large towns, the law-created "rights" of the Clergy are rigidly preserved, while those of the people are everywhere obliterated. For instance, when the fabric and endowment of an ancient Parish Church are usurped by a "fancy" congregation of non-parishioners for a service which is utterly hateful to the parishioners themselves, the latter cannot, without the permission of the Rector, build another Church in "his" parish ; or, if he permits them to do so, the patronage of the new Church will belong to him as matter of "right." He has not only the sole choice of creed, but a monopoly of teaching within the parochial limits. The non-parishioners who frequent "his" Church have no legal rights of any kind in connection with it—hence the preference shewn by Ritualistic Incumbents for "free and open" Churches, in which no combination is possible among the constantly-shifting members of the congregation except through the Priest.

(15) Stephens' Report, pp. 297, 289.

(16) June 10, 1872.

The ancient theory of "The Parish," when it ceases to be applicable, becomes mischievous. By that theory, the Church was built and endowed solely for the benefit of the parish, and the freehold was vested in the Parson—not as an individual, nor even as a Priest; but as being the representative (*'persona'*) of the parish. All requisites for worship were supposed to be provided by means of Church-rates voted freely by the Vestry, by whom the Wardens were elected, and to whom they were responsible. The offertory, which supplied all further needs of the parish (beyond bare legal necessities) was administered by the Parson and Wardens jointly. Thus the Parson was a limited monarch; the Churchwardens and Sidesmen were a privileged class, with certain special executive powers; and the Vestry, like the House of Commons, legislated and voted supplies: and thus at every step the Laity had an efficient voice in all parish matters. But now, Church-rates having been abolished, and collections being customary (in addition to private subscriptions) apart from the offertory, it is evident that the Vestry has no control over the expenditure; for the Churchwardens are wholly, or in part, the nominees of the Clergy; and it is matter of absolute indifference to them whether the Vestry does or does not "pass" their accounts. Hence Vestry meetings become a mere sham, and the office of Churchwarden that of a "menial to the Priest without salary," but subject to the control of "Ecclesiastical," i.e., Clerical Courts.

The sole rights of the Laity are that they may enter any Church during Divine Service, and may take part in services—rendered in Romish or Genevan fashion, at the caprice of the Incumbent; also that they may be christened, married, or buried at their own Parish Churches—all which privileges they share equally with Papists, Jews, Dissenters, and infamous persons. But, *as against the Clergy*, the Laity have no other rights. Endowments, freehold rights, and legal privileges, so far from belonging to "the Church," are exclusively the property of the Clergy, who are absolute masters and lords over it.

X. "The Divine right of Incumbents" is so carefully fenced in by our laws that neither public opinion nor Episcopal admonition

has much weight with them. This artificial state of things can only be remedied in one of two ways, viz., either by giving to the Laity a real share in parish management, as proposed by Lord Sandon's Bill, and at the same time altering the mode of tenure of "Church" property, or else by disendowing the Clergy altogether. The latter alternative is one which Churchmen are naturally most reluctant to contemplate, and would involve its own train of evils; but it cannot be concealed that, in the present state of political parties, it is by far the easier of accomplishment. For the Clergy have sufficient influence with Conservative members (especially in Counties) to prevent their taking up the question of Church Reform; the Ultra-Liberals and political Dissenters dislike any reform which might prevent Disestablishment; and the Papists and Latitudinarians desire to keep the Church in a state of anarchy and turmoil. But till some reform has been obtained, it can hardly be wise for Laymen to build or endow Churches, which, after "consecration," become the exclusive property of the Clergy.



AN EXAMINATION
OF THE
WALTON-SCUDAMORE THEORY
OF THE "NORTH-SIDE" RUBRIC.

THE "North-side" rubric has become the battle-ground of a new controversy. Forty years ago all persons agreed that the words of the rubric—"the Priest standing at the North-side of the Table"—meant simply "standing northward of the Table," and that they were intended to regulate the position (*not* of the Table, but) of the officiating Priest. All writers on ritual, previous to that time, held that the object of the rubric was "only this, to assign the Minister some certain point whereon to fasten his aspect, in his officiating at the Holy Table." (1) Even Bishop Williams said—"I conceive the alteration was made in the rubric, to show which way the celebrant was to face." (2) And L'Estrange, in his "Alliance," written at the Restoration, said—"As for the Priest standing at the North-side of the Table, this seemeth to avoid the fashion of the Priest standing with his face toward the East, as is the Popish practice." (3)

On the other hand, the modern school of Romanisers desire that the Priest should always stand on the western side of their "altar," in order that he may seem to worship the Host, and to offer it in sacrifice to the Deity. Accordingly two methods have been devised for getting rid of the obnoxious rubric. At first it was pretended that by the "North-side" was meant the west-side, or some portion of it; and this view was defended by Messrs. Purchas, Lee, Blunt, Littledale, and Freeman, though no two of those writers agreed either as to their "facts" or arguments. It is un-

(1) Heylin (A.D. 1637) cited in Walton's letter to Carter, p. 13, 2nd edit.

(2) Letter to Vicar of Grantham, cited in Ross's "Priest at the Altar," p. 19, 2nd edit. The previous rubric (A.D. 1549) was "The Priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar," &c.

(3) Cited in Ross, p. 24.

necessary to examine this theory (3a) which is now being abandoned as untenable by the Ritualists themselves; for, as Mr. Walton candidly acknowledges, (3b) it was "absolutely unknown to English Ritualists during the three last centuries, and conspicuously at variance with the facts of our Church History." Mr. Walton's own theory (borrowed from Mr. Scudamore) is, if possible, still more extravagant. Admitting the incurably Protestant character of the rubric, he denounces it as "a mere antiquated rubric," embodying "the obsolete language of Zwinglian Reformers," and, therefore, "practically repealed" to make way for the "mid-altar position," which "places us in harmony with the better mind of the Church in preceding centuries." (4) Mr. Scudamore roundly asserts that, from A.D. 1552 downwards, the Holy Table "at the Communion time" was "ALWAYS," "EVERYWHERE," "UNIVERSALLY" (5) placed lengthwise, *i.e.*, with its long axis down the Church, from East to West, until Archbishop Laud, for the first time since the Reformation, began to fix it against the East Wall, with its "ends" North and South. Hence, he argues that the word "side" must have been originally intended to refer exclusively to the longer margin of the Table in contradistinction to its short side or "end." And he sums up his argument thus—"North-side then does not mean 'North end;' and, if so, how can we obey the rubric, seeing that our Altars, as now placed, have no North-side in the sense of the rubric? The reply to this is, that we cannot obey it at all; and that being the case, *we are at liberty to stand where we will.*" ['] (5a)

Let us examine as briefly as possible into the two allegations of Mr. Scudamore, viz. :—

1. That the Table was "always, everywhere, universally" placed lengthwise.
2. That the word "side" was deliberately intended to exclude the ends of the Table.

(3a) It has been refuted in the following works: Ross's "Priest at the Altar," Droop's "North-side of the Table," Simmons in Contemporary Review, vol. iii., p. 256, Elliott's "North-side of the Table," and Robertson's "How Shall We Conform," 3rd edit. (3b) Letter to Carter, 2nd edit., p. 57.

(4) Letter to Carter, 3rd edit., pp. 36, 46, 47.

(5) "North-side of the Table," pp. 9, 12. The same view is advocated by Mr. West. (5a) Notitia Liturgica, p. 168.

In A.D. 1550, when Tables were substituted for Altars, the Edwardine Privy Council expressly declared that they did not "prescribe anything with respect to figure and form," (6) so that the Table had not necessarily an oblong figure. Moreover, the two ends of an Altar are ritually and technically known as its "sides;" (7) and, as Bishop Wren urged long ago, when our rubric was enacted in 1559, "the use of altars was but as yesterday out of their eyes, and the name of altars but newly out of their mouths, custom of speech led them to call the North end or North part of the Table the North-side thereof, as they had been used to call it the North-side of the altar." (8) For, be it remembered, the greater part of the inferior Clergy, and nearly one-half of the Laity, were at that time Papists; (9) and, in the absence of any order to "turn the Tables" round, we may be sure that they would place them "Altarwise." The same remark applies to 1552, when the rubric was first introduced. Canon Simmons admits that he "cannot produce any original authority for the opinion that the Tables were placed East and West in the reign of Edward VI., or the first 3 or 4 years of the reign of Elizabeth." (10) The Romish controversialists of that day, ex. gr., Huggard and Dorman, sneer at the new practices of the Edwardian Reformers, and accuse them of "turning their faces" and "looking" North, South, or West; but they never accused them of placing their Tables lengthwise. *The Grey Friars Chronicle*, speaking of St. Paul's Cathedral on Easter-eve, 1551, says, "then was the Table removed, and set beneath at the vail North and South." (11) Mr. Walton, indeed, fancies that Cranmer must have wished the Table to be placed lengthwise, East and West, because Cranmer had inserted into a translation of Justus Jonas' Catechism published in this country in 1548, a drawing of the Last Supper, instead of the old print

(6) Collier, Eccl. Hist. (edit. 1840), vol. v., 420.

(7) Scudamore's Not. Liturg. 105, n. 7. Simmons in *Contemporary Review*, vols. iii and iv. pp. 269, 272. The Lords' Committee, in 1641, complain of the Laudians "Making canopies over the Altar so called, with traverses and curtains on each *side*, and *before* it." Card. Conf., 272.

(8) Simmons, 278.

(9) See Lord Macaulay's Essay on "Lord Burleigh and his Times."

(10) Page 96 note.

(11) Walton, 56 n.

which represented the celebration of Mass. Mr. Walton gravely urges that the Table in the English print “appears to stand at *right angles to*” the Altar in the German one ; and that the former “represents Cranmer’s deliberately chosen ideal of the celebration of Holy Communion.” (12) The absurdity of both these inferences will be apparent from the annexed drawings (13) which Mr. Walton does *not* reproduce.



Under Mary, all Communion Tables were swept away, and the Altars replaced. Under Elizabeth, the rubric of 1552, viz. :—“The

(12) Walton, 62.

(13) See Dr. Burton’s Edit. of Cranmer’s Catechism, Pref. xx.

Table at the Communion time . . . shall stand in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel, *where Morning and Evening Prayers are appointed* to be said," was restored. But the liberty to say Morning and Evening Prayer in any part of the Church, which had been given under the second Book of Edward VI. (1552), was now withdrawn ; and, *consequently*, the Holy Table was confined to "the accustomed place" prescribed in the first rubric, unless "otherwise determined by the Ordinary." For, in 1559, "the accustomed place" of Matins and Evensong was the stall (14) at the bottom of the Chancel, next the door of the "Rood-screen," (15) on the North-side. It was not until ten years later that we first meet with a Reading Desk "without the Chancel door." (16) Twenty years later we find Archbishop Whitgift (17) contending for the East end of the Church as the place for Morning Prayer. But in 1633 it is evident from the enquiries of Bishop Curle (18) that the Reading Desk had begun to travel down the nave, and with it, of course, by the rubric, "the Table, at the Communion time," had to be removed also. (19) Meanwhile a plentiful crop of pews had sprung up (at first moveable, (20) but afterwards substantial fixtures), especially about the upper end of the Church ; and hence, probably, arose the custom of placing the Table lengthwise, so as to permit the access to it of the communicants in the central alley of the Church.

But from the beginning this was not so. The Injunction of 1559 had ordered the Table to be "set *in* [not across] the place

(14) Perry's Lawful Church Ornaments, pp. 216, 238, cf. 72, 255.

(15) Or rather Chancel-screen, for the rood was removed while the Screen was retained. See Appendix to Second Report of Ritual Commission, 403-5 and 417-38 (Parker), 407-4 (Grindal), 418-4 (Aylmer), 425-31 (Sandys), &c., &c.

(16) Rit. Rep. 404-2 (Parkhurst).

(17) Lathbury's Hist. Book of C. P., p. 112.

(18) Rit. Rep. 533-8, "Without Order and Especial Allowance from your Ordinary."

(19) Bp. Middleton, in 1583 (after speaking of "The lower end of the Chancel, where *commonly* the seat of the Minister is"), enjoins "When there is a Communion to be ministered that the Communion Table be placed at the lower end of the Chancel, as near unto the people as may be convenient, and when the ministrations is done, remove it to the upper end of the said Chancel." Rit. Rep. 426-6.

(20) Sometimes being "overturned." Camden Soc.'s "History of Puses," pp. 9, 10.

where the Altar stood." (21) And the official "Interpretations" of the Bishops in 1561, restricted the permission for removing the Table, at "the time of the Communion," to those exceptional cases "where either the Choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receiving." (22) This was felt to be a great restriction upon the liberty allowed by the rubric; so that in 1562 it was moved in Convocation, but without success, "that the Table from henceforth stand no more Altarwise, but stand in such place as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer." (23) In 1564 we find among "varieties in the service," reported to Archbishop Parker—"In some places the Table standeth Altarwise distant from the wall a yard. In some others in the middle of the Chancel, North and South." (23) In 1565-7 John Rastell, the Romanist, writing against Bishop Jewel, taunts the Elizabethan Clergy with "looking south;" and upbraids them because the rubrics of the Consecration Prayer (which at that time did not prescribe the manual acts) suffered the Priest to "*let* the bread stand on the *end* of the Table," (24) *i.e.*, in front of where he himself was standing. In 1573, and again in 1577, Cartwright the Puritan, complained that the Priest "climbeth up to the further end of the Chancel, and runneth as far from the people as the wall will let him go." (25) Another Puritan, Barrow, describing the celebration of Holy Communion (A.D. 1590), said "the Priest is placed at the North end of the Table." (26) "The plan of Bishop Andrewes' Chapel shews unmistakeably, by a cushion placed at the North end, that the service was to be there said, under the Elizabethan rubric." (27) He describes the officiating Clergy as being "the one at one end the other at the other, representing the two Cherubim at the Mercy Seat." (28) And in his form for Consecrating a Church, he trans-

(21) Doc. Ann., i., 201.

(22) Doc. Ann., i., 205. Cf. Parker's Letters, P.S. 376

(23) Walton, p. 7.

(24) Simmons, 266, 274.

(25) Simmons, 274.

(26) Hierurgia Anglicana, 96.

(27) Walton, p. 14 note.

(28) Andrewes' Minor Works, p. 150. Copied also *verbatim* by Cosin. Works, vol. v., p. 68, A.C.L.

lates "side" by *partem*; (29) as did Walter Haddon in 1560; Bishop Wren in 1641; (30) Durell in 1670; the Latin version of 1703, and that of 1865. From 1631 to 1640 we have a series of Visitation Articles issued by Kent, (31) the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, (32) Wren, (33) Davenant, (34) Duppa, (35) Pearson (36) and Juxon (37) expressly requiring the Table to be set with its "ends North and South." Bishop Williams, in his Cathedral at Lincoln, as well as in his private Chapel at Bugden, and at Westminster Abbey, where he had been Dean, had the Table placed "Altarwise." (38) But having a feud with Archbishop Laud, he "now changed his opinion in some measure," (39) and published in November, 1636, a letter contending that the Table ought to stand with its ends East and West. In support of this notion he alleged that the word "side" *must* mean the longer margin of a parallelogram, and also (which was true) that the lengthwise position of the Table was in his own day customary in country Churches. At length, in 1641, he altered the Visitation Articles which he had published in 1635, by inserting the query—"Doth your said Communion Table stand in the ancient place where it ought to do, *or* where it hath done for the greatest *part* of the sixty years *last* past, or hath it been removed to the East end, and placed Altarwise, and by whom, and whose authority hath it been so placed"? (40) and he added, at the close of the Articles, an order from the House of Lords, dated March 1st, 1640, that the Table should stand "as it hath done for the *greater part* of these threescore years *last* past." (41) So that, during the first 20 years after the rubric of

(29) Bp. Sparrow's Collection, p. 13.

(30) Walton, 12 note. For other versions, see Simmons, 272.

(31) Rit. Rep., 527-37.

(32) Robertson's "How Shall We Conform," p. 141, 3rd edit.

(33) Rit. Rep., 557-2 and 564-3.

(34) Collier, Ecc. Hist., viii., 99.

(35) Rit. Rep., 376-6, Cf. Montagu, 584-5, and Pierce, in Collier, viii., 96.

(36) Perry, L.C.O., 392.

(37) Rit. Rep., 592-9.

(38) Barnard's Life of Heylin, Eccl. Hist., Soc., vol. i., p. cix.

(39) Collier, viii., 94. Barnard says he wrote "against science and conscience, so dear is the passion of revenge." p. cix.

(40) Rit. Rep. 551, note ||.

(41) Rit. Rep. 556.

1559 had been enacted, neither Bishop Williams nor the Parliament could find any precedent for their favourite custom. Bishop Williams' theories were promptly combatted by Heylin and Pocklington, and were so far from making any converts that the Convocation of 1640, by Canon VII., directed the Table to be placed "sideway under the East window" in every Church, in obedience to "the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory,"—declaring "that this situation of the Holy Table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, &c." (42)

At the "Restoration" of Charles II. a joint Committee of Bishops of both Convocations met daily to revise the Prayer Book at Bishop Wren's Palace, Sancroft acting as Secretary. (43) Not one of them is known as an advocate for placing the Table lengthwise; and we may pretty certainly ascertain the sense in which they retained the phrase "North-side" in the rubric of 1662. (44) For Cosin habitually distinguishes between the North-side and the front of the Table, (45) and describes himself as never "officiating with face purposely towards the East, but he constantly stood at the North-side, or end of the Table." (46) Wren distinguishes between the

(42) Sparrow's Collect. 19. Bp. Hacket, the zealous apologist of Bp. Williams says, "For to set the Table under the East Window of the Chancel, the ends running North and South, is this to set it *Altarwise*? Verily it is a mere English phrase, or rather English error." Hacket's Life of Williams (ed. 1693), p. 109. Of course the Canons of 1640 have never had legal force since the passing of 13 Car. ii., cap. 12, §. 5. As Sir H. J. Fust remarked in *Cooper v. Dodd*, "The Canons of 1640 never had any binding authority in these courts." Thornton's Reports, vol. vii., p. 516.

(43) Simmons, 103.

(44) Two other members of the Committee, viz., Skinner and Warner, took part as Bps. in the Convocation of 1640. Sancroft had written "North-side (or end)" in his MS. Emendations. (Bulley's "Tabular View," p. 142) Cosin, in his MS. Notes had first written "end," then "side or end." The fac-simile photograph, published by the Ritual Commission, shews that "side" had been struck out, and "part" substituted. But it was no doubt perceived that (besides appearing to admit the force of Bp. Williams' sophistries) any of these changes would produce a fresh crop of ambiguities. The General Synod of the (Dis-established) Church of Ireland has, after debate, retained the "North-side" for a like reason.

(45) Walton, 25 n. 39 n.

(46) Acts of the High Commission Court of Durham, Surtees Soc., p. 218.

"West-side" and the "North-side;" (47) and declared that "North part, North-side, and North end were all one." (48) Juxon, who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, had asked in 1640 if the Minister stood at "the North-side, or end of the Table;" (49) and the inquiry is repeated verbatim by Pory in 1662, (50) and Bishop Lucy in 1671. (51) Evelyn enters in his diary, under date "April 6th, 1662, being of the Vestry, in the afternoon, we ordered that the Communion Table should be set (*as usual*) Altarwise, with a decent rail in front, as before the rebellion." (52) "Righting table" is a frequent "disbursement" in old Churchwardens' books (53) of this date. Mr. Walton admits that in "the numerous post-Restoration London Churches, the Table-wise fashion was never introduced." (54) In various engravings of this period, the Table is represented as placed with its ends North and South, as in Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale* (1655); *Domus Carthusiana* (1677); (55) *Comber's Companion to the Temple* (1679); *Burnet's History of the Reformation* (1683), which gives a (possibly contemporary) representation of Edward VI. receiving the Eucharist from a Bishop placed at the North-side (*i.e.* end) of the Table, upon which end the elements are also placed; (56) and in the plan of the Coronation of James II. (57.) So too at the Coronation of Charles II., while the "back side" of the "Altar" was placed against the East Wall, the officiants are described as at the "North-side." (58) It seems that "in most country Churches" (59) the Holy Table was "*set* at the hither end of the Chancel" after the Restoration; but there is no evidence to shew that it was

(47) Robertson, 398.

(48) *Parentalia*, 75.

(49) *Rit. Rep.*, 592-9.

(50) *Rit. Rep.*, 625-6, 629-9.

(51) *Rit. Rep.*, 615 note.

(52) Cf. "March 22, 1678."

(53) *Simmons*, 97 note.

(54) *Walton*, 63, First Edit.

(55) *Hier. Angl.*, 190.

(56) *Simmons*, 273.

(57) *Simmons*, 272.

(58) *Hier. Angl.*, 302.

(59) *Barnard's Life of Heylin*, p. cx.

placed lengthwise. In 1720, Wheatley, speaks of "our Altars" as being *now* (60) placed Altarwise against the East Wall.

From the foregoing summary it will be perceived —

- 1st. That there is no foundation whatever for Mr. Scudamore's sweeping assertion that "the Table at the Communion time" was "always, everywhere, universally" placed with its long axis from East to West; the customs of "country Churches" in A.D. 1600-1640 being valuable rather as "cautions" than as patterns of rubrical exactness.
- 2nd. That in 1552, 1559,* and 1662, the three periods when the North-side rubric was deliberated upon by the Rulers of the Church, there is no evidence of any desire on their part, still less of any command or custom to place the Table with its long axis from East to West.
- 3rd. Consequently, that by prescribing "the *North-side of the Table*" must always have been intended "that the Minister look South, whether a broad or a narrow side of the Table be turned towards the North." †

(60) Wheatley, vi-i., § 4. He describes § 3 how Bp. Ridley changed the High Altar at St. Paul's (not by turning it round, but) by "beating down the wainscot partition behind it." Cf. Ridley's Works, P.S. 324.

* In 1564-5, it is true, we find at Canterbury that the Minister at Morning Prayer stood "on the East-side of the Table, with his face toward the people," the Table, "Standing North and South, where the High Altar stood;" but at Holy Communion, "the Table is set East and West. The Priest which ministereth, the Pystoler and Gospeler, at that time wear Copes." It is not stated how the Celebrant was placed under these exceptional circumstances, but he probably stood at the East End, as is still done in Jersey, in those Churches which retain Bp. Williams' usage. Walton, 1st edit., p. 64.cf. Bp. Hooper's Later Writings, P.S. p. 128.

† Judgment of the Privy Council in *Hebbert v. Purchas*.



Rejected (Synodical) Addresses

ON THE

DANGERS & SHORTCOMINGS

OF THE

ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

BY A

CLERGYMAN OF THE DIOCESE OF SALISBURY.

Originally Published in the "Dorset County Express."

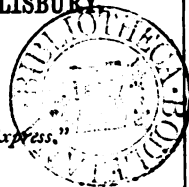
*—ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?*

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100. f. 136. 23.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Island of Laputa, just discovered by that celebrated traveller Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, it was lately determined by those in authority to have a Diocesan Synod. Why or wherefore this synod was to be held these wise men did not condescend to say; the Bishop willed it, and what the Bishop willed, the clergy declared to be most wise and important. But a difficulty arose, for which the chief movers in this matter were not prepared; every man that had a grievance, a plan, a crotchet in his brain, thought this would be a fine opportunity for airing the same, and therefore long before the day appointed for the meeting of the Synod, one thousand and one papers were sent in, all to be read at the synod. As a last resource, a committee was formed to examine these papers and to decide which were to be read, and which were not, and the chairman appointed was the Rev. Briareus Multiplex, who having sixteen pieces of preferment, chiefly sinecures, was reasonably supposed to have an interest in the church, as by law established, his favourite axiom being "Whatever is, is right." A large bundle of the rejected addresses happened to be picked up and brought to our office, and we think that a few of them may be interesting as showing the extraordinary fancies that get into peoples' heads in the year 1871.

No. 1.—HOW TO MAKE A CHURCH SYNOD USEFUL.—

By the *Rev. Flavell Knox, M.A.*

Every lover of the church, who, like myself, has given much time and thought to her dangers and her requirements, must have hailed with great satisfaction the determination to hold a Diocesan Synod, and must be anxious to make that Synod of as practical use as possible. It is with the humble hope of suggesting some means to that end, that I venture to submit this paper to the notice of the Synod.

It is clear then that the calling together of a large number of men, lay and clerical, to meet together from time to time, would be a mere *mockery* and a *sham*, unless they had some definite power committed to

them : "the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury." In order, therefore, for the Synod to be practical, it must have freedom of election, freedom of discussion, and freedom of action, to carry out its resolutions. Of course therefore the excellent Bishop of Laputa who has summoned this Synod will provide for these necessary powers. For freedom of election it is necessary that as the clergy elect their own representatives, so the laity should elect theirs, *without the intervention of the clergy* in any way, much less under their presidency, and the interference of a clergyman should of itself invalidate a lay election ; for freedom of discussion, the Synod should be at perfect liberty to choose what subjects it pleases, otherwise it may be *amused* by matters in which the great body of the church takes no interest, and thereby kept from entering upon subjects that are uppermost in every man's mind. But all this would be worse than a mockery if the Synod has not power to enforce its resolutions. And this can only be by the Bishop undertaking to be guided by it.

A Parliament under an absolute monarchy is an absurdity. Three hundred years ago in our own country it could only exist under such a government, when supplemented by an abundant application of *the Tower* and Tower Hill. But we have seen this more lately illustrated in France, where for twenty years personal government and the French Chambers have passed a most uncomfortable time, and it was only by a skilful manipulation of the elections that the two co-existed as long as they did. Men of independent minds felt that they were made fools of—allowed to talk to keep them from acting, and such will be the case with a Diocesan Synod, where the Bishop is perfectly independent of it. In our own land we have a Sovereign, and a Parliament, and if the Sovereign sets up the prerogative of the throne against the Parliament, the latter can stop the supplies. It is this power that gives to Parliament the weight it has, and without some such power a Synod will be powerless for good, but may do much harm : like the Œcumenical Council it *may* do what it is bid, and make the Bishop infallible.

Let us suppose a case—the Bishop refuses to carry out the law as lately settled in the highest court of appeal, when called upon to do so—this has already happened in another Diocese : the minds of the Laity are greatly disturbed by this, and the question is discussed whether a Bishop who refuses to obey the law of the church should not retire from his office. In any Synod fairly elected that proposition would be carried almost unanimously in the affirmative : but

what good will result if the Bishop can prevent the discussion, or ignore the resolution? Again: a large majority of lay members of the church are much scandalized at the lavish expense attending Cathedral establishments. They think that the whole system is very inconsistent with the teaching and example of Him "Who had not where to lay His head," and who said "My Kingdom is not of this world." Surely such a subject as that ought to be discussed. Many of us who live in the country are rather at a loss to know how to answer those unscrupulous Dissenters who point to such things and ask how we can justify them: they shew us whole districts perishing for want of ministers; clergymen in other districts labouring with scarcely enough to feed and clothe their families, while Bishops live in palaces, and sit on thrones, and have singing men and singing boys to perform before them every time they go to church; and while Canons get some hundreds a year for merely listening to the music. Perhaps if such matters were discussed, we country parsons might hear some good and weighty reason for these things, so that we should return better armed against the enemy.

If discussion is stifled, election manipulated, and action prevented, the danger is not avoided. The evils and abuses which are eating out the life of the church are too deeply seated to be healed by concealment. And the attempt to do so will lead to one of these two evils. Either the lay synodsmen will return home disgusted, when they find how they have been befooled, and will be ten times more bitter against the Church than they are already, or they will *grow into a power* which no prerogative will be able to resist, just as "the extreme left" in France, although a very small numerical minority, acquired sufficient power to hurry on the late Emperor to the destruction of his throne.

In order, therefore, to make this Synod a blessing and a credit to the church, it must have fixed and definite work to do, and full and free power to do it, otherwise it must inevitably lead to disappointment in those who designed it, exasperation in those who have been inclined to take part in it, and division and confusion to the church at large.

No. II.—WHAT WE LAYMEN WANT.—By *John Wright*,
Tenant Farmer, Churchwarden, &c.

As I have been chosen to represent the churchmen of this Deanery in the Synod about to be held at Laputa, I should be glad to place before the clergymen and gentlemen there assembled the wants of the church as seen from a ratepayer's point of view. If I am no great scholar or divine, yet I think I may fairly demand a hearing, as I pay nearly £200 every year to the Rector in tithes, and supply all the church rates for the maintenance of the fabric of the church and the expenses of the services, besides having hauled all the materials for building the school house. Not that I grudge these payments. When I took the farm I now hold, I undertook to make them, and don't want to avoid them in any underhand way ; but I am a *business man*, and as such I am in the habit of looking to see what return I get for my money ; and in respect of these church payments, I confess that I, in common with many of my neighbours, am very much disappointed.

Now, as I said before, I am no scholar, only a plain man, and therefore I must state my opinion in plain language. If a client loses his property through the ignorance or the neglect of his attorney, that attorney is liable to be punished ; and if a patient loses his life or health through the ignorance or neglect of the doctor, the doctor is liable to pay damages. Now I cannot see why a clergyman should be free from all personal liability if, not the temporal, but the eternal interests—not the bodily, but the spiritual health of his people suffer through his ignorance or neglect. As things now are, if a clergyman merely goes through certain periodical services, he claims his salary, and enjoys his house and glebe, although never a soul has ever been the better for his ministrations. When I want a shepherd, I don't ask if he is much of a scholar ; what I enquire is, does he understand shepherding ? and is he fond of it ? If not, he shall be no shepherd of mine ; but, as far as I see, these questions are never asked of a man before he is set over a parish. He must know a little Latin and Greek. He must be first cousin of a Lord, or a Bishop, or a rich man ; or he must have paid his money in a legal manner : but no one asks him if he understands shepherding ; or is fond of that work ; and so it is easy to understand what becomes of the poor sheep. Our church describes the duties of the clergy thus—"To seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst

of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever." If they would stick to that, we should be content ; but unless a man is really fond of shepherding, he will never do it. And what is the consequence ? General and increasing discontent among those who have always been the firmest supporters of the church. The great people may be well enough satisfied, because all they want is for the Parson to leave them alone to their hunting and shooting and dinner parties and so forth ; and if he will do this, and I must confess that this is a duty that they perform most conscientiously, then he is a very good fellow, and he is welcome to their table when they have a spare plate, and he may make himself agreeable to their poor relations. The labouring people don't concern themselves much about the matter. They pay neither tithes nor rates, and those who have any religious feeling walk off very contentedly to chapel, and, were it not for the clothing clubs, soup kitchen, school treats, and allotments, which are pretty well worked by the clergy, the churches would be largely deserted. But we who live in the midst of these things, from whom the incomes of the clergy are largely derived, we cannot sit down contented with this state of things.

A clergyman comes down to live in our parish ; he is very learned perhaps ; very moral in his conduct ; his wife a perfect lady ; they are respected all the country round, but their religious and spiritual influence is *nothing at all*. There is an entire want of sympathy between them and their people ; they will patronise but they will not associate. And now that we farmers are better educated than of old, and our labourers as well taught as their masters were fifty years ago, this kind of ministry will not do. It is no use to say that the labouring people are too ignorant and degraded to understand religious and spiritual truths. We know to the contrary. If the poor lay missionary, who visits sixteen parishes for £80 a year, can get a room to preach in, it is always full Sunday or working day. To him they send in sickness, him they consult in all their difficulties, he has no silver or gold to give, but he has sympathy with them ; he expostulates with the drunkard, he encourages the well disposed, he is the true pastor, to whom the sheep look for their food. Now where is the difference ? Well, my mother was a pious godly woman, and she always taught me that a man could not teach what he did not know himself. The clergymen, with some few exceptions, tell us what we are to do ; these missionaries tell the people what Christ has done for them, and can do for all that come to him ; they are witnesses for

Christ as the Apostles were. What wonder if poor ignorant sinners listen readily to those who can tell them *from their own experience* what they must do to be saved ; while the parson preaches as though he had never been a sinner, and did not know whether he was pardoned or not. Thus thousands of our most sober, honest, industrious labourers leave our church, proving not only that they are capable of understanding the gospel, but that they understand it so well that they will not go where they can't hear it, and not a few of us are beginning to follow them. So entirely have our clergy lost sight of their mission, viz., to convert souls by preaching the gospel, that I have known one of them preach a sermon especially to show that conversion is not necessary in any but notorious sinners.

What we laymen want to know is why our churches cannot be supplied with teachers as well qualified for their highest office as these missionaries are ? Why we are to go on paying men who are no use to us or the church ? We want to have among us pastors whom we can love and trust, as well as respect : to whom we can send our children for spiritual advice : whom we shall look upon as our best and truest friends ; who will be friendly with us at all times, and not only when the church or school is out of repair, or when the tithe is due. If this Synod can remedy this evil which is the real pressing danger of the church, it will do a good work. If it will not attend to this matter, it is no use talking about fees, and education, and such matters. Give us the men we want, and we will not grudge them their fees, nor hesitate to leave the education of the poor in their hands. But, if we can't get them, we will not waste our time and money in attending Synods from which we get no benefit.

This is what we laymen want ; and if we can't get it in an Established Church, we shall have to look for it in a Church Dis-established and Disendowed.

No. III.—ON EPISCOPACY AND BISHOPS.—By *Daniel Baxter, M.A.*

As a great many years have passed away since Diocesan Synods were held, it follows naturally that in the meantime many abuses should have grown up, and many inconsistencies, permitted at first, should afterwards have been recognised as part of the church system, for want of the opportunity of discussing their propriety, and

exposing the mischief which arises from them. But now that a Synod has been called together, these abuses will, of course, be the first subject to occupy its serious consideration, and I cannot but feel that the present state and position of the *Bishops of our Church* constitute one of its most transparent anomalies, and one of its most immediate dangers.

We believe, with our church, that in primitive times there were in every church deacons, presbyters, otherwise called overseers, or bishops, and men like Timothy and Titus, not apostles, but men who had power committed to them to ordain *presbyters* (now abbreviated in our language into *priests*). Gradually these last assumed the general title of Bishops. We believe there was an ecclesiastical difference between them, and that their offices were kept distinct for the sake of due order in the church. And this distinction seems to be quite consistent with the teaching of Scripture, and therefore to be upheld in the church.

But as the church became more wealthy and more powerful, it also became more worldly, and so bishops or overseers became Prelates, and the difference between them and the presbyters and deacons became not merely ecclesiastical, but worldly; this difference is clearly *not* Scriptural, and therefore it is not for the good of the church. While the difference was purely ecclesiastical or spiritual, as originally intended, the influence of the bishops would be powerless for evil, but mighty for good, as St. Paul considered his influence increased by working with his own hands; but since the difference became worldly, and the Bishop was a man of worldly power, and wealth, and patronage, the church has ever been filled with Episcopal courtiers, ready to endorse anything the Bishop says for the sake of his favour and worldly interest. This has been a most fruitful source of evil in our church: at the Reformation, while many abuses were reformed, yet there was so much of political influence at work that this abuse was continued, and perhaps even increased, for the power of the Pope having been withdrawn at once, and the power of the Sovereign having been gradually reduced, the Bishops alone not only retained their position, but became even more irresponsible and autocratic. What reason have we to conclude from the New Testament, or the examples of St. Paul and the other apostles, that their successors were ever intended to occupy the position of the Bishops of our church? Let us see what that is.

While the clergy are commoners, and for the most part *poor* commoners, the Bishop is a Peer of the Realm, one of the Nation's Legislators; their kingdom is evidently "of this world;" *their master's was not so*. They have very large incomes: but this would matter little: it might make them proud and self-sufficient. But they also have enormous patronage. The Bishop of this Diocese of *Laputa* has in his gift no less than 60 livings, the united incomes of which amount to the yearly sum of £19,229, besides parsonage houses and glebes and gardens, which at £40 each cannot be less than £2,400 per annum, making up an annual total of £21,669. What man, with such patronage in his hands, can be expected to know the characters of the men that surround him, when it is every man's interest to assume the habit and appearance that is most likely to please the patron, from whom he expects his position for life, and while the same fact keeps every high-minded man at a distance, such persons being naturally careful not to be suspected of wrong motives? In dealing with such matters the Bishop must use other persons' eyes both as to the requirements of the separate parishes, and the fitness of the different candidates, and so it comes to pass that in nine cases out of ten of episcopal patronage the parishes find themselves left to the tender mercies of a man who has not the least sympathy with them, and also treats with contempt every protest against his proceedings, strong in the patronage of his friend the Bishop.

Besides these, his lordship has the bestowing of various offices connected with the cathedral, and the three archdeaconries. Each of these has duties to perform, but they are really of such little importance that it does not much signify who are the happy recipients of the pay. A much worse and more injurious kind of patronage is that of offices which are purely *honorary*, such as the forty prebends and the thirty-six rural deaneries—these being without any pay, and without any real duties, are simply used as rewards for unscrupulous service, or to stop the mouths of weak opponents, and indeed they have been most influential in this respect, while they give a fancied superiority to those who have received them, which in some cases is simply ludicrous.

And what advantage does the church get from the temporal power of its bishops? What advantage from their being in the House of Lords? What ecclesiastical measure have they supported, except it went to increase their own worldly power? What reform have they not perseveringly and unscrupulously opposed, as they have the

Earl of Shaftesbury's Bill for reforming the ecclesiastical courts? Why, with all their power and wealth and dignity, any fearless transgressors of the laws may laugh at them and defy them; and when they ought to be carrying out the laws as plainly laid down, they set to work to make new canons, which they will not carry out when they have made them. But there is another danger before us—this difference in worldly position between the bishops and the clergy is being deliberately and purposely widened, to the great danger of clerical independence and freedom. The Pan Anglican synod, ludicrous as it was, was only part of this scheme. The multiplying colonial bishops, who pass the greatest part of their time at home; who after a few years' service find their health unequal to colonial work, although quite equal to undertake large parishes, archdeaconries, suffragan bishoprics, &c., at home; whose early retirement is winked at because it affords opportunities of making more bishops in their places; all this has for its object the raising of the episcopal order to an unscriptural height of power and dignity, upon the ruins of an independent ministry, and all adds to the inefficiency for all practical and religious purposes of the present Bench of Bishops.

If the episcopacy is a failure in its present state, is there any reason why a change should not be tried? Why should not Bishops, who are very proud of calling themselves "Successors of the Apostles" and their office "the Apostolic office," why should not they be brought into closer resemblance to their great prototypes in worldly matters? Why not relieve them of their attendance in the House of Lords? since as legislators they are merely obstructions, and as Christian ministers they are clearly out of their place there; and then it would not be necessary for them as Commoners to keep up so much state, and a large portion of their income could be better applied to support the underpaid working clergy. If there must be Archdeacons and Rural Deans, let the clergy elect them, as they do already elect the Rural Deans in some Dioceses, and let the honorary Canons and Prebends be utterly abolished as useless and injurious incumbrances of the Church. And if the Parochial Clergy were elected according to the plan of the Irish Church, the Bishop would be a great deal more Apostolic in his position. Then "If a man desired the office of a Bishop," he would desire it as "a good work," not as a worldly honour; and his influence being purely moral and spiritual, it would be infinitely more beneficial for the highest interests of the Church. A whole host of ecclesiastical flunkies would be swept away, the

Laiety would occupy their proper position, and the Church would become what it ought to be—a fair representation of the religious feelings of the people.

NO. IV.—THE INFLUENCE OF MODERN CHURCH PRINCIPLES ON THE UPPER CLASSES.

By *John Smith.*

No one can deny that in this land the church has exhibited during the past few years an activity which contrasts very favourably with the utter negligence of the last century. We see churches springing up in every direction, and old ones restored and beautified: great efforts made to reclaim offenders against the laws; mission districts marked out in some of the lowest haunts of vice and immorality; all kinds of plans devised, various theories suggested for getting at our "Home Heathen": never a Church Congress is held but the vice of drunkenness, and how to overcome it, is fully discussed: but one important subject appears always to be overlooked—one class of the people, and that a very important class, seems to be left to take care of itself: and that is, the noble, the rich, and the great. Jeremiah did not forget them. He says, "I will get me to the great men, and will speak unto them, for they have known the way of the Lord, and the judgment of their God"; but what did he find among them? He tells us, "But these have altogether broken the yoke and burst the bonds."

Our church is singularly well circumstanced for dealing with such people: many of our clergy are connected with the highest and wealthiest families: our Bishops, as Peers of the Realm, are admitted into the most exclusive circles of society, if they please to seek for such admission. What then is the state of these classes?

We must allow that at first sight the appearances are favourable. An outward regard for religion was always *respectable*: now it is *fashionable*. And while the gentlemen are generally to be seen once on a Sunday at church, the ladies for the most part are absolutely devout: the fashionable church is never open at any time of the day, morning or evening, without a goodly number of titled and distinguished female worshippers: Orphanages and Sisterhoods, Asylums, &c., are freely and fashionably patronised: and there are few or no noblemen whose names do not appear among the subscribers to one or more religious institution or society.

But what influence has all this religious work upon the ordinary habits of this class? If we may judge from the daily papers, extravagance, immorality, and vice has never been so fashionable since the days of Charles II. : noblemen, one after another, have gambled away their princely fortunes in quick succession, and been compelled to seek refuge in the Bankruptcy Court : the streets and parks of London exhibit an amount of splendid wickedness, triumphant immodesty, which would have made them unfit places of resort for our grandmothers and their daughters ; but now *the monde* and the *demi monde* jostle one another in the ring and in the row, and stare at one another without shame. In dress and manners the fashionable "Girl of the Period" seems to try how near she may venture to the verge of shame and misery. Can these externals be indulged in without a corresponding pollution of mind and feeling? Even the new dress, to make it *go down*, must be called by the name of "Nell Gwynne." Sad as all this is, it is infinitely more fearful to contemplate in connection with the increase of formality in religion. It evidences the state of Jerusalem just before its destruction, when the Jews living in open sin attended the services of the Temple and said "We are delivered to do all these abominations." Such a state of society is well described by Carlyle. "When Belief and Loyalty have passed away, and only the cant and false echo of them remains ; and all solemnity has become Pageantry, and the creed of persons in authority has become one of two things, an Imbecility or a Machiavelism."

And how have these two principles of religion and vice come thus to grow together? Has the church been faithful? She has NOT. Which of our great preachers, bishops or presbyters, has ever had the honest boldness to protest against aristocratic vice in an aristocratic assembly? How many on the contrary have been willing to accept the money of these splendid sinners for church purposes, and while eloquent in their praise of their costly donations, been carefully silent as to their sins? How is it that we see the names of racing men and others on the pages of our religious societies? It is because the church has thought more of their patronage and money than of their souls, and so men living in every kind of dissipation and extravagance are deluded into believing themselves Good Churchmen. By some, no doubt, it is thought an excellent evidence of the good influence of Modern Church Principles that the Jockey Club has determined not to have races in Passion week. There is no doubt that the

old-fashioned Puritan influence would never have effected this. But what noble hypocrisy is this? Does it make any difference whether a man commits murder, or robs his neighbour, on Sunday or Monday? Is the rascality of the whole racing system any better the week after Easter than the week before? But here we see one little but plain evidence of the fact that Modern Church Principles have lowered and are lowering the truths of Christianity to suit the tastes of the rich and the great, and not one protesting voice is raised against it. Quarrel over the education of the poor, ye bishops and great churchmen: weep over the drunkenness and vice of St. Giles: provide homes and reformatories for poor dirty Haymarket: but do not say a word about Belgravia; shut your eyes carefully as the noble builder of one of your churches drives by with some one, not his wife, by his side, if unfortunately you meet them in St. John's Wood. Once upon a time a bishop left a church where he had just confirmed about a hundred young persons, and entered the carriage of a rich landed proprietor, at whose house he was about to stay. One of the confirmed remarked "His lordship has just been warning us against keeping bad company, and now he has gone to be the guest of the biggest blackguard in the county." N.B.—In that district a "blackguard" means a man who uses bad language.

This unholy alliance between the church and *splendid vice* must be broken off, if the church is ever to exercise a beneficial influence on the upper classes of society, and thereby *regain* the respect and confidence of the other portions of the community. If things continue as they are, the result is only a question of time. In France one hundred years ago, the nobility were steeped in vice, and thereby were the objects of the hatred and contempt of the middle and labouring classes. The churchmen, wealthy, powerful, and proud, were hand and glove with the nobles. And when the latter brought down ruin on their order, did the church escape? The nobility may imagine that they can afford to despise public opinion, and the church may turn away her eyes and say "Am I my brother's keeper?" but unless there be a great change "He who ordereth all things in Heaven and in Earth," will shew that He will not be mocked; and when that time comes "Judgment will begin at the House of God." Even now we see the utter want of fixed principle; the mixture of "Imbecility and Machiavelism" in our leading statesmen, most of them nurtured in *Modern Church Principles*: let us be sure of this that they will be the instruments in God's hands of destroying the

system that has withheld from them "the Truth," which it was pledged to teach, and will use their own birthright privileges to deprive their successors of theirs. Even now, if some one of our great churchmen were to stand out boldly and protest against the vices of the great, and refuse to "have any fellowship with the workers of iniquity," the whole country would join in his praises, and he would find himself armed at once with a power and influence for good which few men have enjoyed. But is that man to be found?

No. V.—ON ECCLESIASTICAL QUACKERY.—By *Rusticus*.

The Church in this diocese seems at the present time to be in danger of expiring, not from any incurable disease, nor from old age, but from a process of quackery. It is the fashion of all quacks to promise their dupes a speedy recovery, and to maintain that their particular remedies are specifics for all diseases, and capable of speedily removing all unpleasant symptoms: and if a man be perfectly well and happy, the quack will try and persuade him, and too often succeeds in the attempt, that his health is capable of improvement; thus many a poor fellow has been quacked out of health and into his grave. The Church in this diocese was comparatively quiet: there was indeed a growing distrust of the clergy among the laymen, but it had not of late openly expressed itself. Throughout the land in other dioceses the discontent had been more marked, the real ground of discontent and of danger being the inefficiency of the clergy, the unscriptural character of church patronage, the monstrous incongruity of cathedral establishments, and the exclusion of the lay members, who are the chief supporters of the Church, from all voice in her affairs. This danger was aggravated by the assaults of Popery, Nonconformity, and Infidelity from without, and the abominations of Sacerdotalism, evidently fostered by the bishops, from within.

Now for the nostrums prescribed.

1st. We will have a Synod, composed of pet clergy and officials, and laymen elected under the superintendence of the clergy. A Synod without authority, or power: which can only discuss what the Bishop chooses, and come to the conclusions which his lordship wishes. A Synod, the standing orders of which are to be adopted without discussion; where rural deans and mediæval noblemen, *ipsis sacerdotibus sacerdotiores*, vie with one another in flattering the poor

Bishop into imaginary infallibility. It is true it will not remedy the evils under which the church is labouring, but perhaps it will keep things quiet—make the laymen submit a little longer, when they find themselves invited to join in such an august assembly. Like the “*making things pleasant*” in joint stock companies, it will end in making things *very unpleasant*, when the laymen find how they have been played with.

But another nostrum at the present time is the use of the surplice in preaching, “a uniform dress” in the church, as one Bishop has lately described it. And why not? What difference does the colour of a dress make? Certainly not much. A piece of silk can’t do much harm; but if that piece of silk has certain emblems on it, which make it a Fenian flag, no honest man will hoist it, or walk under it: and if preaching in the surplice has for thirty years past been diligently introduced into our churches by men who avow their hatred of the Reformation, and of the articles of our church, then no honest churchman will adopt it. Bulls have a supposed aversion to anything scarlet: what then should we think of a man who would try and pacify an enraged bull by shaking a scarlet flag in his face? And yet in the present suspicious and excited state of the laity of the church, bishops are just as wise when they recommend the adoption of the surplice. Many years ago there was a celebrated quack in London who professed to cure all complaints by scrubbing his patients backs until they were sore; he prospered for a time, but at last came to grief; so our Bishops think to cure the evils of the Church by a process equally “unsavoury.”

But another great remedy is the introduction of “Sisterhoods,” or “Nursing Sisters,” and it is hoped that if our Diocesan Synod leads to nothing else, it may lead to the establishment of a training institution for nurses at head quarters. What do we know of these sisterhoods? And are we to have trained nurses or sisters of mercy? If nurses, why need they be trained under the shadow of the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral? Will part of their training be daily attendance at the Cathedral service? Whatever they are called, they will be active agents of Sacerdotalism, and they will carry the poison of that system into every hospital and every sick room into which they are admitted. A clergyman of high position in America came over to this country a few years ago on purpose to visit the sisterhoods of England, all avowedly formed for nursing purposes. Before returning home he said, “I am extremely disappointed with

my visits to your English Sisterhoods : I find them *essentially Popish*. That is the testimony of a High Church American clergyman. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, no Puritan publication, says, "The danger to be apprehended (from these sisterhoods) appears to us to be nothing less than the risk of a moral injury to the whole nation, and to every part of it, infinitely more important than any improvements in hospital nursing, even if the improvements in the nursing could not be had without the sisterhoods."

But why are these Sacerdotalists so anxious to introduce these Sisterhoods? Is it because they existed in the Primitive church? No. The Sisterhoods of the Apostles' time consisted of widows who had borne children, and, according to the oldest canons, of not less than 60 years of age. But the apostolic Sisterhoods would not satisfy our modern Apostles: perhaps with some reason; there are plenty of "old women" already in our pulpits, without having any more in our nunneries. So these modern sisterhoods are mere girls. But why are these sisterhoods necessary? Because they are the most unscrupulous, unwearied, reckless, unabashed proselytizers in the world. Presuming on the privileges of the weaker sex, while the Confessional—for a sisterhood is nothing without a Father Confessor—has banished every spark of female bashfulness from them, there is no limit to their audacity. As to their nursing capabilities, let the Hampstead Small-pox Hospital settle that matter. It is for church purposes they are supported, the nursing is a mere blind to deceive the unwary, and hide from public attention the real mischief that is going on. A well-known London clergyman says, "a few years ago I obtained admission into one of these homes for a poor young woman who was living in my parish, and had been led into vicious habits. She was kindly treated, and derived considerable benefit from the instruction she received, but she returned home under the most solemn exhortations (if not promises) to withdraw herself from my ministry, and to attend a highly ritualistic church in the neighbourhood." Another of these ladies opened a house in the same clergyman's parish, and at once declined his visits, and her whole efforts were to influence the labouring classes against his ministry. Miss Margaret Goodman, however, in her book "Sisterhoods of the Church of England," has so thoroughly exposed the abominable abuses of the whole system, that the very mention of the subject in a church synod should call forth the loudest expression of disgust. But will it be so? Surely not. Quietly but steadily, men, who have no higher

principle than external churchmanship, will be led on step by step ; and they who this year have given up their independence at the Bishop's bidding, will resign the rest of their conscience into his keeping, and *Evangelical Champions* will be found side by side with the Sacerdotalists advocating the extension of this pernicious system. It is folly to plead the example of the Continent. An able writer says : " the Sisterhoods of the Continent are a poor makeshift for the benevolent families of a married clergy—we have our sisterhoods of a different complexion and different character altogether : sisterhoods the holiest and the noblest that ever graced humanity, in our fallen world ; true sisterhoods of Christ's church, doing the holy work of Christ's church, and owned and recognised by Him who is the great Shepherd and Bishop of our church."

One more remedy has been propounded, namely the permitting laymen to preach with the Bishop's sanction. This is a most transparent device to catch the unwary laymen. The Bishop's sanction will enable the layman to preach in the church of a minister who approves of his preaching : at the same time that sanction will prevent his preaching elsewhere. Where the gospel is faithfully preached the layman is not wanted. The careless ungodly clergyman will never let an earnest layman preach in his pulpit : the ritualists will only let a man preach whose highest ambition it is to swing a censer as an acolyte, to act as *ceremoniarius*, or to carry a crozier before a Bishop. What then will be gained ? But now the laymen wants no episcopal sanction to preach the gospel, where the godly clergyman cannot do so, in every place and every parish where his help is needed : who then will seek the Bishop's sanction for doing that which as a Christian he has God's sanction for ? But it seems like a concession, when in reality it is a trap : let the layman beware of falling into it. Better far better for godly laymen to assert *their right* to act as Evangelists throughout the land. Hundreds of dark parishes are waiting for them, and would welcome them, into which the law prevents the faithful clergyman from entering ; if laymen will not occupy them in the church's name, the dissenters will : but this Bishop's sanction is only an additional chain upon those who are sufficiently bound down, as Lord Cathcart boldly declared at the Yorkshire Church Conference.

These then are some of the remedies devised for the church's ailments by her Quack Doctors. Can any one doubt but that the remedy is worse than the disease ? Surely it is time that there were

"men that have understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do," who would expose these flimsy pretences at Church extension, and make it known that what the Church wants is simple Christianity, stripped of priestcraft, hypocrisy, and worldliness; Christianity in the pulpit, and in the daily life and conversation; Men and women whose religion is something more than mere dress: otherwise the day is not far distant when Christian Laymen will take God's work in their own hands: and then these professional teachers and professional sisters will alike and together be left out in the cold. Christ left His church on earth to teach His truth, the church in this land was established in her present position, not for the sake of Lordly Bishops, and Deans, and Dignitaries, and Sisterhoods, but to teach that same truth: if they fail to do that, all the rest is rubbish, and the sooner she ceases to cumber the ground the better.

NO. VI.—HOW TO MAKE A DIOCESAN SYNOD PLEASANT, UPON MODERN CHURCH PRINCIPLES.

By the *Rev. Mac Flunkey Twaddle*.

It must be a great satisfaction to all good Churchmen to find that our excellent and learned Bishop has determined to call together and place on a permanent footing a Diocesan Synod. Nothing can be devised more likely to stem the advancing tide of democracy and innovation, and strengthen the bulwarks of our church against her external foes. But this, like every good work, will have great difficulties to contend with, arising not so much from diversities of opinion that are entertained by members of the Church, as from the injudicious and narrow-minded bigotry with which modern divines insist on their own theories of religion. The remedy therefore is in our own hands: and as all good Churchmen will gladly rally round our Bishop on this and every other such occasion, it is important to ascertain clearly how we may effectually help, and not hinder his Lordship.

First of all let us see the extent of our differences, and the more we look at them the more insignificant do they appear, in comparison of the advantages of an established and endowed church. Some of us from early education and association have adopted that "phase of thought" usually termed Evangelical; I confess that I am one of that number, and am deeply attached to all those important Doctrines for which our Martyred Reformers so nobly bled. But while

reverencing the memories of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley almost to idolatry, I trust I am not so narrow-minded as to exclude from the true Church such earnest and able men as Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas Moore, or even Bishop Bonner himself, for let us remember how kind he was to his aged mother. Others of us again sigh over that Reformation as a mistake and disaster, and speak of those excellent men and martyrs as "unredeemed villians." Here at first appears a vast difference, but if we examine it we shall find that there is nothing to prevent hearty church co-operation, for these differences of opinion are only part of the different theories of religious truth, of which a National Church ought to allow the greatest latitude. Again, some of us believe in the Holy Trinity, others are, strictly speaking, Unitarians; some in everlasting punishment, others in annihilation, or universalism. Some believe that "God is a spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in Truth:" others practically ignore this, and think that the more noise and show, the better He is pleased, and the more the audience is edified. I think no one can say that I have ignored any of our differences; but what have we here to prevent us from uniting heart and hand in defence of our common mother the church, in whose well-being we have so deep an interest?

The great and important matter is for us, High Church, Low Church, Broad Church, and No Church to find some common platform on which we can stand agreed. We must then get rid of all doctrines and theories first of all, as mere bones of contention. Let us try and adopt the charitable principles so well expressed by that learned Christian man Dr. Priestly, in the following words:—"How glorious would it be to the heads of any Christian establishment to require nothing of the members of it besides the profession of our *common Christianity*, and to leave all particular opinions to every man's own conscience! Every cause of unpleasing contention would then be removed, and one of the most popular objections to Christianity would be removed with it, viz., the want of harmony among Christians. We should then meet as brethren, and the disciples of one common master; and with respect to all our differences, having no object but *truth*, they would be discussed without animosity. No opinion then having anything in its favour besides its own proper evidence, all prejudice would much sooner give way; and truth, which we all profess to aim at, would be much sooner attained, and become universal."

And is this so difficult? When we are permitted to take our place at the table of one of our rich neighbours, do we obtrude our doctrines there? Would not they be entirely out of place? Can any one tell, when he meets a clergyman at a great man's table, to what school of religious thought within the church he belongs? Certainly not, if he is what all clergymen ought to be, a gentleman. What then we are all in the habit of doing for the sake of enjoying the elegancies of good society, we can surely do for the sake of the church, and only touch on those points on which we are all agreed. We all, therefore, believe in the Bishop—the church would be a nonentity without a Bishop: we can therefore all unite in supporting the dignity and splendour of the Episcopal Office. Again, we all agree in the importance of an Established and Endowed Church. If the church were disestablished and disendowed, no gentleman would send his sons into the church, and then what would become of the poor rural parishes? For we all know that it is not religious doctrines or theories that are the real benefit to these rural parishes, but the fact of a gentleman and a gentleman's family living in the midst of them. It is this that civilizes them and keeps them from sinking into barbarism. Here then we have common ground on which to stand, and something worth contending for; and for want of some opportunity of setting this forth men have lost sight of the unspeakable advantage of having among them, as clergymen, educated gentlemen, who can impart to them by example polite behaviour, without being themselves tainted by the rustic vulgarity of those among whom they live. If we neglect this opportunity, and leave our excellent Bishop to fight this battle alone, we may live to see the church overthrown, and our beautiful parsonage houses and our pulpits occupied by coarse-minded men, who think themselves qualified to be clergymen simply because they know and can preach the Gospel. *Absit omen!!*

Nor do I think that the opportunity afforded by the Synod should be lost of exhibiting in the most striking manner to all the country the glorious fact, that now after years of contention about such comparative trifles as "doctrines and phases of thought," the wisdom and forethought of our excellent Bishop have succeeded in restoring perfect harmony within the bosom of the church, of course with the exception of a few unreasonable individuals, whom one never meets in good society, who are wild enough to consider *truth* as of more importance than any worldly advantage. I would wish that for their own sakes they could be induced to take a wiser course; but if they

will not, they must be left to satisfy themselves with the approbation of the vulgar and ignorant people. But surely the Synod might be made the means of a grand demonstration of churchmen on the common ground of Bishops, tithes, parsonage houses, and gentility. I would therefore venture to suggest that during the sitting of the Synod, a grand bazaar of useful and ornamental work should be held, supplemented with raffles, and other innocent ecclesiastical amusements, the proceeds to be divided between the English Church Union, and the Church Association, and Mr. Voysey's fund ; the S.P.G. and Church Missionary Society ; Curate's Aid and Pastoral Aid Society. And on such a solemn occasion perhaps it would give an ecclesiastical character to the affair if the stalls, besides the usual mediæval ladies, were superintended by clergymen in full canonicals and vestments. Whilst such a demonstration would greatly tend to cement the harmony inaugurated by the Synod, the poor Dissenters would contrast with our happy union their own quarrels and bickerings, and I doubt not many of them would be led to seek within the bosom of the church that which they cannot find in their own denomination, namely *peace and plenty*, without doctrines, theories, or any other phases of truth.

NO. VII.—THOUGHTS ON DISESTABLISHMENT,

By *Ignotus*.

At a time when the best friends of the Church look forward with deep anxiety to the future, when Disestablishment and Disendowment occupy a prominent place in the programme of a large and powerful party, when many of her old friends are growing indifferent about the matter, it surely cannot be inconsistent with the objects of a Diocesan Synod, to look this matter steadily in the face, and consider what reason we have to expect such an important change in the position of the Church, and what the probable results will be.

First, then, if we consider God's dealings with His Church in past ages, we shall be forced to acknowledge that it is quite *possible* that such a change may be imminent. At the time of the Reformation the Church of Rome was supported by all the Temporal Power of Europe, and He, who is pleased to work by means, supported His own Truth in opposition to such vast material power which was enlisted in the defence of Popery, by uniting our Church with the

State, and that so closely that the national honour and the National Church seemed to be identified. Without doubt this union was kept up at no little cost. Our Reformers, tolerant enough towards the non-Episcopal Churches of France and Geneva, had no idea of any divided Church at home ; this want of toleration, although it was far more political than religious, led to a great deal of persecution, and a great spiritual weakening of the Church, as when by the Act of Uniformity some hundreds of the best and ablest ministers were driven out of her Communion. And yet it effected its purpose. England, as a nation, was identified with Protestantism in the face of all Europe. But now all this is changed. There is not one country in Europe that gives a national support to Popery—truth and falsehood no longer contend with material, but intellectual, forces : it is therefore reasonable to expect that the truth in this land will have to stand alone, without the aid of the state. And who that knows that truth will for a moment doubt or fear the issue ?

But such a change is also very *probable*. From the day when men, who were not members of the Church, were admitted into offices political and civil, and into Parliament, the days of the union of Church and State were numbered. From that day the union has been an anomaly. The Church cannot change her lectionary without it is first submitted to an assembly, consisting in part of Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Jews. The principles and practices of the two are diverse, and every day shows the impossibility of their working together. The State determines to pass the Burials Bill, the Church protests but cannot help herself, she is the weaker vessel, and as long as the union exists, she is bound "to love, honour, and *obey*" her Lord and Master. The State, being appealed to, lays down certain laws as to the doctrines and ritual of the Church ; the chief officers of the Church, themselves appointed by the State, refuse to carry out those laws. But in nothing has this incompatibility of temper and disposition appeared more plainly than upon the question of Education. The Church wishes to keep it in her own hands ; the State says you shall do no such thing. It seems, therefore, highly *probable* that the parties will shortly carry their differences into the DIVORCE COURT.

And whilst there will be many inconveniencies attending such a separation, in many respects it will be *desirable*. It will cause a separation between the two elements that now are "unequally yoked together" within the Church—vital Christianity and worldly Formality ;

whatever is real, honest, and true, will withdraw from that which is a hindrance and a blight to the true Church ; and while the pomp and grandeur of the Church will cleave to the world, that which is really valuable will keep distinct, and though inferior in numbers compared with the worldly professors, poor in this world's goods, simple in habits of life and of worship, it will be infinitely more powerful for good than at present, because God will be in the midst of it, its light will be single, and pure, and holy. Another advantage will be that the chief support of the Aggressive Policy of the Church of Rome in this land will be withdrawn. What is it that enables that Church to enjoy such immunities from State control in this land ? Why has it greater indulgence here than in any country in Europe. It is simply through jealousy of the Established Church. The great Liberal Party *play her off* against the Established Church ; they will not unite with Churchmen in restraining her advances ; but that hindrance out of the way, she would find her nunneries and monasteries and charities no longer sealed against State inspection, and her day of defiance of the law would have passed away.

Of course in such an important change vested interests would have to be considered. I do not allude now to the country 'squires who have the advowson of a living in their families, ready for any one of the sons who has no particular liking for doing anything else, in consequence of which many a child is brought up from early days with the understanding that when he is three-and-twenty years of age he will have to declare that he is "inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost" to take upon himself the cure of souls, when he "has not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost : " and has a most indefinite idea of the nature and value of his own soul. But I most particularly refer to that most industrious class of persons who advertise incessantly in every ecclesiastical and religious newspaper certain wares that I fear will not have a ready sale in a disestablished church, I mean the concoctors of manuscript and lithographed sermons, at the small price of thirteen shillings and sixpence per quarter. Some inform the Church that they have two or three thousand for inspection and selection. What will become of these hard-working men ? Of course, when the Church is disestablished clergymen will not have £500 per annum, and house and glebe for teaching the people, and buy their doctrine at 13s. 6d. per quarter. What becomes of the men who have undertaken the office of minister without any qualification for it, nobody will mind ;

but I hope our legislators will not overlook these manufacturers of ready-made Evangelism. I have often wondered that some of our Bishops have not found room in their very extensive charges to notice and protest against this disgrace to our church; I hope the omission is not caused by a fellow feeling: I *have* heard of Bishop's charges that could not be warranted *home made*.

Considering then the *possibility* and *probability* of a great change in the Church's position, surely we ought to be considering what we shall do to meet it. The honest preacher of the gospel has nothing to fear—the real Christian is perfectly safe—the great Head of the Church will not leave or forsake the one or the other. Wherever he has a people He will provide a teacher, and that teacher will be fed. Religion will lose much of its external gaudiness, but it will be more influential in the hearts and lives of its honest professors. So we may well leave these things in the hands of infinite wisdom, and power, and love. Whatever change takes place it will be for His glory and His people's good, and with this we may well be content. But as Churchmen we may and ought to prepare for the worst. Instead then of protesting against the coming change as "Sacrilège," instead of proclaiming the vast advantage which the Church in her present state confers on the country at large, and the tremendous loss that will accrue to the State by her disestablishment, much in the spirit of a quarrelsome wife, who winds up all her most aggravating tirades by assuring her husband that "he will be sorry for her when he has lost her;" instead of falling in with the suicidal scheme of uniting truth and error in defence of the temporalities of the Church, let us be getting ready for the day of trial, and as a man that is about to leave a sinking ship and swim for his life prepares for the moment of danger by divesting himself of everything that may hinder him in his struggle with the waves, so let Churchmen be prepared to fling away whatever is non-essential or injurious. Let them no longer permit the bishops for their own honour and glory to resist every measure for the real reform of the ecclesiastical courts. The sooner these courts with all their anomalies are swept away the better. Instead of upholding the laws of the church and restraining transgression, it is in their endless labyrinths that the chief conspirators against the Church of the Reformation shelter themselves, beyond the reach of individual Churchmen, and fostered by Episcopal privilege and Episcopal indifference. And then let no foolish worship of antiquity, no æsthetic sentimentality prevent us from all uniting in the abolition

of Cathedral establishments. Let the rich and great support them, if they like them, by their voluntary gifts, but the Church should not be burdened by them. Some such sacrifices as these would delay the evil day, and make the Church more fit to meet the difficulty ; but above all, the clergy must remember that they will have to depend upon the goodwill of the laity. If they secure that *now* by their faithfulness and devotion, all will be well, but the opportunity *now* offered will not be renewed.

CHURCH DEFENCE:

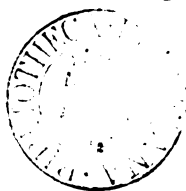
Report of a Conference

ON THE

PRESENT DANGERS OF THE CHURCH.

"Here's neither bush nor shrub to bear off any weather at all, and another storm brewing; I hear it sing i' the wind."

Tempest, Act ii., sc. 2.



LONDON:

R. WASHBOURNE, 18, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1873.

100. f. 136. 24.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

CANON LIGHTWOOD,	}	<i>Ritualists.</i>
ARCHDEACON TENNYSON,		
REV. CYRIL HOOKER,		

THE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF CHALDEE,	}	<i>High Churchmen.</i>
THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER,		
REV. PREBENDARY SMILES,		

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON,	}	<i>Low Churchmen.</i>
ARCHDEACON SOFTLY,		
REV. SILAS TRUMPINGTON,		

DEAN MARMION,	}	<i>Broad Churchmen.</i>
REV. PREBENDARY CREEDLESS,		

REV. MARK WEASEL,.....	<i>Anglican Unattached.</i>
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Scene at the Conference.

DEAN MARMION'S LIBRARY.

THE CONFERENCE.

DEAN MARMION opened the proceedings. He need not disclaim any pretension to shape the discussion upon which they were about to enter. He was their host, but nothing more. It had seemed to him expedient at this crisis, of which they all recognised the gravity, to gather together representatives of the various schools of religious thought in their communion. They had accepted his invitation, and he thought they had done wisely. If they could arrive at any common principle of action in defending the National Church, of which they were all, in spite of wide differences of theological opinion, authorised pastors and official advocates, their discussion would not be barren. Their enemies were united, but *they* were not. Was it possible to remove this initial difficulty? This was the question which he submitted to their wisdom.

MR. WEASEL had accepted the invitation of the learned Dean, and did not regret having done so.

But he thought it important to define clearly, at the outset, *what* they were called upon to defend. There were four totally different Churches of England in that room, and a good many more outside it. Which of them was it proposed to defend ?

THE PROFESSOR OF CHALDEE (who was received with evident marks of interest) observed that he had yielded to the solicitation of valued friends, not without repugnance, in consenting to take part in this discussion. He desired that its fruits might be salutary. He was neither sanguine nor despondent. No man regretted more deeply than himself the unhappy divisions to which Mr. Weasel had referred, but they were nothing new. From the beginning this inconvenience had been felt in their own branch of the Church Catholic. That the English Church had continued, in spite of it, to discharge her providential mission, and to preach "the faith once delivered to the saints," was a manifest proof that God was with her. The evils which she had endured in the past she could endure now. Better strife than stagnation. He had no fears for the Church of England. She might cease to exist in her present form, and he had on many occasions admitted that certain contingencies might arise—such as the suppression of the Athanasian creed—which would make it a duty to depart from her. But if she fell, as even her friends seemed to anticipate, it would only be

to live again in a new and more attractive form. The difficulty noticed by Mr. Weasel, however hardly it might press upon some sections of the clergy, was not felt by the Catholic portion of their community. Mr. Weasel appeared to be surprised at this observation, but it was easily explained. Anglo-Catholics were members, not simply of the English, but of the Universal Church. It was their duty to sympathise with the trials of a weak and ailing branch, and to "mourn with those who mourn," but their hopes and aspirations were not confined within its narrow boundary. Though it should cease to exist to-morrow, its Catholic children would not be without an altar and a home. Catholic prelates would be found to govern their flock, however diminished in number, and to perpetuate their priesthood. For this reason he saw nothing fatal in the objection of Mr. Weasel. In proposing to "defend the Church," he and his friends had in view a communion Catholic, though reformed, and of which the divisions, lamentable as they were, could not obscure the divine character. He thought, therefore, that on this basis they might combine, in spite of the difficulty suggested by Mr. Weasel, to frame a scheme of "Church Defence," and in this conviction he was ready to bear his part in the deliberations proposed by Dean Marmion.

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS (who addressed the meeting with a fluency and liveliness which seemed

to imply considerable confidence in his own views), was glad that the eminent divine, whom they all respected, saw his way to concerted action among the different sections of their community. The announcement did not surprise him. He had never doubted that while their differences were sentimental and emotional, they were all of one mind in their first principles. (Vehement marks of dissent from Archdeacon Tennyson.) The Professor of Chaldee, perhaps inadvertently, had just proved it. In proclaiming that he and his friends were prepared, in certain very probable contingencies, to make a new Church, without consulting any authority whatever but their own tastes and predilections, he evidently agreed with Dean Marmion and himself, that a Church was a purely human institution, and that anybody could make a new one, whenever he felt impelled to do so.

THE PROFESSOR OF CHALDEE observed, with some severity of manner, that he had never thought of making a "new" Church, but only of reproducing the existing Anglican Church in a new form.

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS could more easily appreciate the subtle distinction, if the hypothetical failure of the Established Church had not been assumed as the very motive for creating a purer community. To abandon a Church because it had become unfaithful and defiled, transfer to a new one the allegiance of which it had ceased to be

worthy, and yet maintain that they were still the *same* communion, appeared to him to approach the ideal limits of contradiction and absurdity. He knew that the school to which the Regius Professor belonged, and of which he was so distinguished a leader, contended that this was precisely what the Church of England had done in departing from the Church of Rome. No fundamental disparity of creed, they said, was implied in the separation, and they were still *one* Church. How firmly they believed their own theory was proved every day by their cordial attitude towards the sister church, and the remarkably amicable relations existing between them. (General laughter.) If there was anything in which High Church journals were now unanimous, it was in ceaseless vituperation of the Church of Rome, which their writers appeared to hate with an ardent animosity of which the ordinary old-fashioned Protestant was wholly incapable. The Anglican and Roman bodies, they were told, were integral parts of the same church, and he was quite willing to believe it if he could ; but the birds lodged in their branches differed conspicuously in shape and plumage, and were chiefly occupied in pecking at each other. From early morn till the close of day, these vociferous birds uttered screams of mutual defiance which did not produce harmony of sound, and defended their respective nests with a clamorous ferocity which did not suggest unity of species. Even their callow

broods could hardly be restrained from feeble and immature combats. To quit the region of metaphor, the habitual language of Ritualists towards Romanists, and their mutual reproaches, afforded the clearest proof that the former had no serious faith in their own technical theory. 'Only the other day, a High-church Bishop announced in a published document, addressed to the "Old Catholics" at Cologne, that the Church of Rome is now, and always had been, "heretical and schismatical." He evidently felt, as every man of sense must do, that only on some such supposition could the autonomy of the Church of England be justified—at least on High-church principles. But it followed, from the same principles, that the Establishment could not be a *part* of the Universal Church, except by being the whole, since it was in open warfare with all the rest. It could be defended only as a national institution, adapted to the religious wants and ideas of a particular people, and comprehensive enough to allow ample verge for their theological divergences. Any other estimate of its character was not only visionary and romantic, but suicidal, and must lead, at no distant day, to the dis-establishment with which they were already menaced. Its whole history proved that, in the judgment of the Church of England, heresy was nothing but the legitimate variety of religious opinion. He agreed, therefore, with Dr. Arnold, when that great ornament of their Church said of

other religious communities, including the Church of Rome: "They are not all error, nor we all truth." But he agreed also with the Professor of Chaldee,—and this was another instance of the identity of their first principles,—in desiring to belong even to the "Universal Church;" provided only that Church was willing to reciprocate his cordiality, of which he did not at present see any immediate prospect. He approved free trade in religion as in everything else, but it could only be established by the consent of two contracting parties. His High-church friends might fancy that they belonged to the Universal—by which, he supposed, they meant the Catholic—Church, by virtue of an imaginary treaty composed in their own vestries, but that Church knew nothing of the visionary pact, and declined to deal with them on any terms whatever, except unquestioning submission. Her spiritual tariff was not subject to modification, and she was the only power on earth with which any sort of commercial treaty, founded on mutual concessions, was totally out of the range of possibilities. He could not but admire her "pluck," though he did not always approve the objects upon which it was expended, and especially her complete unconsciousness that she either was, or ever could be, "in danger." In this respect she differed notably from their own communion, as their present conference proved, and not in this respect only. If their Establishment had

still to be called into being, the Catholic Church could not be more serenely oblivious of its existence. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were no more Christian priests in the judgment of the Catholic Church—nor, he might certainly add, in their own—than the vergers in Westminster Abbey or the organist at St. Paul's. She created dioceses in this country, nominated her own bishops to them, and took no more account of the Establishment than of the followers of the late Mr. Irving, or the society of the New Jerusalem. She might be right or wrong in thus dealing with their National Church, a point on which opinions would differ, but the fact that she did so was beyond dispute. If, therefore, the Professor of Chaldee proposed to unite with them in defending the Church of England, a task in which they gladly welcomed him as an ally, he could only do so on the same grounds as himself, and must put away the agreeable delusion of belonging to the "Universal Church." No man could defend the Establishment, with any rational hope of success, except as an independent institution, complete in itself, wisely tolerant and comprehensive, and in which, at this day, as at all former periods, everybody was at liberty to differ, within certain undefined limits, from everybody else. They could not unite the generous latitude so dear to their own Church, and which was both its theological and its historical basis, with the

irksome restraints of a rigid dogmatic system. The Catholic Church had chosen one alternative, and they had chosen the other. Each had its merits, but they could not co-exist. The free interpretation of scripture, to which they were invited by their own formularies—and the free interpretation of the Fathers, to which the High-church party invited themselves,—could not be made to combine with unity of religious thought. The two things were mutually destructive, and eternally incompatible. A uniform faith could only be imposed by *authority*, and that authority their Church had rejected for ever. Their dissensions, therefore, were but the logical results of their principles, and the Professor of Chaldee agreed with Anglican Bishops of every school, and with himself, if he might presume to say it, in regarding such dissensions as perfectly consistent with the healthy life of a true Christian Church. If he had thought otherwise, or had deemed opposite creeds inadmissible in the same communion, he must long since have abandoned the Establishment of which these were the most prominent and characteristic features. Finally, there was yet another point in which they were equally of one mind, for the eminent divine evidently believed with him, as his whole career proved, that there was no spiritual authority in the world which anybody was bound to obey, unless it agreed with his own opinions, and that it was the undoubted right of every

Christian to judge what he called the "Universal Church," and refuse to be judged by her. And thus they could easily combine together in defending the Establishment, since the great archaic principles in which they all concurred were infinitely more momentous than the accidental conclusions in which they differed.

ARCHDEACON SOFTLY thought it an advantage to have heard, in this prefatory discussion, the representatives of two such opposite poles of religious thought. But he could not agree with either of them in the view which they entertained of their unhappy divisions. He would not deny that, from the first hour of the glorious Reformation, doctrinal divergences had been freely tolerated in their communion, and in this fact he perceived no plausible motive for reproach ; but at least they had hitherto been confined within comparatively narrow limits. It was only since the rise of the so-called "Catholic" school, that "our communion," as Dean Goulburn lately observed in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, "is becoming perfectly lawless." That school had repudiated the principles of the Reformation, held up the blessed Reformers to obloquy and contempt, and quenched the light of faith in a multitude of souls by reviving the superstitions and idolatries of the Papal Church. They were no longer what their fathers had been for three centuries. Hence the fatal divisions which now weakened their hands in de-

fending their beloved Church from the assaults of dissent and unbelief. But disunion was not, as Prebendary Creedless wished them to think, a necessary fruit of Protestant principles. The proof was easy. No such internal conflicts disgraced other communities, which had been more faithful than their own to the pure Gospel as preached by the English Reformers. "The great Wesleyan community," as the Bishop of Manchester justly styled that evangelical body, always consistently Protestant, was a shining example to themselves, and, far from being agitated by intestine discord, visibly surpassed in religious peace and brotherly love the pretended unity of the Church of Rome. Let them return to the integrity of their Protestant profession, and they would recover the harmony which the Wesleyans had never lost.

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON saw nothing wonderful in the fact that Wesleyans, and other Protestant heretics, did not resemble themselves in fighting together about religion. They had reduced Christianity to such a very small number of doctrines that they had little to fight about. Men whose whole gospel was some miserable shibboleth of Calvin, Baxter, or Wesley, and whose religion consisted in eternally spouting about that, could easily contrive to agree together in their own particular nonsense. They had only to suppress the Sacraments, as these people had done, abolish all the mysteries of Revelation, and replace them

by the practice of immersion, the Methodist craze of instantaneous conversion, or the Calvinistic tenet of absolute predestination, and there was not much left to quarrel about. When Christianity was dwarfed and stunted to such dimensions, the only possible topics of dissension, and he believed they were tolerably fruitful, were the tyranny of ignorant "elders," the presumption of illiterate "class-leaders," or the precarious tenure of a stipend which varied with the capricious humour of such plebeian paymasters. It was far otherwise with the disciples of the Primitive Church, and professors of Catholic theology. *They* had no higher duty than to defend against all enemies, domestic or foreign, the sacred deposit of the ancient faith. It was not permitted to them to sheathe the sword, as long as there was an adversary in the field. For his own part, he had fought with his bishop, he had fought with the press, and was now fighting with his congregation. He was ready to fight with anybody else in a good cause. Speaking metaphorically, fighting agreed with him. It sharpened his intellects, and gave a new zest to the truths which it was his privilege to maintain. Holy Scripture spoke eloquently of the armour of the Christian soldier, and he would keep his shield burnished, and his lance in rest, to deal with any modern Paynims who should cross his path. As for those within his own Church—bishops, clerks, or laymen, who wished to substi-

tute the abominations of the pretended Reformation, which he agreed with Mr. Baring-Gould in considering "a miserable apostasy," for Catholic truth, he would fight them everywhere and always, in the valley and on the plain, by day or night, as long as he had a voice to speak or a hand to write. But he would defend the Church of England, in spite of the heresies tolerated within her, because she was the only pure branch of the Catholic Church in this realm—or, at least, though she had some present defects, they hoped one day to make her so.

MR. TRUMPINGTON would cheerfully accept the unholy challenge of the Archdeacon, and contend with him in his Master's cause. He had been requested by earnest members of his flock to attend the conference, but had warned them not to expect any good from it, much less any benefit to vital religion. His brother Softly, if he might call him so in the bonds of Christian love,—(the Archdeacon did not seem to see things in that light, and made no responsive sign,)—had spoken stirring words of truth, for which he tendered him his thanks. It was because they were false to the great principles of Protestantism that their enemies were about to prevail against them. They had abandoned the ark of the Lord, and the Philistines had borne it away. They could only recover it by forsaking their idols, and turning, like the Israelites of old, in weeping, and fasting, and mourning, to that pure

and reformed faith which too many among them had denied. They were reaping what they had sown. Their divisions were the chastisement of their sins, and they had become weak because they had turned away from the Gospel of Paul to the deceits of Elymas and the soothsayers of Rome. Let Rome perish with her idols, but let the chosen people of England gird up their loins, and follow after the sainted martyrs who had left them a goodly inheritance, and built up their Protestant Church amid the fires of Smithfield. Sabbath after Sabbath he addressed this exhortation to his own people. There were some who now invited them to cherish an adulterous love for the apostate Church of Rome, and to admire her pretended saints; but what had she ever produced which could be compared with the great lights of Protestantism? When he thought of the precious Cecil, the apostolic Wesley, or the godly Simeon, he was tempted to say, as Brutus said of Cæsar :

“It is impossible that Rome
Should ever breed thy fellow.”

(This unexpected quotation from the play of *Julius Cæsar* was attended with marked success, though the company appeared to be variously affected by it. For some moments it was doubtful whether gloom or hilarity would predominate. Archdeacon Tennyson whispered something to his neighbour, who became convulsed with laughter.

Prebendary Smiles, after coughing twice impressively, directed a glance of just reproof towards the offenders, which they seemed to receive with complete indifference. The Rev. Silas Trumpington looked straight before him, or as nearly straight as an inveterate *strabismus* permitted, and appeared to glare at some object in the distance. The Bishop of Dorchester smiled, Archdeacon Softly sighed, Mr. Hooker seemed shocked, and Mr. Weasel took snuff.)

(After a silence of some moments,)

MR. HOOKER observed, with an air of extreme depression, that it would be very agreeable to himself, and probably to other members of the Conference, if the learned Canon Lightwood, who occupied so great a position in the Church and in the University, and who exerted so powerful an influence over the younger members of both, would state his views on the subject of their religious divisions. He should be glad to learn from one who could speak with so much authority, in what sense a community which allowed her bishops and clergy to teach the most opposite and contradictory doctrines could be considered "*the pillar and ground of the truth*," which was St. Paul's definition of the true Church ; and also, how far such a discharge of her dogmatic office impaired her qualification to "*teach all nations*," which was the primary function of "*the Church of the Living God*?"

CANON LIGHTWOOD was not insensible to the extreme gravity of the questions just proposed. They had long occupied his own mind, and had been his greatest difficulty in dealing with the souls of others. He admitted that the time had come to look them in the face. The extreme divergency of religious thought displayed in that room, by men who were all equally authorised ministers of the same Church, and had all received the same commission to declare her message to the world, was only a too exact reflection of similar dissensions outside it. They might perhaps admit, in the spirit of Christian candour, that no community of professing Christians, from the first dawn of their holy religion, had ever presented such a spectacle of discord as their own. It was neither prudent nor manly to affect to ignore what was visible to the whole world. The rapid growth of unbelief, especially among men of cultivated intellect, was said to be mainly due to the conviction, forced upon our generation by the ceaseless disputes of Christians, that Christianity itself was a failure. That such divisions weakened the claim of their Church to be the teacher of the nation, and even imperilled her continued existence, no serious man would deny. But this, it appeared to him, was not the most serious aspect of the question. Other Churches had fallen, and their own might fall in its turn. If the floods should arise, and sweep away the ark in which they had hitherto

found refuge, the catastrophe might be superficially explained by referring it to intestine quarrels, or discordant watchwords. No doubt the first tempest would be fatal to a ship of which the crew had no common language, and whose disorderly efforts only counteracted one another. If, at the height of the storm, the distracted mariners would pull the rudder in opposite directions at once, while each attempted to execute a private manœuvre which was probably the wrong one, and in any case could only succeed by the combined action of all, the fate of such a vessel could not be doubtful. But the true subject of inquiry in this crisis of their communion was not, he submitted, either the nature or the extent of the divisions which they all deplored, but rather their source and origin. Was it true, as Prebendary Creedless maintained, that they were the inevitable result of their principles? It was to this point that he would direct his observations.

That he totally dissented from the opinion of Archdeacon Softly and Mr. Trumpington, who referred all their spiritual calamities to the revival of Catholic doctrines, he need not say. The movement which they judged so unfavourably had no doubt brought into clearer view the fundamental dogmatic differences existing in their community, and in that sense had been for a time a disintegrating force. But he thought it must be admitted, with respect to those whom the Catholic

revival had influenced, that it had conducted them to a substantial unity both of doctrine and ritual, and that it had done so by virtue of the *principles* which controlled it. Discarding the fatal privilege of private judgment (Dean Marmion was seen to smile), and its endless fluctuations of individual opinion, it had substituted for that eccentric guide the definite creeds and harmonious liturgies of the Primitive Church, the decisions of the early Councils, and the consentient teaching of the Christian Fathers. It recognised, therefore, an *authority*, virtually divine, which all were bound to obey, and made its decisions at once the rule of Christian faith and the test of human obedience. To call order out of chaos had been the aim of the earnest men by whom the revival had been directed, and he thought this object had been at least partially attained. He would say, therefore, as he was accustomed to say to those who did him the honour to consult him, that their present condition could only be attributed to the long suppression of Catholic teaching in their communion, and the almost universal oblivion of the most sacred Christian truths, such as the Power of the Keys, and the Sacrifice of the Altar. And as it was open to him to contend that the Church of England was no party to the heretical and subversive opinions which had sprung up within her fold, but had always professed, in spite of the perhaps unavoidable ambiguity of her formularies,

to be framed upon the model of the Primitive Church, the origin of their shame and weakness was to be found, not in the Catholic principles upon which she was built, and which would have secured to her a stable and progressive life, but in their unhappy decay, and final rejection by a great majority of the English race. For this reason he could look their difficulties in the face without excessive alarm, and certainly without despair. He and his friends could endure their divisions because they hoped to overcome them. It might be said that it was only an experiment in which they were engaged, and that the chances of ultimate success were visionary and chimerical; but they would not relax their efforts at the bidding of pusillanimous fear, nor yield their hopes to the dictation of irreligious clamour.

(The Bishop of Dorchester bowed to Canon Lightwood with an approving smile. Archdeacon Tennyson glanced at Mr. Trumpington, who had closed his eyes, as if to exclude a too vivid ray of light. Mr. Hooker seemed more cheerful. Mr. Weasel looked amused, and again took snuff. Dean Marmion remained perfectly impassive, as if hiding his time. Prebendary Smiles was radiant. The Bishop of Brighton frowned, half rose from his seat, and would evidently have broken silence, if he had not perceived that the Canon was about to continue his discourse.)

CANON LIGHTWOOD was far from supposing that

he had given a complete answer to the questions of Mr. Hooker, nor was it easy to do so. He admitted, with his friend the Professor of Chaldee, that defeat, not victory, might be at their gates. But he thought he had justified his own attitude towards the divisions in their community, and vindicated his personal belief that they were not necessarily fatal to its claims as a true branch of the Catholic Church. If the spread of Catholic truth should continue, they might one day be healed, when the objection founded upon them would disappear. (A by-stander might have fancied that at this moment Mr. Weasel winked at Dean Marmion, but would no doubt have rejected the supposition as too violently improbable.) What he had said thus far was an adequate reply to Archdeacon Softly, and other adversaries within their own communion, but not, he frankly confessed, to those outside it. He did not need to be reminded that the Church of England was not the only Christian community in the world. In addition to domestic foes, they had to sustain the assaults of men who belonged to older ecclesiastical organisations than their own, and whose arguments could neither be disposed of by an imprudent silence, nor refuted by the mere announcement of hopes, which, however legitimate, might never be realised. But even against such adversaries he thought they held a tenable position. It was certainly not open to the Eastern Church, for example,

to reproach them with their disorders, since no region of Christendom was ever more deeply agitated by incurable and increasing schisms than that which professed the Greek or "orthodox" faith. The Russian was quite as purely a national Church as their own, and made no difficulty in avowing it. It did not even profess to be Catholic, nor wish to be. It had no voice for any people not of Greek or Slavonic origin. It aimed at nothing higher than political unity. Moreover, it was undermined throughout its whole extent by sects constantly increasing in number—already amounting, he was informed, to a majority of the population—many of them of an odious character, and all animated by the most virulent animosity towards the official Church. It was a well-known prediction of the late Czar Nicholas, that "Russia would perish by her religious divisions," and they had enormously increased since his time. Nor could it be denied that Russian policy was provoking this dissolution of the empire, and courting the destruction of its Church, by directly fomenting schism in other lands. After persuading Greece to declare its complete independence of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the true head of the Oriental Church, Russia had lately induced Bulgaria to follow the same example. She was always ready to sacrifice religious to political unity, and only wished her subjects to be orthodox, in order that they might be Russian. A Church in

such a state of growing disunion, and so completely subject to and enslaved by the civil power, was evidently not entitled to taunt their own with its religious divisions.

The Western Church, in communion with the see of Rome,—(Mr. Hooker appeared to listen with redoubled attention)—was no doubt in a less distracted state, and had found means to escape such calamities. He would not deny that she might boast, with an appearance of reason, that her members, of whatever nationality, were really united, not by a civil or political, but by a spiritual bond. Acknowledging a common centre of authority, which had a prescription of many centuries in its favour, and had come to be regarded by the largest body of Christians in the world as of divine origin, the lawlessness of individual and speculative opinion had been, it might be admitted, effectually restrained among the adherents of the Roman Church. She alone existed in all lands, and was the same in all. It was no doubt an honourable distinction, but though such unity of faith had been secured in the Roman Church, in spite of its diffusion among so many different races of men, it did not follow that the authority to whose action it was due was really what it claimed to be. He would illustrate his meaning by an example. The Greek and Indian philosophers of old, in spite of the errors of their astronomical system, and their total ignorance of the

true motions of the earth, were approximately exact in their practical conclusions, and no serious confusion resulted, in determining the length of the year, and other problems intimately connected with human affairs, from the false assumptions of a blind and inaccurate science. In like manner, the unity of the Roman Church, which seemed to contrast so impressively with the chaos of other communities, might be produced by the exercise of an authority which was not really divine, but simply a human device or even a usurpation, and which had no claim to the obedience which it enforced, and had contrived to secure.

MR. HOOKER would venture to ask the learned Canon if he could point to any other example, in the whole history of man, in which a similar dogmatic unity had been obtained, and preserved for many centuries, by the action of a purely human authority?

CANON LIGHTWOOD did not know that he could.

MR. HOOKER might perhaps inquire further whether the same mysterious unity, which had been found so unattainable in all other communities, and especially in their own, had not been easily maintained even in England, during a series of ages, as long as the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was admitted?

CANON LIGHTWOOD could not deny it, but it did not follow that the two facts bore to each

other the relation of cause and effect, nor even, if they did, that unity *ought* to have been obtained by such means. He would presume also to warn his friend against attaching undue importance to a phenomenon which appealed to the imagination rather than to the reason. (Mr. Hooker appeared to relapse into profound melancholy.) He did not undervalue the blessings of unity, to which they ought all to aspire, nor dispute that, in a happier state of things, it had been represented, both by the Apostles and the Fathers, as an essential note of the true Church ; but he thought they were justified in accepting a disunion for which they were not responsible, rather than a jurisdiction which had never been acknowledged by the primitive Church. (Hear, hear, from the Bishop of Dorchester.) He knew that great saints had spoken eloquently of the "seamless robe of Christ," as an emblem of the undivided Church, but truth was better than unity, and if they must resign either one or the other, their choice could not be doubtful.

MR. HOOKER hoped his interruptions would be pardoned, but could not refrain from saying, that if Almighty God had made no provision to secure the unity of the Christian Church, it was difficult to resist the conclusion that that Church was not His work ; and if He had, it was a solemn duty to inquire what was its nature ? It seemed to him a suggestion both of reason and piety, that the

authority which the Wisdom of God had established to maintain Christian unity must be *the only one which had ever succeeded in doing so*.

CANON LIGHTWOOD did not complain of interruptions, and respected the religious scruples which prompted them. He could easily understand that an earnest man might fix his thoughts so intensely upon the question of unity, which, he freely admitted, was a fundamental one, as to close his eyes to other and equally important considerations. Thus, it had been judiciously observed that Romanists laid so much stress upon the words, "*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,*"—"to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,"—"Feed my sheep,"—and the like, as to suggest the suspicion that they did not value any other texts. For his own part, while admitting that whatever fell from the lips of our Blessed Lord should be reverently received and examined, and that such texts might seem *prima facie* to be opposed to Anglican views, he could admit no other interpretation of them than that adopted by the Fathers and early Councils.

MR. WEASEL: Whenever that interpretation could be made to agree with his own?

CANON LIGHTWOOD hoped Mr. Weasel would postpone his comments, which the Conference would no doubt be willing to hear, to a more convenient moment. He had been asked to state his own views, and was attempting to do so. That they

did not coincide with those of Mr. Weasel was an inconvenience which he would endeavour to bear. The question actually before them was the doctrinal divisions in their own Church, the causes to which they must be referred, and their effect in paralysing their efforts to defend their community in its hour of danger. He had replied that the origin of their divisions was to be found in the growth of heretical principles,—that since they were at present unavoidable, their duty was to accept them with resignation,—and as to the best available methods of Church Defence, he should be happy to consider them, as soon as they approached a subject which these preliminary discussions had compelled them to defer.

MR. HOOKER was grateful to the learned Canon for the patience with which he had received his interruptions, but could not say that his replies had afforded him much relief. It seemed to him, if he might say so, that Canon Lightwood confined his attention too exclusively to the *fact* of their divisions, and their probable source, while he said nothing of the grievous practical results which followed from them. Those results met them at every turn, not as unreal or speculative evils, but as a snare to the conscience, and a burden to the soul. His own Bishop, for example, holding perhaps the most important see in England, had publicly condemned the “Catholic Revival,” from which alone Canon Lightwood anticipated any im-

provement in their condition, as "more disastrous than Puritanism," and had formally denied the doctrine of the Christian Sacrifice,—which he had been taught to regard as belonging to the very essence of their religion,—as inconsistent both with the Scriptures and with the formularies of the Anglican Church. No Catholic could doubt that this was deadly heresy, utterly subversive of the Gospel of Christ. Could he, then, without sin, remain in voluntary communion with such a Bishop? Was there any well-attested case in early ecclesiastical annals which would justify him in doing so?

CANON LIGHTWOOD was not prepared to cite a strictly parallel case.

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER must really say that their friend was over-sensitive. He was not responsible for the private opinions of those "set over him in the Lord." The liberty of judgment claimed by the Bishops, and always allowed by their Church, was equally the privilege of the clergy. In the present constitution of man such differences of opinion were inevitable. If their existence was a reproach, it must be imputed, not to their Church, but to the characteristic weakness of human nature. (Mr. Hooker did not appear to derive any comfort from this consideration.)

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON was thankful to say that he had nothing to do with Mr. Hooker's Bishop, and should not pay the slightest attention

to him if he had. He found it difficult enough to get on with his own, and could only do so by setting him at defiance. Until the Bishops became more Catholic, he advised all true priests in their communion to do likewise.

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON was much edified, as he presumed the other members of the Conference would be, by the harmony, of which they had just seen so striking an example, between the professions of Ritualists and their practice. Canon Lightwood had spoken of an "authority" which all Christians were bound to obey, but he had been careful to put it so far back in a remote past, that there was no danger of its being a burden to any one in the present. Considering the resolute determination of a certain school to submit to nothing in heaven or on earth but their own will, this was no doubt a prudent arrangement. It allowed them to disclaim "the fatal privilege of private judgment," and then to make a more copious use of it than any sectaries whatever. He had always been struck with the extreme ingenuity of professing to submit to the "Primitive Church," as a pretext for submitting to nothing, and could not refuse a certain admiration to the lawlessness which preached obedience, and the pride which aped humility. Neither Dissenters nor Roman Catholics, he believed, ever spoke of the Bishops of the Church of England with such contemptuous irreverence as some of her own members. No

Church that had been seen on earth during the past thousand years was good enough for *them*. They reproved the Eastern, reviled the Western, and despised the Anglican Church. Yet he had no doubt that if they had lived in what they called the Primitive Church, they would have maintained just the same attitude towards it as they now did towards every other. They would have given as much trouble to the Bishops of the second or third century, as they now gave to himself and his Right Reverend colleagues. The same wilfulness and conceit which made them lawless and self-sufficing in one age would have made them so in any other. They were always talking about "the Fathers," as if they were their personal friends, and had lived only to prepare the way for themselves, but he was persuaded that if they had actually dwelt among them, they would have found that St. Cyril fell short in one point, and St. Athanasius exceeded in another,—that St. Jerome was unsound on this, and St. Augustine on that,—and would have been as forward to teach the ancient Church as they now were to teach their own. The only Church which these modest and diffident professors condescended to approve was a mere *nominis umbra*, which never had any real existence, and which they would not obey if it had. It was precisely because it was a creature of their imagination, too unsubstantial to cast even a shadow in their path, and powerless either

to exact their obedience or chastise their revolt, that this ecclesiastical scarecrow received their pretended reverence, and dispensed them from an irksome submission to a living and speaking Church. Professing to obey what did not exist, they contrived to obey nothing, made themselves the sole arbiters of truth, and the only living oracle which could proclaim it. (Mr. Weasel leaned back in his chair with an expression of lively satisfaction, and even Dean Marmion, for the first time, appeared to be interested. Arch-deacon Tennyson, also for the first time, became restless and gloomy.)

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER would ask his Right Reverend brother, whether they were to understand his severe language to apply indiscriminately to all members of the High Church party, and would request him to be good enough to tell them what authority was recognised by the members of his own ?

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON had no difficulty in replying to either interrogation. As to the first, he believed that among High Churchmen there were two totally distinct classes, agreeing more or less in certain axioms and postulates, and in a rooted aversion to the Reformers and the work accomplished by them, but differing as widely in moral temper as any two classes of men in the world. He had little sympathy with either, believing them to be involved in a common delusion ;

but he knew how to distinguish between sincere and modest men, affrighted by their religious divisions, and morbidly anxious to recover an impossible unity, and the petulant self-sufficiency of a meaner class, whose only conception of unity was that everybody should adopt *their* opinions, while they proved their respect for what they called the Catholic Church by asserting that it had ceased to exist in its purity for many ages, and that they alone were able to revive it. The first might obtain favour, and he believed they would, in the day of account, by reason of their humility; but the second appeared to him, and he would not shrink from saying it, the least modest or truthful professors who ever voluntarily repudiated their principles by their acts. Affecting to aspire to unity, their only contribution towards it was to add one more to the already existing divisions, by creating a totally new religion, which was neither Catholic nor Protestant; pretending to venerate the Catholic Church, they borrowed from it, like true eclectics, only what suited their own taste, while they rejected its claims with more deliberation than any sectaries whatever; professing scrupulous observance of Christian docility and ecclesiastical subordination, they recognised no authority on earth, not even that of their own Bishops, usurped every function which they chose to perform, and became a law to themselves. This was his answer to the

first question of his Right Reverend friend, and with respect to the second, the only court of appeal before which he would plead was the Word of God, and the formularies of their own Church, so far as they were founded upon it. (Archdeacon Tennyson began to revive.) It was to that supreme authority, as they all knew, that their Church, in one of her articles of faith, referred her members.

CANON LIGHTWOOD wished to ask his Lordship, *who* was to interpret the Word of God, which certainly did not interpret itself, but commanded all men to "hear the Church," on pain of being numbered with the heathen?

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON feared that if the formidable menace were ever applied, the learned Canon would be one of its first victims. (General merriment. Mr. Hooker made an effort to smile, but failed.)

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS might perhaps be allowed to say, that for his part he would gladly comply with the precept in question, if any one would be good enough to tell him how he could do so? As no two existing Churches agreed together, and their own did not even agree with itself, it was so clearly impossible to "hear" them all, that a good many people had come to the rational conclusion to hear none.

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON was inclined to think that the precept was limited to the apostolic age,

when the Church was actually in process of formation, under the guidance of inspired men, whose authority was indisputable, and therefore binding upon all. But this state of things was only transitory. As corruptions were gradually introduced into the Church, not only was her original authority impaired, but it would have been a sin to recognise it. At what precise period these corruptions attained such a baneful maturity as to release Christians from what had once been a religious obligation, he would not undertake to say.

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON supposed that, whatever date was adopted, from that time forth the divine command ceased to operate, and the Church ceased to be "the pillar and ground of truth?"

MR. WEASEL suggested that they might put it in this way,—that thenceforth Christians received, like convicts, a "ticket of leave," and were no longer subject to the annoying supervision of an ecclesiastical police.

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON would leave the Archdeacon to answer his own question. He would only observe, that whether the period was fixed two or three centuries earlier or later,—which was the only difference between his own view of the subject and that of the Archdeacon,—the result would be exactly the same. In either case, the authority of the universal Church was gone. If it were even postponed to the sixteenth century, the duty of obeying the so-called Catholic

Church was equally annulled, by the common consent of High and Low Churchmen. The Archdeacon was as much pledged to that view as himself. To say nothing of other corruptions rejected by those who founded their own Church, and emphatically stigmatised in her formularies, he would ask the Archdeacon whether the authority claimed for so many ages past by the Pope, and admitted for a thousand years by their own forefathers, was part of the Gospel of Christ, or a gross perversion of it? It was either one or the other. If the Pope was not the Vicar of Christ, as he pretended to be, he was a criminal usurper. If he was the first, the Archdeacon was bound to obey him; if the second, he must agree with him that the Roman Church, with which he claimed that his own was substantially identical, had ceased during a long series of ages to be "the pillar and ground of the truth." From that dilemma there was no escape.

MR. WEASEL: Except by saying, with Mr. Toots, that it was "of no consequence."

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON shook his head at Mr. Weasel, and continued. Or let them take the newly-defined dogma of Papal Infallibility. The Church which could make such a claim on behalf of her chief pontiff, profess to found it upon Holy Scripture, and affirm it by a solemn decree, was either the only representative of God in the world, or else the most reckless, depraved, and audacious

impostor that ever mocked God and man. On the first supposition, the Archdeacon should hasten to offer his submission to the Roman Church ; on the second, he must admit that she deserved, not the love and reverence which she still contrived to obtain from a majority of Christians, but the contempt and execration of all mankind. Which alternative would he adopt ? Either was fatal to his own theory of the Church. If High Churchmen imprudently insisted upon a *literal* fulfilment of such promises as “ Lo, I am with you all days ; ” “ The gates of hell shall not prevail against thee ; ” “ The Holy Spirit shall guide you into all truth ; ” and the like,—they must not only confess that they had never received any accomplishment in their own communion,—which began to exist in the sixteenth century, and had always allowed an infinite diversity of contradictory doctrinal opinions,—but that the Roman Church alone could urge even a plausible claim to be the heir of such promises. Either they were fulfilled in that Church, from which they affected to regard their own as the purest derivative, or they were never fulfilled at all. Such was the inevitable result of the suicidal theory of High Churchmen. But if the former was a conclusion which they found it impossible to accept, as their continued rejection of Roman claims and doctrines sufficiently proved, they must abandon all visionary and inconsistent notions about the immutable nature of the Church, which

their own conduct disproved, and believe with him that the divine assurance of continual succour and permanent illumination was given to individual souls, and not to any organised society or corporation whatever. They must also admit that their religious divisions, which the Professor of Chaldee and Canon Lightwood concurred in tolerating, were simply the result of varying modes of spiritual apprehension, accidental peculiarities of mental structure, diversity of training and education, or different measures of religious zeal and devotion. In other words, they must put away all transcendental ideas about the unity or indefectibility of the Church, which were palpably refuted both by the past history of their own community and its actual condition, and be content to "work out their salvation," one by one, "with fear and trembling."

PREBENDARY SMILES (who possessed white and lustrous teeth, and seemed to rely a good deal upon the impression which they were likely to produce), hoped he might present a respectful protest against a view of Christianity which was equally fatal to the claims of every Church, and especially of their own.

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON would remind the reverend Prebendary that it was precisely the teaching of their own Church which most effectually confirmed that view, since she denied, both in her formularies and by her acts, that any Church

possessed a monopoly of the truth ; and when she added in her Articles that even of the Sees founded by Apostles *not one* had remained faithful to it, she evidently disclaimed such a monopoly for herself, and therefore consistently allowed her members either to affirm or deny, at their own pleasure, many of the gravest religious dogmas ever proposed to human belief. If the Christian Church was designed by its Founder to be always *one*, both in doctrine and discipline, then it was evidently the Church of England,—the most energetic living protest against that idea,—and not the Church of Rome, which was false, corrupt and abominable.

CANON LIGHTWOOD would respectfully inquire whether they were to see in such remarks his Lordship's contribution towards "Church Defence ?"

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON had a deep conviction that men who desired to defend the Church of England in this moment of danger, and to perpetuate her existence as a national institution, could only do so with advantage by clearly recognizing her true character. They must first disencumber their minds of all the picturesque fables and sentimental theories which had found a place in theological literature during the last quarter of a century. If High Churchmen were willing to combine with them in a general scheme of Church Defence, he would not refuse, in spite of their extreme divergency of religious opinions, to accept

their co-operation ; but they would only damage the cause, and accelerate the catastrophe which they desired to avert, by affecting to regard the Establishment as part of an imaginary Catholic Church, against whose claims they were themselves in open revolt, or by disavowing the Protestant principles of which it had ever been the most uncompromising witness. If it could cease to be comprehensive, so as to represent the *whole nation*, with all its varieties of theological sentiment, or pretend to draw, like the Church of Rome, a hard-and-fast line of dogmatic truth, it would cease in the same hour to be established. It must continue to be what it had always been, or make way for something else. For his part, if he wished to demonstrate the essentially Protestant character of their community, and its constant respect for the claims of private judgment, he would not cite the unbroken array of bishops and divines, from Parker and Grindal to Sumner, Jackson, and Tait, about whose sentiments there was no dispute,—but rather those whom it was the fashion with Ritualists to claim, under the pressure of an exacting theory, as belonging to their own school. That some of them, in order more effectually to combat the Dissenters of their time, against whom they found it convenient to employ Catholic arguments, had occasionally used language which faintly resembled that of the more moderate High Churchmen of the present day, he would not

deny ; but the most emphatic declarations of sympathy with non-episcopal Protestant Churches, and the most unsparing denunciation of the Roman doctrines and practices recently adopted in many places of Anglican worship, were to be found precisely in the writings of those men,—such as Andrewes, Laud, Bramhall, and Bull,—who were now represented as favouring opinions which they abhorred, and would have visited with penalties in the ecclesiastical courts of their own age. If those departed worthies could now enter a modern Ritualistic church, they would express only surprise and indignation. But it was not necessary to go so far back in order to ascertain what was the true character of the Church of England, or of the capricious innovations by which it was vainly hoped to disguise it. They had only to suppose an Englishman, who should have spent the last twenty years of his life in one of the remote colonies of the empire, making his first appearance, on his return to his native land, in a fashionable Ritualistic church. Would such a man recognise, either in its novel doctrines or its unfamiliar ceremonies, the “Church of England” in which he had been baptised and confirmed, and which had taught him to glory in the name of Protestant? And when he began to converse with the clergy of this singular temple, and learned that the Church of his youth was “Protestant” no longer, but rejected the name as an insult and a reproach, that the

Reformation itself was "a miserable apostasy," and the reformers scoundrels and reprobates,—when he was invited to acquire the habit of going to confession, to assist at the "Early Celebration," in which he was to be careful to adore the consecrated elements, and found the ministrants clothed in sacrificial vestments, before an altar elaborately decorated,—who would refuse to compassionate the astonished stranger, or wonder if he asked what had become of his own Church, and where he was to look for it?

MR. WEASEL thought it would be some consolation to the returned wanderer, that he would probably find it in the next street.

THE BISHOP OF BRIGHTON: Perhaps he would ; but when he discovered, on further inquiry, that the new Church of England which had grown up during his absence had been created, not by the Anglican Bishops, but in spite of their ineffectual protests,—not by Parliament or Convocation,—but by a few enterprising gentlemen, some of whom had long since gone over to Rome, his perplexity would not be diminished. When he learned that the very clergymen who were its present advocates received their orders and their license from Bishops who utterly condemned, and would eject them if it were safe to do so, but with whom they remained nevertheless in contented communion, his surprise would be further aggravated. And as his means of observation extended, they would only tend

more and more to confuse his mind. He would be told, for example, and expected to believe it, that the Church of England was *now* "the Church of St. Augustine;" and as he would probably know that Augustine was simply an agent and representative of the Pope of his day, and derived all his authority from him, he would hear, with ever-growing amazement, that nothing was more hateful to his clerical informants than those very pretensions of the Holy See which Augustine devoutly approved. Some of them would even tell him that this obnoxious Augustine was justly rebuked by certain British or Welsh Bishops, who were genuine Anglicans, and had a becoming abhorrence of the usurping See of Rome; upon which he would perhaps be tempted to observe, that if they descended from Augustine they ought to obey the Pope, and if they preferred a Welsh origin they must give up Augustine. They might make a choice, but they could not have both at once, as even this returned colonist, being a man of resources, would easily perceive. But still greater perplexities would be in store for him. When exhorted to go to confession, he might ask, but would get no answer, why so many generations of Anglicans had never thought of doing it? When invited to assist at the "Holy Sacrifice," he might, and probably would, inquire why the Church of England had utterly abolished it for three centuries, if it was really the chief act of

Christian worship ? and further, if she was a pure and faithful Church for doing it *now*, what sort of a Church was she before she began to do it ? and still further, if this was the holiest rite of religion, what must he think of living Bishops who declared, like the present Bishop of London, that it was utterly opposed both to Holy Scripture and the Prayer Book ? In presence of these difficulties, and many more like them, he would perhaps begin to regret that he had ever left his colony, to come to a strange land, where everybody seemed to have lost his senses, and where he was in great danger of losing his own. He could only hope that he might not meet, as had happened to himself not long ago, a clergyman who would inform him that he was in the habit of giving "Extreme Unction" to the sick. Willing to humour this ornament of the new Church, which in this case appeared to be a good deal more Roman than Welsh, he asked him where he got the consecrated oil ? to which he ingenuously replied, that he consecrated it himself. Inquiring in the next place if this was not, in ancient times, an exclusively episcopal function ? he promptly answered, "that in case of necessity it could be done by a priest," and offered to produce authentic precedents, which he begged him not to think of doing. When finally he asked this lively theologian, why the Church of England had omitted to make any provision for this interesting rite, and hardly seemed even to have

heard of it?—it was wholly unnecessary, was the ready answer, since she was a true branch of the Catholic Church, and therefore whatever the Catholic Church had done at any time, her clergy required no fresh authority to do now. He found this Anglican priest, as he called himself,—and who was quite right in saying that he did not “require any authority” for anything which he had resolved to do,—so extremely amusing, that he invited him to dinner, but had cause to regret his imprudent hospitality. After an hour or two, his guest’s powers of entertainment were completely exhausted, and he became as wearisome as a parrot which could repeat only one phrase. But he had detained them too long, and would merely add, that he believed there had never been any form of religion in the world, in spite of the merits of some who professed it, in which logic, consistency, and common sense,—the facts of history and the precepts of reason,—were so completely set aside, as that to which he had been referring. The partial success which it had obtained among the educated classes was due to the revival of ideas and practices which had always a charm for certain minds, and gave satisfaction to wants which had perhaps been insufficiently supplied among themselves, but which were so evidently incongruous and out of place in their own communion, that they had been the main cause of the inveterate divisions which they were now vainly attempting

to heal, and of the probable dissolution which they had too much reason to apprehend. The framers of the new Church of England were responsible for these results. He thought the true character of these gentlemen might be summed up as follows. They were so enamoured of *unity*, that they wished to keep it all to themselves, and would allow none to share it with them ; so devoted to *obedience*, that as they could find no Church worthy to claim it, they resolved to obey nothing ; and so submissive to *authority*, that in the absence of a living one in the present, they went back a thousand years to find a dead one in the past. Finally, while they refused to be called Protestants, they never cease to protest against everything on earth, and were so resolutely Catholic, that they communicated very little with their own Church, and not at all with any other.

(For some moments no one seemed disposed to continue the discussion. The Professor of Chaldee lifted his eyes to heaven, or would have done so, if the view had not been intercepted by nearer objects. The Bishop of Dorchester glanced at some notes which he had taken, but did not seem quite ready to use them. Prebendary Smiles displayed his teeth to much advantage. Archdeacon Softly endeavoured not to look triumphant, but with only imperfect success. Mr. Hooker was prostrated. At length,)

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON observed that he would

not attempt to answer the remarkable discourse which they had just heard. (Mr. Weasel seemed to think he had better not.) He would content himself with saying, that if their Church was what the Bishop described it to be, it was not worth defending, and their Conference was only a waste of time.

CANON LIGHTWOOD thought he had been so pointedly alluded to, that he might venture to claim their indulgence for a few moments. That there were apparent inconsistencies in the position of his own party in the Church of England, he would not dispute. No one was more conscious of them than himself. But he thought the Bishop hardly did justice, if he might say so, to the difficulties with which they had to contend. Those difficulties were not of their own making. They were taunted with being illogical, and violating their principles by their acts. They could bear that reproach with resignation. It was not their fault if Englishmen, carried away by the impure tide of Protestantism, had abandoned the faith of their fathers, or if many of their own predecessors in the Anglican ministry had done their best to assimilate their communion to the sects of Leyden, Zurich, and Geneva. The so-called Reformation, however excusable as a protest against certain errors of Romanism, had unfortunately conducted its agents to far worse excesses, and more fatal to true religion, than any which it professed to remedy.

It had destroyed unity, abolished authority, made heresy a virtue, and schism a jest. They found themselves, therefore, in this position—that while they could not accept all the claims of the Roman Church, they were still less able to approve the wild and criminal innovations of the reformers. In this difficulty, which they had no hand in creating, they turned to the ancient and undivided Church. They contended that whatever might have been the guilt of the actual founders of their community in its present form, they had been so far controlled by a merciful Providence as to leave a sufficient foothold for men who wished to be Catholic without being Roman. They were told, indeed, in a tone of bitter derision, that they made themselves judges of the Universal Church, and arbiters of all truth, and were thus guilty of the same crime with which they reproached Protestants.

ARCHDEACON SOFTLY was curious to know how they met the charge?

CANON LIGHTWOOD.—There was this clear distinction between them, that *they* acknowledged the divine authority of the Early Church, and wished to revive both its doctrine and its discipline.

ARCHDEACON SOFTLY: Did the learned Canon suppose that there was a Protestant in the world who would not make exactly the same profession with regard to the Church of the Apostles? (Mr. Hooker started as if he had received a sudden

blow, and looked at Canon Lightwood with an expression of anxiety.)

CANON LIGHTWOOD (who for the first time appeared confused), would reply that Protestants, in making such a profession, were thinking only of a Church of their own imagination, which had never actually existed. They *could not*, without ceasing to be Protestants, have accepted the purely Catholic teaching of St. Peter and St. Paul, however loudly they might profess their readiness to do so; whereas he and his friends were prepared to yield an absolute submission to the Undivided Church.

MR. WEASEL: But only after deciding for themselves, in the true Protestant spirit, *what* it taught, and *when* it became divided. They admitted that the Catholic Church was *not* divided by the separation of Donatists, Arians, or Nestorians, who only formed, according to them, heretical, or schismatical sects. Why, then, he should like to know, was it divided by the separation of Greeks or Protestants?

CANON LIGHTWOOD (whose hesitation seemed to increase), could not admit that Mr. Weasel was entitled to interrogate him, in order to plead a cause which was not his own. (Mr. Hooker became almost haggard.) He would only say that such captious objections might increase the difficulty of their task in establishing the Catholicity of the Church of England, but could not change

its nature, nor crush the hopes with which they would continue to prosecute it.

MR. HOOKER (who now spoke in a low and troubled voice,) thought that he at least was entitled to ask Canon Lightwood, whose counsels had once been precious to him, a question which merited a reply, and which he promised should be a final one. If he could not conscientiously communicate with the Church of Rome, because it proclaimed one or two precepts which he *believed* to be partial errors, how could he communicate with his own, which tolerated any number of what he *knew* to be mortal heresies? (This question appeared to produce a profound impression upon the company. All eyes were turned towards Canon Lightwood. After a few moments of visible embarrassment, and amid attentive silence,)

CANON LIGHTWOOD (who seemed to avoid Mr. Hooker's earnest gaze), said he had been reared in a University where logic was highly esteemed; but logic was not the only, nor the best guide, in questions of the soul.

MR. HOOKER (whose emotion seemed now to overpower him,) would ask what vestige of truth or sincerity could be found in such palpable evasions? No man could feed his soul with empty words, nor lull his conscience with the tinkling of bells. But he would trouble them no further. He was not ashamed to confess that he feared the judgments of God. He clung to no private theory, and

would be the serf of no school or party. Truth alone was worthy of a Christian's love. If "without faith" it was "impossible to please God," he prayed for that true and living faith which was His best gift to man. If unity was a note of the true Church, it *must* exist somewhere, unless God had abandoned His own work, and delivered the world to darkness and chaos. If it was lawful to do in the Church of England what it had never been lawful to do in any other, there could be no clearer proof that she was only a human sect. From his youth he had diligently sought truth from those who seemed able to impart it, and now they could only tell him that no Church had taught it in its integrity for more than a thousand years. To be a heretic, they assured him, was a deadly crime, but to communicate every day with heretics was innocent and praiseworthy. To be an exile from Catholic unity might be a misfortune, but could not be a sin, and obedience was no longer a duty of Christians, because God had maintained no authority on earth which had a right to claim it. He had no ear for such impious lessons, and by God's grace would hearken to them no more.

(Mr. Hooker here left the room. That he was still present in the thoughts of the other members of the Conference was proved by a prolonged silence, broken only by occasional ejaculations.— "Beyond doubt a very worthy man," said Arch-

deacon Tennyson. "Sadly impulsive," simpered Prebendary Smiles." "A bitter fruit of our divisions," sighed Archdeacon Softly. "An honest fellow, and means what he says," growled Mr. Weasel. "Totally unregenerate," muttered Mr. Trumpington. Meanwhile, the subject of these comments was cooling his brow against a window in an adjoining room, to the extreme confusion of one of Dean Marmion's domestics, who hastened in an unreasoning panic to inform the butler, that "the gentleman was either praying or fainting, but he could not say which." On the arrival of that functionary to investigate so singular a phenomenon, it was discovered that Mr. Hooker was gone.)

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER (whose usually buoyant tone was somewhat subdued), regretted that a tender but too ardent spirit had prompted their friend to a hasty and injudicious withdrawal, which his more mature judgment would probably disapprove. It was no doubt sad that their intestine disorders, magnified by religious scrupulosity, should provoke a pious and earnest mind to a decision so precipitate and ill-advised, but when they suggested to a morbid and over-sensitive conscience that the only remedy for their religious divisions was the recognition of some central and supreme authority, to which the function of maintaining unity had been divinely committed, regret must give place to reproof. He believed they were at least unanimous on this point, however much they

might differ on others, that they would never bow to such an authority (the Bishop of Brighton smiled); and as to the imprudent and groundless insinuation that God *must* have provided it, on the fanciful ground that there could be no true act of obedience where there was no power to claim it, he was sure the independent English mind would justly recoil from such a constrained and unreflecting submission.

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS thought the independent English mind was quite certain to come to that judicious conclusion.

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER (who seemed offended by the interruption, proceeded with increased dignity of manner). The Church of England was good enough for him, in spite of defects which time would remedy, as she had been good enough for Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor, for Wilson and Reginald Heber. It was one of her noblest titles to national esteem that she was discreetly, not unduly, comprehensive, and when she invited her members, whose liberty she wisely respected, to obey only the legitimate authority of an enlightened conscience, she proposed to them a higher and more generous form of submission than any ever devised by the ambition of pontiffs, or the tyranny of kings. (Mr. Weasel shrugged his shoulders with contempt.) He did not agree with his brother of Brighton in disparaging the corporate and official action of the Church, and was deeply

persuaded that the imperfections introduced into her fold by human infirmity, and the inevitable divergences of human belief, in no way impaired her claims to the respect of the nation, nor obscured her office as the great witness of pure and unadulterated Christianity to the whole English race. He need not add that he had no sympathy with idle and pernicious dreams of an ideal and visionary perfection of the Church, which were evidence only of an impatient and disordered mind, and were best rebuked by the spirit of moderation and contentment which he trusted would always animate the members of their own communion.

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS would venture to ask his Lordship, whether he desired them to accept such vague and colourless statements as an answer to the religious scruples of Mr. Hooker, or the incisive arguments of the Bishop of Brighton ?

MR. WEASEL : No attempt had been made to answer them, except by Canon Lightwood, who had utterly failed. It was his decided conviction that no High Churchman *could* answer them, or would ever try to do so. Logic, they all confessed, was odious to them. He had long since perceived, and the present discussion afforded a fresh proof of it, that there were only two classes of men in the world, Catholics and Rationalists, who could reason consistently from their premises, or venture to accept the conclusions which flowed from them.

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER (with more warmth

of temper than might have been expected in a man of such elevated piety), would reply to Mr. Weasel, that he had not solicited his approval, and could contrive to dispense with it. (Mr. Weasel appeared to intimate, by an expressive gesture, that he would certainly have to do so.) Nothing could be more vexatious and unreasonable than to expect from the faithful members of the Church of England, who were content to use their own privileges in quietness of mind, a refutation of every delusive argument which a misdirected ingenuity could suggest. They were taunted by their enemies, and the taunt was re-echoed by some whom he would call false brethren, with their want of unity. The only pretext for this unmeaning reproach was the fact that they differed with respect to doctrines in which it was neither necessary, nor even possible, that all men should agree. It was a triumphant reply to such weak attacks, inspired by the insatiable malice of jealous and discontented rivals, that they all recited in the Church of England the same Creeds.

MR. WEASEL : How about the Athanasian, which two Archbishops, thousands of the clergy, and more than half the laity wished to remove from the Prayer Book ?

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS : And how about the manifold interpretations even of the Creeds which were nominally accepted ?

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER must confess with

shame that their Church was not what it should be, when such unseemly observations could be made by men who professed to belong to her communion.

DEAN MARMION would venture to suggest, that since such objections were urged every day by persons without their fold, they did not lose their gravity because they were repeated by persons within it.

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER (after glancing again at his notes, but apparently without finding anything to the purpose) was not ignorant that some of the worst enemies of the Church of England were men who ministered at her own altars, but only to deny her doctrines, and dishonour her name.

MR. WEASEL : Yet she was quite satisfied to retain them, and every private effort to remove them had always failed.

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS would remind the Conference of the historical fact, that Taylor, Tillotson, Hoadley, and Hampden, to say nothing of others, were all believed or known to be Arians, in spite of their subscription to the Creeds, just as one-third of the clergy were now Romanisers, though they professed to accept the Articles. Creeds and formularies had never prevented their bishops and clergy from believing just what they pleased, and no book or symbol, not even the Bible, could determine the faith of a community, as long as there

was no authority to interpret it. The actual condition of the Church of England, whose members professed every thing, from Deism to Romanism, was a proof, and to his mind a welcome one, that in rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church at the Reformation, they had made it impossible ever to substitute a new one in its place.

THE PROFESSOR OF CHALDEE (who presented an aspect of contented misery) had not been more distressed by this painful discussion than he anticipated. But these melancholy revelations were nothing new. The Catholic-minded members of their communion could accept their cross without a murmur. There was no higher Christian duty than resignation. He prayed to be delivered from the restless and impetuous temper which made men discontented with their own Branch of the Church, because it was not all which they wished it to be. It was their own want of patient submission which was most likely to perpetuate the evils which they lamented. They did not deserve the restoration of unity, unless they could wait humbly for God's time. The winter would pass away, and for those who possessed their souls in meekness, and rejected the suggestions of discontent as a temptation of the evil one, a new spring would arise, when their Church would renew her youth, and be clothed with a garment of light. Meanwhile, it was their duty to share her trials and sorrows, instead of seeking in another com-

munion the peace denied to them in their own. Providence would grant them not only the restoration of unity, but the full possession of Catholic truth, without any alloy of error, when they had learned to deserve those blessings. Let them wait. He had laboured for nearly half a century, in spite of calamities and contradictions, in the Church of England, and whatever others might do,—(here a solemn pause of some moments),—he would die in her.

MR. WEASEL had heard of martyrs of various sorts in times past, but it was reserved for the present age to produce a new variety, who were martyred by their own Church. He doubted whether the victims of Nero or Domitian ever displayed more serene patience under torture than their High Church friends. They would sincerely regret, he believed, to be delivered from miseries which it gave them such exquisite pleasure to endure. No wonder they refused to submit to the Catholic Church, when they could enjoy such sweet sorrow in their own. To live in a monotonous communion where everybody thought alike, where every dispute was promptly settled by a supreme and uncontested authority, and the Church was men's joy instead of their cross, would be to them an intolerable existence. They could not live without the luxury of "resignation." To believe only what their Church taught, and practise only what she approved, without being permitted to

indulge in any private ventures of their own, would be a tame and insipid exchange for the delights of fighting with their own Bishops, superseding them in their dioceses, baffling the clumsy vengeance of the Privy Council, accusing half their brethren of heresy, and all the other palpitating sensations of their actual life. How could they endure the tedium of possessing Orders of which no one disputed the validity? Who could bear to hear confessions, as a mere ordinary duty, and with the sanction of ecclesiastical superiors, but without the charm of mystery, the delicious flavour of revolt, or the piquancy of self-will? What possible gratification could there be in offering a *true* "Sacrifice of the Mass," when authorised by a Bishop, and at which people only came to pray, compared with that of offering a fictitious one, in spite of the indignant Bishop, but which moved the audience to astonishment, exultation, or disgust? What enjoyment was there in a Creed which everybody admitted, or who would compare the dull possession of Unity with the rapturous amusement of pretending to search for it? What satisfaction could there be in belonging to a Church which had been monotonously Catholic for eighteen centuries, when they could remain in another which, after being Protestant for many generations, they were trying to make Catholic in their own? And then there was the entrancing doubt, full of delicious perplexity, whether after all it would prove to be

Catholic or Protestant,—a question which alone would afford inexhaustible entertainment to any reasonable man for a whole life-time. Who could be surprised if their High Church friends refused to part with such agreeable emotions, which they could enjoy nowhere else, or if they resolved, like the Professor of Chaldee, to die in a communion in which it was so extremely amusing to live?

He hoped that in making these observations he should not seem to be indifferent to the afflictions of his brethren. He was disposed to compassionate every real sorrow, but did not wish to offer an unmeaning and superfluous sympathy which nobody wanted, and nobody would consent to accept. He thought that when his High Church friends lamented their spiritual trials, while enjoying the varied excitements to which he had referred, they resembled a guest who should complain of hunger amid the profusion of a civic banquet. Their pathetic appeals to sympathy, and their profession of pious and placid resignation under their intolerable woes, should be sung in verse. Translated into the prose of common life they lost their savour, and degenerated into such droll confessions as the following. There was nothing in Christendom which they could obey except themselves, but they were meekly resigned to do it. They must sorrowfully dispense with unity, because there was nothing on earth at present with which they could conscientiously unite, but not a murmur should be-

tray the poignant anguish of their souls. The Catholic Church was the object of their tenderest veneration, but it was their duty to revile it every day, and they could do it without shedding a tear. Their own Church was their heaviest cross, but they would carry it without repining to the grave. If ignorant Bishops, steeped in Protestantism, presumed to censure them, they would respond by calling their foolish accusers Successors of the Apostles, though they believed them in their hearts to be heirs of Simon Magus, and sons of perdition. If their fellow-clergy were unrepentant heretics, and impiously blasphemed the very truths which *they* proclaimed to be divine, they would remonstrate only by serving with them at the same altars, and thus generously defile their own souls with the very guilt which they shuddered to behold in others. Nothing could or should exhaust their "resignation." If all other communities wickedly laughed at their "Orders," and profanely scoffed at their "Priesthood," this should be to them only a fresh proof of the general corruption of Christendom, and of their own happy exemption from the common delusions of mankind. Finally, they were so sweetly resigned, and so enamoured of tribulation, that rather than submit to the only Church which taught all that they professed to believe, they would cheerfully remain in that which sanctioned all that they professed to abhor.

Animated by these admirable dispositions, he was not surprised that even the flagrant divisions which agitated their own body, though they surpassed in virulence anything ever witnessed in any other Christian community, should be an easy burden to *them*. Vainly was their indomitable patience assailed by so slight a temptation. They had proved that they could bear a good deal more than that, without any shock to their composure, or any perceptible diminution of their characteristic virtue. If a new school should arise in the Church of England, anxious to blend some of the more attractive features of Islamism with those of the Thirty-Nine Articles, he believed the proposal would find their High Church friends still nobly resigned. Whether the general substitution of mosques for parish churches would finally overcome their powers of submission, he had no means of judging ; but if the Privy Council should decide, as it probably would, with a view to conciliate conflicting tastes, that they might be used alternatively, he did not doubt that their tranquil spirit of resignation would easily accept this inconsiderable addition to the number of "open questions."

ARCHDEACON SOFTLY must really protest against the light and ironical tone which the discussion was now assuming. He would not encourage nice and unprofitable speculations about dogmatic unity, and anticipated no advantage from foolish attempts to obtain it in their own communion, but he would

remind Mr. Weasel that whatever diversities of opinion might exist among them, all sections of their Church agreed, as Mr. Gladstone lately observed in an eloquent and truly Christian speech, in "holding the Head." He trusted that if Mr. Weasel proposed to continue his observations, in which he had failed to detect any savour of spiritual wisdom, he would candidly give his attention to the impressive remark of the eminent statesman.

MR. WEASEL had heard the remark of the eminent statesman before, and was not much impressed by it. The fact—if it was a fact—seemed to him only a horrible aggravation of their doctrinal disputes. It was an amazement to him that any one could take any other view of it. If they did not all profess to adore the *same* Divine Teacher, it would be a comparatively small matter to attribute to Him a hundred contradictory precepts; but to affect to pay a common allegiance to the Author of revelation, while every one chose for himself, by the private interpretation of Scripture or of the Fathers, out of a mass of opposing doctrines, only those which his own judgment approved, and each insisted that *his* was the sole religion really taught by the Saviour or accepted by the Primitive Church, was perhaps a more impudent outrage upon the Master whom they all pretended to acknowledge, than if they openly rejected His teaching, or denied that He had made any revelation at all. To "hold the Head" was the very thing which such

men did *not* do. It was easy to say that they only differed on "subordinate questions," but who gave them authority to call them subordinate? or what could surpass the impiety of applying such a name to truths revealed by God? It was not recorded, so far as he knew, that the Apostles ever classed the teachings of the Saviour under the heads of primary and secondary truths, or that they attributed to some an importance which they denied to others. All that fell from His lips was to *them* of equal gravity. They did not pretend to construct their own religion, choosing one precept and refusing another, but took it *all* from Him, who alone was able to teach it. To reject one iota of it, they understood, even while accepting all the rest, would be to deny His authority altogether. It would be to *teach Him*, instead of being taught by Him. And when it was considered what sort of doctrines were freely debated in their own communion, and every day indifferently affirmed or denied by the clergy, it was simply impossible to conceive religious dogmas of more transcendent import, or which could be less fitly described as "subordinate." If the questions which divided the High and Low Church camps were of secondary moment, he should like to know what were primary? There was hardly a point relating to either the nature of the Christian religion, or the constitution of the Christian Church, on which they did not differ hopelessly and fundamentally. It had been truly observed by an

American writer, that the disputes between a Baptist and a Presbyterian, an Independent and a Methodist, were utterly trivial, when compared with those which raged incessantly between High and Low Episcopalians. The latter differed on everything on which it was *possible* to differ. If one of these two sections of the same Church professed the religion of Christ, it was clear that the other totally denied it. Was it, for example, a "subordinate" question whether He had appointed priests in His Church, or only ministers?—whether the "Sacrifice of the Altar" was the most solemn mystery of His religion, or "a blasphemous fable?"—whether He was really present in the Eucharist, and therefore to be worshipped, or by no means really present, since He could not be "in two places at once," and was therefore "not to be lifted up or adored?"*—whether the Sacraments were intended by Him to be mystical channels of divine grace, or were purely symbolical and commemorative?—whether the unity of His Church was a law or an accident, and could exist at one time but not at another?—whether the Apostolical Succession was a fact or a fiction?—whether heresy was a crime or a virtue?—whether schism was a revolt or a privilege?—whether truth itself was one or manifold? And if, in addition to these domestic dissensions, on every precept of the Gos-

* Anglican Rubric.

pel and every mystery of religion, they considered further their fierce and cruel wranglings with that ancient Church which had been for so many ages the only Church in England, their pretence to "hold the Head" was still more shameless and indecent. Would any one dare to say, before men and angels, that the *Unity* of God's Church, or the provision which He had made to secure it, was a "subordinate" matter, about which it was lawful to differ? They might as well say that it was a subordinate matter whether there was a God or a Church at all. Was it a scholastic subtlety, a mere speculative fancy, whether the Pope was the Vicar of Christ, and successor of St. Peter, or a trumpery impostor?—whether the countless millions of all ages and nations, who had believed him to be the first, were fools or knaves?—whether the English and Russians, in recent times, who believed him to be the last, were obeying the ordinance of God, or trampling it under foot? Was such a chaotic jumble of nonsense and contradiction, more worthy of Hottentots or Ashantees than of Christians, the proper fruit of the Incarnation and Atonement? Was it for this that Christ died? Was this their boasted Christianity? No wonder that the very heathen, the Hindu and the Chinese, scorned such a religion, as soon as its self-appointed preachers appeared among them. And were they to be told, with a solemn mockery, as if religion were only a subject for jesting, that men who

made such a caricature of God's revelation all "hold the Head?" If there was anything plain to reason and common sense, it was this—that if *any one* of the innumerable religions professed at the same moment in their own communion was divine, all the rest were human; and if the adherents of that one system, whichever it was, were servants of Christ, all the rest were in open rebellion against Him. They might pretend to "hold the Head," while they disputed about almost every truth which He came on earth to reveal, as if it was their business to instruct *Him* as to the meaning of His own words; but such Christians only resembled the *Frondeurs* of the time of Louis XIII., who all professed indeed to be royalists, but never ceased to wage war against the King, *in the King's name*.

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON was not insensible to the eloquence and ingenuity of the speaker, who had certainly made some very striking observations, but wished to ask in what character he was addressing the Conference?

MR. WEASEL was examining the subject before them from his own point of view, and hoped the Archdeacon would allow him to continue to do so. He need not remind him that it was an inconvenience felt in every deliberative assembly that people were obliged to listen to opinions which were not their own. He thought it had now been sufficiently proved, by all which had been said

during the present discussion, that the divisions which they professed to consider so grievous were, in fact, a very small burden to any body. It was a mark of good taste to deplore, but not in the least an obligation of conscience to remove them. Indeed, the only point on which they were all unanimous was this, that these divisions existed, and that they were quite sure to continue to do so. They would cease to rage only when the Church of England ceased to exist, and then they would reappear in some other form. The cause which produced them, and which existed in their own minds, being permanent, the effect would be permanent also. Only the action of a divine authority could produce unity, either material or spiritual, and the first principle of Protestantism was to make every man an authority to himself. It was sometimes made a reproach to the Crown, or to Parliament, that the free action of the National Church was unfairly limited, and the synodical deliberations of her clergy tyrannically restricted; but it seemed to him that the State could offer no greater service to the Church of England, no better evidence of its benevolent sympathy, than by mercifully prohibiting them from revealing to the world, that if they were all teachers of a divine religion, no two among them could agree together what it was. Without referring, which would perhaps be indiscreet, to the singular unity of opinions between their Lordships of Brighton and Dorchester, who

both read the same Bible and were ornaments of the same Church, he might venture to observe of those less eminent dignities Archdeacon Softly and Canon Lightwood, that they proposed exactly opposite remedies for the malady which they agreed to lament. The one suggested, as a sure specific, to make the Establishment more Protestant; and the other, as a sovereign remedy, to make her more Catholic. He was afraid that under this treatment the recovery of the patient was doubtful. The first appeared to him a superfluous, and the second an impossible cure. To make a Church Catholic which had never been so before, was as if one should ask a crow to assume the plumage of a pheasant, or a dog to take the form of a horse. No such case, he believed, was recorded in natural history. Churches, like animals, must keep their own nature. Even the "hypothetical transmutations" of Mr. Darwin, prolonged through countless ages, could do nothing for *them*. A Church which had been Protestant in the first hour of its existence must remain Protestant to the end, though half its clergy should repudiate its origin, and learn to profess any number of Catholic doctrines. How clearly High Churchmen perceived this unwelcome fact was proved every day by their bitter hostility to the Catholic Church. Though draped in the very robes which they had pilfered from her sacristies, they ceased not to avow their aversion to her

doctrine, and their contempt for her authority. Though professing to be quite as Catholic as herself, and even a trifle more so, and affecting the most enlarged and universal sympathies, a caged squirrel was not content with a narrower home, nor a mole with a more limited horizon, than they. It seemed impossible for them to be consistent for five minutes together. They were always peering over their neighbour's wall, and stealing whatever unripe fruit they could reach, though it was sure to disagree with them; but they could not refrain from pelting his unoffending servants whenever they came within view. Their instinct seemed to tell these imaginary Catholics, as soon as they saw a real one, that they were in presence of an enemy. It was a proof that men could not be Catholics and Protestants at the same time. They must take their choice. Cicero wrote admirable prose, but very poor poetry; and in like manner their High Church friends were excellent Protestants, though they did not seem to know it, but very indifferent Catholics. It was open to them to be either, or neither, but they could not be both. There was no such compound animal in nature as an ecclesiastical mermaid,—fish below, and *mulier formosa superne*. They must consent to be either all woman, or all fish. And even if they could attain, in some far distant age, the summit of their ambition, and leaven the whole English population, as Canón Lightwood

proposed, with their own peculiar ideas,—a consummation which was about as likely as that all the fish in the sea should have the same number of scales, or all the birds in the air the same form of beak,—their failure would be only more conspicuous than ever; for their Church would still be, in the sight of all mankind, a purely local and national institution, as completely separated as in the days of Parker or Bancroft from the rest of Christendom, and not one hair's breadth nearer to Catholic unity. But if this would be its character even when their wildest hopes were accomplished, what must it be *now*?

(Prebendary Smiles here rose to speak, but was received with such evident marks of coldness, every one seeming to feel that any contest between him and Mr. Weasel would be an *impar congressus*, that after a prodigal display of his dental perfections,—to which he was supposed to owe all his success in life,—and a few weak phrases, to which no one paid any attention, and which need not be recorded here, he resumed his seat, but with the air of a man who felt that he had made his mark.)

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS did not wish to prolong a discussion which was evidently exhausted, but would ask permission to make a single remark. The whole question of their religious divisions appeared to him to lie in a nutshell. Either unity was an essential note of the True Church, or it was not. If it was, they did not possess it; if it

was not, they did not require it. But on the first supposition, they did not belong to the True Church; and on the second, there was no True Church to which they *could* belong. Whichever alternative they adopted, the position of their High Church friends, whether in its religious or intellectual aspects, was not to be envied.

DEAN MARMION thought he rightly interpreted the feelings of the Conference in assuming that the question of their religious divisions had now been sufficiently discussed. It was true that they had come to no definite result, but this was not surprising. It was no more possible to arrive at a practical conclusion on such a subject, than to weigh a shadow, or dissect a dream. The clergy of the Church of England,—whose most solemn formularies were only a compromise between opposing doctrines, and neither affirmed nor were designed to affirm any definite theological system, except general antagonism to Rome,—had differed about almost every dogma of religion from the beginning, and would continue to differ to the end. It could not be otherwise. They might debate the subject for ever, but even if they agreed as to the cause of their dissensions, it was not permitted to them to agree as to their remedy. To search for it was as futile as to attempt to square the circle, or to discover the philosopher's stone. Religious variety was the result of their principles, and the law of their being. For his own part, he

saw nothing to regret in it, for reasons which he would state presently ; and he had the sanction of the most eminent living prelates, of both theological schools, for saying, that such discord, in the words of the Bishop of Winchester, was natural and inevitable. If they wished to be *one*, they must cease to be Protestants, and he presumed they were not prepared to purchase unity at that price. Every new movement in their Church had only revealed more clearly that doctrinal unity was for *them* a chimera. The history of the past did but confirm the experience of the present. They all knew what had been the issue of Laud's projects, aided as they were by the whole influence of the Crown. They ended in crushing disaster, and the Church which for a time they destroyed would never have lived again as a national institution, if it had not been politically associated with the restored monarchy, so that, as Macaulay observed, the Royalists "loved the Episcopal Church because she was the foe of their foes." In their own day, after a second total extinction of the most elementary Catholic ideas during a period of one hundred and sixty years, a new school, untaught by the past, had attempted once more to revive in the Church of England the "Catholic principles" which she was always rejecting ; but though they had gained a temporary success far exceeding what had been obtained at any former time, they had only proved more clearly than ever that nothing in this

world could rise above its source, and that even in disavowing Protestantism, they remained Protestants in spite of themselves. In truth, modern High Churchmen had displayed, however unconsciously, a more intense spirit of self-assertion, a more complete independence of authority, than any other section of their community,—had created fresh barriers between the National Church and all other religious bodies,—and while professing, as their theory required, to aspire to unity, had made its attainment more impossible than ever, by proposing conditions which would never be fulfilled even in their own school, and could never be accepted by any other. They would neither admit, with Protestants, that unity need not exist, nor, with Romanists, that it had a fixed centre, and depended upon submission to an authority which all were bound to obey. Affecting to reverence the Catholic Church, against which their own was a living protest, they assailed it with more rancour than any Protestants whatever, and declared to its face, as every new sect had done in its turn, but with greater confidence than any :—
“We alone represent the Primitive Church, and we invite you to learn from *us*.”

- Every attempt on the part of Anglicans to restore dogmatic unity would end in the same way, and, as he had already said, he saw no reason to regret it. Differences of creed were not so much their misfortune as their privilege. The

communities originated by the Reformation were all founded on the common principle that human reason—or the Bible interpreted by private judgment, which was the same thing—was as competent to deal with questions of the soul as with questions of art, history, or science. They denied that any authority had a right to impose on the human conscience a fixed and invariable faith. It was a saying of Kant that “philosophy possesses no axioms,” and he thought the day was coming when it would be as generally admitted that religion has no dogmas. Its true sphere was the emotions, and its true function to form certain dispositions and moral habits, according to a type of which the New Testament exhibited the most perfect manifestation. He agreed, therefore, with Mr. Bain, that religious truth could not be imparted by any “intellectual medium,” and that, “being an affair of the feelings, a method must be sought after to heighten the intensity of these.” It was the boast of their Church, and he thought it was in some degree justified, to have formed in her members a certain spirit of temperance and sobriety, equally remote from the doctrinal enthusiasm of Rome, and the emotional fanaticism of Dissent. Her motto seemed to be that of Addison, when he spoke of “*Moderation* leading in religion”—as if to guard it from running into excess. (Archdeacon Tennyson and the Professor of Chaldee would have been at this moment an invaluable

study to an artist anxious to depict the combined expression of disgust and consternation.) This was so evidently the genius of the Church of England, that the moment any attempt was made to commit her to a definite theology, its only effect was to let loose all the elements of disorder within her, and to create a general explosion. It was, therefore, with reason that the Bishop of Manchester had lately condemned, like so many of his colleagues, the principles of the so-called "Catholic revival," which, as his lordship observed, "are now a pure and simple anachronism" and "threaten to cleave the Church asunder." His own conviction, if he might say it, was this, that their discussion thus far had turned upon a wrong issue, and that before considering the nature of their divisions, it would have been more to the purpose to examine the nature of their Church. Upon this subject, therefore, he would ask permission to make a few observations.

The Christian Church was either a human institution, as he believed it to be, or a purely Divine organization, as Roman Catholics had always contended. If it was a product of man's wisdom, seeking to lodge certain spiritual truths in a more or less permanent home, not only was it liable to changes of form, like other human works, but subject in every age to all the tests which could be applied to it by the progress of thought, and the advance of science. In that view of its

character, it could evidently claim neither fixity of form, nor perpetuity of creed. And if this was true even of the Primitive Church, while still contending for existence with the forces of Paganism, much more was it true of recent communities like their own, originated by the convulsion of the Sixteenth Century, and based on the private interpretation of Scripture, and the unhesitating assumption of the Nineteenth Article, that all the Churches of apostolic foundation, without exception, had "*erred in matters of faith.*" To fall away from the faith, according to this announcement of the Church of England, was the inevitable destiny even of Churches built, taught, and governed by Apostles. No member of the Anglican communion, High or Low, could venture, therefore, to assert that the Christian Church, or any part of it, was ever divinely indefectible in form, or exempt from error in doctrine, without professing in the same breath that his own, which ridiculed that idea, was a liar and a deceiver. For this reason he was not surprised that High Churchmen did not shrink from affirming, though to do so was destructive of their whole theory, that the Catholic Church had lost, for many ages past, both unity and purity—in other words, that they agreed with him in believing that she was simply *a human institution*. This was as evidently a first principle with Ritualists as with Quakers, Methodists, or Irvingites.

If, on the other hand, certain promises of the New Testament were to be taken *literally*, which seemed to him an inadmissible proposition, and Roman Catholics were right in contending, as they never ceased to do, that they had actually been fulfilled to the letter,—so that the Catholic Church had not failed for a single hour to maintain both unity of form and purity of doctrine, having been created by God for no other end,—it was still more clearly evident that of *such* a Church, their own, which began yesterday and might end to-morrow, and which permitted even to her clergy every variety of conflicting doctrine, was not so much as an attenuated part, or imperceptible fraction. It might be, and he believed it was, a valuable institution, adapted to their own age and country; but nothing could surpass the energy with which, in refusing to other churches, it consistently disclaimed for itself, all pretension to a supernatural character. The burden of such a pretence was more than it was either able or willing to bear. The Church of England was a creation of the civil power, for wise and good purposes, which, he was prepared to contend, it had substantially fulfilled. But the notion that such men as Cranmer and Barlow, whose private life would hardly bear investigation, Parker and Jewell, and their successors in the Anglican Episcopate, were, in any sense whatever, supernatural agents, employed by the Almighty to repair the defects of His erring Church, and en-

dowed with special gifts for that purpose,—or that the community of which they were the authors and teachers was providentially exempt from those defects, and designed to be the indefectible substitute for a lapsed predecessor,—was the very delirium of absurdity, offensive to the conscience, and repugnant to common sense. They could not decently pretend that their own Church was divine, after she had taken so much pains to prove that every other was human. It was solely because the Anglican reformers asserted,—as Bancroft and Andrewes, Bull and Bramhall, asserted afterwards,—that no pure Church existed in the world, or had existed for a thousand years, that they were able to justify their own work. On any other supposition, they were themselves rebels and impostors. If they had imprudently admitted, instead of constantly denying, that the promises of Christ had been literally fulfilled, and that He had never ceased to guide, control, and inspire the very Church from which they separated, they would have been condemned out of their own mouths. This was acknowledged even by Ritualists, who strenuously contended at this hour, that the fundamental assumption of the reformers was just and true. They even adopted that assumption with more method and deliberation than all other Protestants. It was a necessity of their position to do so. If the reformers were not right in defying the Catholic Church *then*, they could not be right

themselves in defying her *now*. If High Churchmen admitted, even as a conceivable hypothesis, or tenable theory, that the Church which converted this realm of England, and was for long ages the only teacher of the Gospel within it, had been for a single hour a *Divine* society, "the pillar and ground of the truth," the appointed teacher of the nations, and the light of the world,—they could neither justify the revolt against that Church in the sixteenth century, nor their own attitude towards her in this. Such an admission would be simply suicidal, and equivalent to the open avowal that they were themselves traitors to God and His Church. But they never ceased to justify both. It was, then, once more, the common conviction of High and Low Churchmen, that the Christian Church was *purely human*.

Such was the only view of the nature of the Church which any Anglican, of whatever school, could consistently hold. But he did not forget that there was another view of the subject, maintained in an older community than their own, and by a vastly greater number of professing Christians. It was the view of their own English ancestors for a thousand years. It deserved, even on Protestant principles, an attentive consideration; for if the doctrine of a Church so ancient in origin, and so wide in extent, deserved no respect, how much did their own deserve? (Mr. Trumpington groaned audibly.) He believed he was as free from pre-

judice as most men, and as willing to form a candid estimate of any system of religion or philosophy whatever, much more of one which had exerted a preponderating influence in promoting the civilization, and forming the character, of all the nations of Europe, including their own. He was, therefore, not tempted to deny that the Roman Church displayed an incontestible superiority over all others, not only in being able to point to her remarkable history in the past, and the priceless services which she had rendered to mankind, but still more to her astonishing vitality in the present. By whatever test that wonderful Church was tried, she seemed able to endure it triumphantly. If it was a question of *numbers*, her adherents had never been so numerous as at this hour ; if of *doctrine*, she was teaching now all that she taught before the Reformation began ; if of *unity*, a well-known German Protestant had lately observed, that her members, of every race and tongue, were “ more absolutely of one mind than at any period since the Council of Nice ;” if of *authority*, no such prodigious example of its undiminished power had perhaps ever been witnessed, from the foundation of Christianity, as she had displayed since the Council of the Vatican. If anything might have been expected to break that authority by an intolerable strain, the recent definition of the infallibility of her chief Pontiff was certainly such an event ; yet its effect had been

exactly the contrary, and not one of her thousand Bishops had refused to accept this amazing decree of his Church, though encouraged to do so by all the temporal princes, and almost all the organs of public opinion, in the civilized world. Even some who for a time had opposed it, and seemed resolved to do so to the end, had humbly obeyed that voice which never spoke with such authority as now, and against which resistance had never been so respectful and submissive. The handful of dissidents—a few German professors, and two or three French priests of little reputation—had totally failed to attract followers, though the forces of the world were all on their side, and had only added fresh lustre to the spiritual, by meanly soliciting the favour and protection of the secular authority. The Church which was able to do such things in this nineteenth century, by her own inherent power, and in one of the darkest periods of her political fortunes, was entitled to a respectful hearing, and would receive it from all but fools and fanatics. To men of independent thought she presented perhaps at this hour the most astonishing spectacle, the most inexplicable combination of political weakness and spiritual vigour, of which human reason had ever been invited to suggest a plausible explanation. It was a saying of Goethe, “When I see great effects, I am apt to suppose great causes,” and it was the part of true philosophy to examine and unfold them. Nothing in the whole history of

man was ever more worthy of thoughtful investigation. It was absolutely unique and unparalleled in the annals of the human race. For this marvellous unity of doctrine, and this continued action of a majestic and undisputed authority, were more conspicuous than ever in an age of universal doubt and restlessness, and in a world-wide community, wherein every form of mental activity was habitually displayed. It was, therefore, no light matter when such a Church, after an existence of eighteen centuries, calmly reiterated what she had said a thousand times before, that God had appointed a teacher whom the whole earth must obey, and then added, "I am that Teacher." For his own part, he was quite willing to admit, with some of the most advanced thinkers of the age, that if the first proposition was true, the second was true also. If the promises of Christ had been literally fulfilled, as the Roman Church contended, nothing was more evident than that they had been fulfilled in her alone. No other Christian community, ancient or modern, could so much as account for its own existence without asserting that they had *never* been fulfilled at all. She alone ventured to declare that they had, and that they would continue to be fulfilled in her to the end of time. And it was quite consistent with the almost incredible boldness of this assertion, that she never ceased, amid all the fluctuations of human affairs, to claim universal obe-

dience, on the ground that she was not a human but a Divine Teacher, and that to rebel against her was to rebel against God, and to forfeit salvation. It was an imposing theory, as all must admit, and certainly if God had visited this world in order to make a revelation and found a Church, it was not an extravagant assumption that He had not abandoned the one to every chance interpretation, nor the other to every human caprice; but had established, for all time, an unerring interpreter of the first, and an undying ruler of the second. He would even admit that there was a certain plausibility in the doctrine that this was the only arrangement worthy of Himself, consistent with the general scheme of Redemption, or proportioned to the exigencies of a fallen and degraded race. He was purposely putting the case strongly, because he should presently avow his own firm resolution not to accept the claim to which he was referring. But he wished to state it fairly, not only on account of the source from which it proceeded, but in order to point out how utterly vain and unprofitable was the discussion in which they had been engaged. To waste life in talking about their religious divisions, which nobody expected to heal, was to imitate the shallow empiric whose diagnosis was limited to superficial symptoms, without even attempting to deal with the disease of which they were only an external indication. It was a mere solemn and pedantic trifling with a question which

demanded quite other treatment. The only rational subject of inquiry for intelligent beings was, not whether this or that Church was nearest to the truth, which might be debated for ever, but whether *any* Church was able to teach it with authority. In that question every other was included. If there was no authority in the world representing God, and teaching in His name, their divisions were equally harmless and inevitable. On that supposition it was evident that the Author of Revelation was perfectly indifferent to the divisions which He had taken no means to prevent. But since the Roman Church was the only one which even claimed to be such an authority, or could offer the slightest evidence in support of the claim,—since she alone could point to an unbroken dogmatic unity, maintained through all ages,—either they must confess that they ought never to have revolted against her, or insist, as he was prepared to do, that there neither was, nor ever had been, any Church in the world which possessed infallible truth, or was able to impart it to others. That their own Church had any such power, or could unite her members in the profession of a common faith, was a preposterous hypothesis, disproved by notorious facts, and which, he supposed, no human being would have the hardihood to maintain. It was impossible to mix in society at the present day, without perceiving that the growing disposition to reject all authority, especially in religious ques-

tions, was due to the recoil of the English mind from the transparent imposture of a nominally Divine teacher approving totally opposite views of the same religion. Almost every day he met with persons, for the most part of cultivated minds, who assured him that they had ceased to believe in Christianity, solely in consequence of the attitude of the Church of England towards the fundamental contradictions of faith tolerated within her pale. His answer to such persons was, that this was precisely her greatest merit, and that since men must ever differ on subjects of such a nature, it was an immense advantage to England to possess a Church which distinctly recognised the fact, and even made it the basis of her claim to national support. Such a claim, he would frankly confess, was less repugnant to him than the assertion of the Church of Rome that the whole human race was in a state of pupillage, and incapable of arriving at truth without her guidance. She insisted, indeed, that her authority, far from suppressing liberty, only tended to secure it, by preserving men from the dominion of delusion and error, and that it secured it most effectually in that sphere in which it was most imperiously exerted. It might be so, but he preferred to obtain both truth and liberty by his own efforts, or to do without them. His mental constitution was impatient of shackles, and while he had a profound respect and admiration for the Catholic

philosophy, and could not deny that it contrasted with their own in logical completeness, he could never consent to accept an infallible guide, or resign his independence of authority in matters of belief. Of course he was prepared to accept the responsibilities of that decision, and having to choose between order with submission, and chaos with liberty, he chose the latter, because it was the only choice which a member of the Church of England could make.

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON (who did not rise till it had become evident that no one else was disposed to do so), thought that in this lamentable Conference, of which he should never think without shame and confusion, all that was least lovely in their Church had been gathered into a focus, as if to present a grotesque and distorted image of it to the contempt and aversion of mankind. He had felt throughout the discussion as if wading through Milton's "Serbonian Bog," and was afraid he should bear the stains, and exhale the odour of it, to his last hour. A hundred times he had been tempted to think that he was a homeless wanderer, an exile from the family of God, or that, like Timon, he had

"made his mansion
Upon the beached verge of the salt flood,"

and that the next tide would carry it away. It was a matter for tears rather than for words. He

would say no more : let others continue the discussion who had the heart to do so.

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER would suggest that it was time to change the subject, and to consider, without further delay, what he apprehended was the main purpose of their Conference, the measures of Church Defence which they might think it expedient to adopt.

(No immediate reply was made to this invitation. A chill consciousness seemed to pervade the company that there was not much to defend. Every one looked at his neighbour, as if expecting from him the suggestion which he was not prepared to offer himself. Mr. Weasel put his hand before his face, apparently to conceal an irresistible temptation to laugh. Canon Lightwood seemed oppressed. Mr. Trumpington, without rising from his seat, said aloud, " Let us pray," and seemed about to do it, to the great alarm of every member of the Conference, but was stopped by the timely interposition of)

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS, who observed that if the danger of the Church was great, and the desire to reduce her to the level of non-established communities openly avowed, even within the walls of the legislature, it seemed to him that she could not do better at this crisis than imitate the example of civil corporations which found themselves in a similar difficulty. The first attempt of every kingdom menaced by an external enemy was

to fortify itself by prudent alliances. Was it not open to the Church of England to adopt the same course ?

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON (who appeared to revive suddenly, and to have completely shaken off his previous gloom), thought it a happy suggestion. The Russian Church, he was sure, would gladly unite with them, especially if they could convince her, which might be easily done, that their own was not Protestant but Catholic.

DEAN MARMION feared that as she was not Catholic herself, and did not profess to be, the proof of their own Catholicity, whenever it was forthcoming, would not avail much. The Holy Synod might affect to entertain proposals of alliance, with the permission of the Czar, and be quite willing that individual Episcopalians should pay compliments to the "Orthodox" Church, as they had lately done in New York, but there was about as much chance of union with the Church of Russia as with the Church in the Moon, if any such community existed. And even if the union could be accomplished, since it was only desired by a portion of their own members, and would be odious to all the rest, it could but intensify their existing divisions, and afford one more proof to the world how utterly indifferent the Church of England was to dogmatic unity. Moreover, the Roman doctrine of devotion to the "Mother of God," which was more offensive to Englishmen

than any other, was actually exaggerated in the "Orthodox" Church, and constituted in fact, together with the *cultus* of a few doubtful Russian saints, almost the whole religion of the Russian people.

ARCHDEACON TENNYSON was quite willing, for his part, to unite with the Church of Rome (Mr. Trumpington hastily left the room, and was seen no more), provided she would confess that their own was as true a Church as herself.

ARCHDEACON SOFTLY thought that a proposal to re-unite with the Church of Rome was equivalent to a confession that they ought never to have separated from her. But it was some consolation to know that such a proposal, if it should ever be seriously made, which did not seem to him probable, would certainly be declined. If he was rightly informed, the authorities of the Roman Church had not long ago announced that it would not even be entertained, and that Anglicans could only be received into her communion one by one, after renouncing their errors, and submitting themselves without reserve to her supreme authority. He was sincerely glad to hear it, and hoped it would operate as a timely check to any unprofitable movement in that direction. For his own part, he was disposed to look for allies in a very different quarter. It was among their own countrymen, professing the pure doctrines of the Reformation, that he would seek Christian sympathy and co-

operation. The Bishop of Manchester had observed, in his primary Charge, that "the great Wesleyan community had not yet shown any disposition to join in the attack upon the Church," and that since they professed the same faith with themselves, and were "superior to them in discipline," their adhesion to the National Church would be "as life from the dead." He cordially sympathised with that opinion, and trusted that overtures would be made in a spirit of conciliation to secure so joyful a result.

PREBENDARY CREEDLESS was afraid that an alliance with Wesleyans was as wild a speculation as a union with the Holy Synod or the Vatican. He had seen lately what appeared to be an official statement on the part of that "great community," which certainly did not encourage the idea that they were likely to accept the amiable invitation of the Archdeacon.

THE BISHOP OF DORCHESTER begged to observe that no such invitation had been addressed, or was likely to be addressed, to the Wesleyans by any one having authority to do so.

MR. WEASEL (who seemed to find particular satisfaction in contradicting the Bishop of Dorchester), would reply, that such an invitation had actually been given by an eminent dignitary of their Church, and in very impressive terms. He did not concur with his learned friend in the step which he had taken, but supposed that he wished

to inject Methodism into the veins of the Establishment, on the principle that certain poisons became curative in morbid states of the body. As the catalogue of possible alliances appeared exhausted, and they would evidently have to fight their battles alone, without the aid of auxiliaries of any creed whatever, he might perhaps venture to offer a suggestion. Was it not open to them to imitate the peaceful policy of the Government, and submit the future existence of the Establishment to arbitration? He presumed that the President of the Wesleyan Conference, the Moderator of the Free Kirk, and, say, Dr. Döllinger, would willingly undertake to decide whether the Church of England ought to be allowed to exist any longer, and, if they decided in the affirmative, would kindly suggest a *modus vivendi*. (Archdeacon Tennyson, yielding to a movement of indignation, quitted the room.) He really thought this might be a better way of settling the question than to provoke acrimonious debates in Parliament, with the certainty that the Government would throw the Establishment overboard as soon as the interests of their party required the sacrifice. The nation had already gained so much by arbitration, that the application of the principle in this case would no doubt be attended with cheerful results.

(The suggestion of Mr. Weasel did not appear to excite enthusiasm. The only response was a

dismal silence, and the Conference presented generally a nerveless and debilitated aspect. No one seemed to have anything to say, or any wish to say it. The Professor of Chaldee walked slowly away, still wearing an expression of perfectly resigned misery, and seemed to utter a meek and silent protest against everything in general. Canon Lightwood followed him. The Bishop of Dorchester inquired if his carriage was ready, and departed with so much precipitancy that he forgot to salute the company. Prebendary Smiles appeared to glide from the room, omitting even to display his teeth, perhaps because it was hardly worth while to show them to so few spectators. One by one the members of the Conference disappeared, till only Mr. Weasel and Dean Marmion were left. For some moments they looked intently at each other, with a singular expression, which it would be difficult to interpret, but which seemed to indicate suppressed mirth. At length both exploded simultaneously in a burst of laughter, Mr. Weasel leaning against a table, and the Dean throwing himself into an easy-chair. When they had partly recovered, the following familiar dialogue ensued.)

“My dear Marmion,” said Mr. Weasel, wiping the tears from his eyes, “how could you invite those fellows to come here and make fools of themselves?”

“Pardon me,” replied the Dean, who was still

catching his breath, and seemed to have some difficulty in doing it ; “ I had no such purpose. I wanted to show that there was at least one thing in which we could co-operate, and really believed it. It is not my fault if my good intentions have been frustrated. How could I tell that they would all quarrel together, like the Greeks when the Saracens were knocking at their doors, and refuse to unite even *pro aris et focis*? Besides, it was chiefly your doing. If I had imagined that you could make such an indiscreet speech, I would not have invited you.” (Mr. Weasel seemed to think this an excellent joke.) “ They could endure the Bishop of Brighton, who displayed more capacity than I thought he possessed, because they are accustomed to that sort of thing, and don’t mind it ; but your abominable satire was too much for them. As soon as you sat down, I saw there was an end of the Conference. I really believe you have more sympathy with Hooker than with any of the others, and that your secret intellectual leanings are towards Popery.”

“ I hardly know what they are myself,” responded Mr. Weasel ; “ but they are certainly not towards the Church of England. I remember that some years ago poor Thackeray, who had a low opinion of his fellow creatures, and not a high one of the Anglican Church, went with a Roman Catholic friend to a service at the Oratory. When they came out, his friend asked what he thought

of it. 'There are only two realities in the world,' replied Thackeray, 'Rome and Babylon. For the present I belong to Babylon.' I fancy that is about my own position, and the more I see of my reverend brethren, including yourself, the more I am confirmed in it. What was the *τέλος* of your own speech but this, that if the Roman is not the Church of God, there never was one? You choose the latter alternative, and therefore you are a Babylonian. As to those fellows who were here just now, it is hard to say what they are. Tennyson has fine qualities, but he is the victim of one idea, and is no more capable of adding another to it than that noodle Trumpington. Give him plenty of room to fight in, and something to fight about, and he would not leave the Church of England though the Archangel Michael implored him to do so. Lightwood is harder to understand. He is really a man of talent, a sound scholar, and apparently conscientious; yet, as Hooker easily detected, he abdicates reason altogether when it is a question of the Church of England, and resembles a mathematician who should admit all the postulates of his science, but deny all its conclusions. As to his Lordship of Dorchester, I believe he has no more true religion, of any kind, than a hedge-stake, and when he said the Church of England was 'good enough for him,' he only did himself justice. But really there must be truth *somewhere*, unless the God of Christians is like Baal,

‘asleep or on a journey,’ which does not seem probable. If He raised up such a spiritual colossus as Elijah, and many more like him, to be a light to the people of Israel, can it be supposed that He has abandoned Christians to such pitiful guides as Smiles or Dorchester, such stammering prophets as Lightwood or the Professor of Chaldee? Was the Law more glorious than the Gospel, and the Church of the Patriarchs more noble than that of Jesus Christ? None but a Jew could believe it. ‘No,’ answers the Roman Church, ‘He still produces in *me* supernatural men, of the school of Elijah and St. Paul.’ ‘Yes,’ replies Dean Marmion, ‘we are all human now, and our Church is as feeble as ourselves.’ It may be so, but in that case it is clear, as Thackeray said, that the only choice is between Rome and Babylon. All thinking men are coming to that conclusion. Philosophers admit, men of science proclaim it. I am convinced that the Church of England is responsible for this state of things. People see plainly enough that *she* is only human, and therefore conclude that nothing is divine. But if this must be admitted, ‘Motley’s the only wear,’ as Jaques says, and Christians must fall back on the old pagan maxim: ‘Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.’”

“My dear Weasel,” said Dean Marmion, “I never saw you in such a mood. My Lord of Dorchester has been too much for your nerves. I

confess he is trying, but who is not? If you want authority, certainty, unity, the supernatural, and all that sort of thing, you know where to find them. My own tastes do not incline in that direction. The Church of England will probably last my time, and if, as Metternich said, *après moi le déluge*, there is something to be done meanwhile. We can fight against all shams and impostures, be content to pass for what we really are, and contend for logic against Lightwood, for religion against Dorchester, and for common sense against Trumpington. Fighting agrees with me, as Tennyson said, only I must choose my own weapons, and use them after my own manner."

Here the friends shook hands and parted. Any one who had followed Mr. Weasel, as he walked slowly down the street, might have heard him give forth to the night air, with a melancholy smile, these two lines of the poet--

" 'Charge, Chester, charge! on, Stanley, on!
Were the last words of Marmion."

THE END.

